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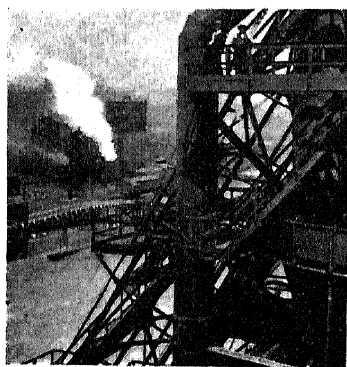
A SOCIAL STUDY
OF
PITTSBURGH

A SOCIAL STUDY OF PITTSBURGH

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS
AND SOCIAL SERVICES OF
ALLEGHENY COUNTY

By PHILIP KLEIN
of the New York School
of Social Work

And COLLABORATORS



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SPONSORS' FOREWORD

THIS VOLUME is a technical report of a social study of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County and a statement of recommendations for social work organization and services. The study was made over a period of three years under the sponsorship of a citizens' committee. Its purpose was to ascertain facts and present an interpretation of social work and public health in Allegheny County and to enable the community to gain useful perspective for any action it may choose to undertake now or in the future.

The discussion of social and economic background and the point of view underlying it, as set forth in the technical report, should be considered those of the author and his collaborators. Regarding this point of view the various members of the committee naturally have various opinions.

The citizens' committee has reviewed the report from the staff and has accepted the recommendations which provide for the next steps for the development of a continuing program in social work and public health. These recommendations, with the endorsement of the citizens' committee, have been referred for consideration to the public and private agencies which carry on social work and public health services in the county. Also, they have been released to the community at large.

The committee's recommendations are presented with the hope that they may be the basis for continuing constructive action over a period of years.

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PREFACE

THE CONTENTS of this volume represent a type of enterprise that has come to be known as a social survey. It is not a sociological survey, such as Charles Booth's *Life and Labor in London* or its sequel, the *New Survey*, and the contemporary studies of Liverpool and Southampton. It is not a sequel to the famous Pittsburgh Survey which revealed to that community and to the nation at large the dangers to workers and citizens inherent in a community of rapid and uncontrolled industrial expansion. In prime intention this is a social work survey: an examination of agencies and institutions that provide social and health services, whether under public or voluntary auspices. A substantial part of the report is devoted, however, to an interpretation of the social and economic life of the community—the background and matrix of social work. The amount of space given to this phase of the subject might appear, in comparison to the space usually allowed in social surveys, out of proportion within the proper limits of a social work report. The reason for this emphasis lies partly in the history of recent years. The social worker himself has lifted his eyes to the larger scene and improved his perspective, recognizing social work as part of the vital forces of community life, embraced by them, modified, enlarged, and diminished by them, the property of all men, not the domain of specialists alone. The lay mind, on the other hand, has also recognized that for these same reasons social work has come to be a major instrument of social adjustment and development along with education, civic reform, and evolution of government.

The study was proposed by a group of citizens of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County in the form of an application for funds to the Buhl Foundation. In that document the dual interest—interest in the technical improvement of service and in the adaptation of the entire hierarchy of services to the evolving social structure—was made manifest. To quote:

The pressing need for such a survey appears from a number of considerations. Foremost among them is the necessity of seeing how far a study of the work of individual agencies and their relation to each other would reveal on the one hand large geographical areas where the need is not being met and, on the other hand, instances, doubtless numerous, of overlapping and of duplication.

In addition . . . this community ought to re-examine its program of social work in light of changed conditions. The welfare organizations of Allegheny County, both public and private, are today facing new conditions and new needs which they cannot meet successfully without a thorough readjustment of their services. Such

a readjustment, if it is to be made intelligently and with impartial disregard of possible effect on existing organizations, can be undertaken only after a careful study of our whole field of social service. . . .

Social agencies have been established and have grown and expanded with relatively little consideration given to the needs of the community as a whole or to the most effective organization necessary to meet them. The present time is especially opportune for the development of a coordinated, effective and adequate program of social work in Allegheny County. The first step toward the development of such a program of social welfare is a comprehensive study of the needs of the community and the resources already existing to meet them.

The focus of the study, it is clear, is on the work of social agencies, but its orientation is to the community needs in so far as they may be ascertainable. The application for funds was made on February 13, 1934, by a committee consisting of persons appointed in equal numbers by the Federation of Social Agencies and the Community Fund. The grant, as authorized, was announced in a letter dated April 14, 1934, in which only two specific conditions were stipulated:

1. That a personnel acceptable to and approved by the Foundation be engaged.
2. That a budget be drawn within the total amount herein set forth, acceptable to and approved by the Foundation.

The plan of the study as submitted by the director and incorporated in a tentative budget contemplated a field study of eighteen months, extending from August, 1934, to January, 1936. A staff was engaged for varying periods of time depending upon the nature of the tasks to be performed within the available budgets. A simple organization was devised as indicated on page vii. Wide leeway was left for the judgment and preferences of divisional experts in charge. Research in the strict and formal meaning of the word as indicating the original collection of primary material was subordinated to selection guided by experience and to the authoritative judgment of expert personnel. While the primary purpose, to achieve an integrated picture and to build up a comprehensive plan, was kept in mind, the attempt was made to put into effect whatever recommendations might be made in the course of the study that seemed both acceptable and practicable to the Citizens' Committee. To this extent the study was allowed to partake of the nature of expert "guidance" and "community organization." It was agreed, however, that the chief responsibility for carrying out the findings of the study remained with the local community through its Citizens' Committee, the established agencies, and the public that stands behind them. Much was actually effected by way of changes or acceptance of plans prior to the expiration of the field study, and the supreme importance of practical results, ultimate if not immediate, was never lost sight of.

Nevertheless, it was also recognized that so-called "practical consider-

ations" might in the future, as they did elsewhere in the past, interfere with the equally fundamental necessity of presenting to the public true findings to the best of the ability of the workers. To this end several steps were taken. At the instance of the Citizens' Committee, an Advisory Committee was appointed, which was selected in the main by the director of the study to advise him and his confreres in the many difficult problems inherent in the study. The crucial questions were discussed with that committee, and their deliberations were immensely helpful to the staff. A special technical committee was appointed to advise within the field of medicine and public health as fields overlapping other professional skills and traditions. That committee also has proved of incalculable value to the study and in the presentation of findings to the public. Finally, it was determined by unanimous action of the Citizens' Committee that the report to be published upon completion of the field inquiry should be free from any form of censorship or veto by the sponsoring committee. Reciprocally, any objections, exceptions, or fundamental disagreements on the part of the committee were to be included in the report if the committee so desired. This privilege was to be extended to the Advisory Committee as well. Members of the latter, however, regard themselves as responsible chiefly for advising the staff, not for approving findings and recommendations, even if no dissenting opinions are submitted by them for publication.

A distinction has been maintained in the study between reports and recommendations as released by the Citizens' Committee with their corporate approval for public discussion and as expressing the committee's desire for action by the community on one hand, and the report proper contained in the present volume on the other. This report represents the findings, interpretation, and recommendations of the study staff by way of the committee to the public rather than proposals promulgated by the Citizens' Committee. Actually there is little practical difference between the two, since the recommendations for action have been accepted by the committee. The interpretation, however, especially as contained in Part I of the report, remains entirely the responsibility of the author and his collaborators and is as much a report to the committee as one to the public under the committee's sponsorship. In the Appendix a sketch of the experience of the staff members is presented as being in the nature of credentials for the authoritativeness of opinions submitted. In a field where no absolute standards exist and no constituted authority prevails the reader is entitled to that much at least of the supporting evidence.

The staff of the study and the collaborators of the report numbered some thirty workers, exclusive of advisors and of clerical staff. The time of service varied from a little more than a week to eighteen months. Field notes were prepared as the study progressed, organized sectional reports

were submitted to the divisional directors when appropriate, and these were integrated into larger and reorganized statements submitted to the director of the study. All this constitutes manuscript material amounting to many times the volume of the present report and was used as raw material for the final report, responsibility for which rests on the author. The design for the report was drawn up to meet, so far as possible, the many uses to which the findings are being put.

So far as time permitted and the nature of the findings made it practicable, members of the study staff presented their own conclusions to the Citizens' Committee. Perhaps half the collaborators were able to serve in this manner, and at least a fourth of the group were called upon to aid in the follow-up task of presenting findings to the public or to groups of interested citizens. Partial reports were circulated whenever they seemed useful in the task of informing the public. These included: the report on the Organized Care of the Sick, by Dr. Gertrude Sturges; New Americans in Allegheny County, by Mary E. Hurlbutt; Interpretation of Social Work, by Mary Swain Routzahn; Study of Old Age in Allegheny County, by Hertha Kraus; and some analyses of group work practices by W. I. Newstetter.

As already stated, the present study was proposed by a group of citizens constituting a committee for planning, and then sponsoring, the study. By what right—the reader might ask—did this committee set itself up to represent the public's interest in social work? Who wanted the study? Was it a legitimate expression of responsible public concern? The membership of the committee was at first composed of individuals appointed in equal numbers by the Community Fund and the Federation of Social Agencies, and later it was expanded by accessions added by the committee itself. Its representativeness is measured on the whole by that of these two organizations, by the extent to which they stand for the social work interests of the public and of their member agencies. Both are federative organizations, both submitted the proposal for a study to their constituent agencies, and the records show approval without dissenting opinion. It gives us extraordinary pleasure to be able to testify that any disapproval that may nevertheless have existed of the study as a whole was in no instance permitted to interfere with the giving of full and unconditional assistance to the staff at every point and throughout the duration of the study. There can be recorded only one actual refusal to coöperate and that was made by an agency that is not a member either of the Community Fund or of the Federation of Social Agencies.

It would take too long to recite the details of the procedure followed by the study, and such a recital might be of only limited interest to the reader. Time, place, and other peculiarities of the situation, idiosyncracies of the

staff, limitation of the personnel, and unpredictable developments in the course of the study were all factors in determining procedure.

The contents of the present volume are divided into two major parts: the first devoted to an attempt at sketching the social and economic background of the community life in and for which the social services operate; the second given to the specific problems of the organization of social and health work. The essential unity of the two, obvious to the student, unavoidable in practice, is carried into the text so far as clarity of exposition permits. Naturally, Part I is less exhaustive than Part II. A scientifically defensible presentation of social and economic life of such a metropolis as Pittsburgh is a large undertaking, which has never yet been attempted in this country, though aided by American funds when carried on abroad, as in Liverpool and London. What social and economic data could be garnered under the limitations of the study are presented in the first eight chapters and consciously woven into the fabric of the report as a whole by the author and collaborators. Specifically, Part I sketches the nature of Allegheny County and its constituent communities (Chapter II); attempts an estimate of the chances for making a living as they bear on the large mass of the population and measures the needs to be met by social work (Chapter III); summarizes the progress in social legislation and labor organization (Chapter IV); describes the general physical conditions under which the masses, especially of the poor, live (Chapter V); and the peculiar characteristics of the county because of its racial and ethnic problems (Chapter VI). General attitudes and public opinion are then touched upon (Chapter VII), followed by a brief recital of improvements in the public school system of Pittsburgh in the past quarter of a century (Chapter VIII).

Part II, though given the chief emphasis in the report, is itself subject to a number of limitations. First, the scope of the study had to be limited by budget, time, and practical considerations. Thus, sizable areas of social work were arbitrarily omitted, including, for example, courts (except the Juvenile Court), penal institutions (except certain ones for children), employment services, the problem of the handicapped, the technical aspects of mental hygiene, and the pastoral work of churches. Within the field under scrutiny the orientation was toward future planning rather than present evaluation or past performance. Much therefore is omitted that is historically significant and creditable to individual agencies. No report is made agency by agency even though the material collected might easily fall into such a frame work. The arrangement as presented provides for a panoramic view of social work in Allegheny County (Chapter IX), then is focussed on financial support (Chapter X); on social planning (Chapter XI); on problems of personnel and training

(Chapter XII); on the intricate and related problems of relief and social case work (Chapters XIII–XVII); on public health and medical care (Chapters XVIII–XIX), and on the leisure time problem (Chapter XX). A final chapter summarizes the more obvious results of the study up to the time of the writing of the report.

One objective of the study and of the present report, which is not contained in any document but which underlies the thought of the Citizens' Committee, of the staff, and of the Buhl Foundation is to extend the benefits of the task, if any, to the field of social work as a whole beyond the corporate limits of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County or the institutional interests of the local agencies. It was hoped that the study would have some national significance for public and profession, for taxpayer, philanthropist, and client. This objective has pervaded the minds of author and collaborators and may explain some of the discussions and expositions that might otherwise seem beyond the scope of a purely local social survey.

PHILIP KLEIN

New York
August 2, 1937

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

IN A community study involving interviews, records, documents, and published and unpublished literature and completely dependent upon the willing coöperation of individuals and agencies, laymen and professionals, clients and donors, officials, employers, workers, educators, editors, and scores of other typical citizens, it would be folly to attempt to acknowledge our indebtedness to all those who have helped the inquiry. It is the hope of the author and of his collaborators that everyone whose assistance they sought was aware of their grateful appreciation both for themselves and for the community in whose interests the study was being conducted. While it is impossible to make individual acknowledgment to every one of the hundreds of persons and organizations to whom they are indebted, it is equally unthinkable to omit special mention of some who played an outstanding rôle in the study.

Ordinarily it might not be fitting to render recognition to the sponsors of the study, the Citizens' Committee, under whose auspices the study was conducted, and who might in a sense be regarded as the very authors of, or at least participants in, the study. In a special way, however, the individual members of the committee, assembled in scores of meetings during two years, have given to the study staff help that transcended the corporate function and official sponsorship. They were sympathetic and understanding in receiving reports and recommendations; they demanded reasons and evidence, so that the staff felt the challenge of deep interest; they gave critical thought to findings and contributed to their interpretation for community action. They afforded the true corrective of the responsible "lay" public to the necessarily professional perspective of the study staff. Foremost among members of the committee in aiding, guiding, encouraging, and advising the staff were its chairman, R. Templeton Smith, and its secretary, Isabel P. Kennedy. The workers felt that they both placed the progress of the study among their first interests; they spared neither labor nor time, and in actual participation they were to all intents and purposes members of the staff.

Especial thanks are also due to the Bureau of Social Research, of the Federation of Social Agencies; to the Bureau of Business Research, of the University of Pittsburgh; to Charles F. Lewis, director of the Buhl Foundation; and to Frederick Bigger, chairman of the City Planning Commission, of Pittsburgh.

The Bureau of Social Research not only placed at the disposal of the staff an enormous amount of important and significant material already in its possession as a result of several years of fruitful work and publications but also gave to the study virtually a first lien on its technical services and advice. For example, to mention only one type of invaluable service, the entire tabulation of personnel material, the mechanical and technical handling of nearly 60,000 cards of group work registrants, and the preparation of several basic maps were done by or under the supervision of the Bureau, particularly of its director, Ralph Carr Fletcher.

To the Bureau of Business Research, of the University of Pittsburgh, we are indebted for the coöperative interest of the director, Dr. Ralph J. Watkins, and of the staff members. In addition to the use of their uniquely valuable publications bearing on the local economic situation and the incidental advice given by several of its staff members, there were two major contributions: one was the study of the basic employment situation in Allegheny County, which underlies the living of its people, by Dr. J. P. Watson, assistant director of the Bureau. This material constitutes nearly the entire content of Chapter III. This study was undertaken at the request of the staff, primarily because of their own needs and for the purpose of supplying competent data within this field; it coincided, however, with interests already felt by the Bureau in a practical synthesis for social interpretation of its many economic studies. The other, a somewhat less direct contribution, is represented by permission to use material on housing. The gathering and tabulation of this material on the project known as the Real Property Inventory was financed with Federal work-relief funds. The Pennsylvania State Emergency Relief Board sponsored the project and in coöperation with the United States Department of Commerce shaped it to accord with similar work-relief projects in a number of other cities. The Bureau of Business Research provided staff supervision. Tabulations, were supervised by Theodore A. Veenstra, statistician of the Bureau, and J. P. Watson, and summary results and interpretations were published by the Bureau in its periodical, the *Pittsburgh Business Review*, and in numerous mimeographed reports.

A peculiar acknowledgment is due to Charles F. Lewis, director of the Buhl Foundation. That the inquiry itself was made possible through the generosity of the Foundation, which allotted first \$75,000 and then a further \$10,000 to the enterprise, is perhaps more a reason for community gratitude than for staff acknowledgment. The special thanks of the staff are due to Mr. Lewis for the unique combination of vital and continued interest, including advice and constructive suggestions, given to the study throughout its course, combined with a complete absence of the slightest indication of wishing to influence, to control, or to interfere. The study

has received from the Buhl Foundation a perfect example of "academic freedom."

In addition to using a short manuscript especially prepared for the study by Frederick Bigger and quoted *in extenso* in the report, the study has profited in many and varied ways from the material produced by the Pittsburgh City Planning Commission, of which Mr. Bigger is secretary and leader. The maps and special studies produced by that Commission represent an outstanding contribution to the social analysis of Pittsburgh's peculiar urban life as well as technical material within the field of city planning.

The principal acknowledgment and the most general one is gratefully made to the social agencies, public and voluntary—their boards, executives, and field staffs. Their position in a study of this kind is at best uncomfortable. Even though not "investigated," they are, nevertheless, under critical scrutiny. Their programs, leadership, policies, and performance are under review. The necessity for their very existence may be questioned. As a result of planning for the community at large the individual agency may be shifted out of focus; "pet charities" may be discovered; positions may appear in jeopardy; and traditions and loyalties may seem endangered. Despite these circumstances the staff received courteous and positive coöperation from the agencies to a degree which exceeded their fondest hopes. If among the hundreds of agencies, institutions, hospitals, clinics, and public departments only two are singled out for particular mention, it is because these two have not only been chiefly responsible for the study itself, but have contributed the largest amount of labor and facilities to its progress and in the end will carry the greatest responsibility for rendering the study fruitful and effective. To the Federation of Social Agencies and to the Community Fund of Allegheny County, both for themselves and for their member agencies, grateful acknowledgment is herewith rendered.

In the progress of the study the staff benefited from many studies previously carried on in Pittsburgh or in Allegheny County. They are too numerous to record except when direct reference is made to them in the text. Three of the studies require special mention, however. In the reverse chronological order they are: An inquiry into the work of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board, directed by the state legislature and conducted in 1933 under the direction of Douglas P. Falconer, of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, of New York. The full manuscript was made accessible through the courtesy of George P. Mills, executive director of the Board. Extensive use was also made of the special study of child care conducted in 1930 under the Federation of Social Agencies and under the direction of Arthur P. Dunham, of the Public Charities Associa-

tion, of Pennsylvania, of which the manuscript was made available through the courtesy of the Federation of Social Agencies. Lastly, the Pittsburgh Survey of 1907-8, to which numerous references will be found throughout the text, still stands as a monumental interpretation of Pittsburgh life and is inexhaustible for historical guidance. It is a milestone of progress in the social maturation of Pittsburgh and its march toward an American civilization.

In a more personal way the author is indebted to the New York School of Social Work for its generosity in permitting him and several collaborators who are members of its faculty to draw upon school time and resources in the pursuit of their inquiries. These resources include, for more than a year after completion of the field inquiry, office space for material and secretarial work and incursions by the author into the time normally set aside for academic duties. To his colleague, Margaret F. Byington, the author wishes to acknowledge an especial indebtedness for volunteering the arduous task of reading the manuscript in its first crude draft and for making numerous and valuable suggestions for its revision. An unexpected but invaluable service in the preparation of the manuscript came from Marie McInerney, Executive Secretary of the Citizens' Committee, which continues the task of promoting the recommendations of the study. Numerous suggestions both of major significance and of detail were made by Miss McInerney in the final draft of the report. To Miss Frances E. Gaines, secretary and assistant, the author acknowledges that the end of a hard and discouraging road and the avoidance of numberless errors and pitfalls might not have been possible without her high standards of professional responsibility, untiring vigilance, and endless patience.

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PART ONE

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

CHAPTER I

SCOPE AND PERSPECTIVES

The question to be answered.—Social work defined for purposes of the study.—Principal phases of social work.—Needs and services.—Motivations of social work; paradoxical interests.—The place of lay and professional personnel.—Public and voluntary responsibility.—New perspectives.—The special problem of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County.—General procedure of the study.

THIS VOLUME is concerned with social work and health services in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. It deals with ways and means by which organized philanthropy and government meet the diverse needs of the county's population through social service, medical care, and preventive activities. What are the needs to be met; can they be ascertained; what produces them; what factors increase or diminish them; do philanthropy and government meet all types of social needs—do they meet them adequately; are agencies, voluntary and public, organized, staffed, and coördinated so as really to meet most effectively the needs they were created to serve? These questions and further specifications that might be embroidered upon them revolve about two central concepts: first, what are the needs and how do they fluctuate; and second, what is the system of social services designed to meet them? If answers to these central questions are found that reasonably define existing conditions, one may turn to a final question: Is there any discrepancy between what is needed and what is supplied; if so, what can be done to eliminate or at least to reduce this discrepancy?

In their simplest forms these questions comprise the purpose of the Social Study of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. This seductive simplicity has been responsible, however, for some of the more persistent difficulties experienced both by the staff of the study and by the citizens interested in its progress either as sponsors or as prospective "consumers" of the results of the inquiry.

Obviously, the only needs that are pertinent to an inquiry which is directed to the attainment of a maximum social efficiency by organizations that offer social work and health services must relate primarily to their own field of activity, that is, to the field commonly described as that

of social work.¹ Important as all the ways of individual and community life are for social work, practical limitations, a reasonable modesty, and some sense of humor must set a barrier to the interests that social service might claim as primarily its own. Thus, political science and government, education and city planning, civil and criminal laws and their enforcement, art, literature, technical phases of production, taxation, banking, the dynamic cultural patterns of religious, ethnic, and racial tradition all impinge upon the active interests of social work; but to define and meet the needs of the community as they may be gauged from the points of view of these diverse intellectual perspectives clearly exceeds the particular business of social and health service. It is not possible, then, to discuss pragmatically the needs that are relevant to social work without some definition, even if arbitrary, of its scope and meaning.

SOCIAL WORK DEFINED FOR PURPOSES OF THIS STUDY

An important characteristic of such an act of definition is its inevitable arbitrariness, theoretical as well as practical, for there is no agreement as to what is social work. There is, indeed, rather a diminishing area of agreement as to its objectives, some diversity of opinion as to its standards of performance, and deep cleavages as to the ultimate motivation of social work and its relation to social ideals of the community. These differences of opinion are of great practical importance, especially in view of the fact that the relative influence and weight in the community of the people who hold one or another opinion are also undergoing rapid and unpredictable change. Both the scope and the objectives of social work are subject to "schools of thought," to tradition, and to group loyalty.

PRINCIPAL PHASES OF SOCIAL WORK

What social work seeks to do may be conveniently divided into five somewhat overlapping types of objectives in the order of their general acceptance and of the priority of their claim upon philanthropic or public funds. The first objective, widest in acceptance, oldest in tradition, most deeply-rooted in institutions and public opinion, is to aid those persons in a community who are unable to provide by their own efforts those basic needs that require economic outlay. They may comprise food, shelter, and clothing; insurance premiums or fees for trade union membership; medical care or dental care; legal aid or educational necessities. They may be ordinary needs for which a particular person at a particular time may be unable to provide owing to lack of earnings or because of inadequate

¹ To avoid unnecessary clumsiness and repetition, this term and its variants (social welfare, social service, and so forth) will be used to include as much of the health services and public health administration as was actually comprised in the present study.

income. This, in turn, may be due to unemployment, lack of skill, old age, incapacity, loss of the family breadwinner in one way or another; or the needs may represent the incidence of unusual demands such as long illness, accident, or death that drain an income which is ordinarily sufficient. Actually the needs may arise out of noneconomic events, such as family friction and delinquency, but the pervasive characteristic of all these needs is that the remedy is purchasable and that the person experiencing them does not possess the means by which to procure their satisfaction. To use a brief but venerable term, they constitute poverty, and those affected by it become economically dependent on aid outside family resources. Poverty must not, however, be confused with the "poor." In the main they constitute not a class but rather a condition into which from time to time any person or family may fall and from which they may find it difficult to rise without outside assistance.

To provide assistance for these persons while they are in a state of economic distress, dependency, or pronounced insecurity is the heart of social work. In defining the scope of this primary phase of social work we are, therefore, guided by the activities of those agencies that supply economic assistance or its equivalent. These are, in the main, organizations extending relief and case work service to dependent families and children—whether publicly or voluntarily financed, whether serving undifferentiated groups, or created for special classes, such as mothers with minor children, the aged, and those affected by the unemployment emergency. They include institutions providing medical care for those unable to pay for it whether in hospitals, out-patient departments, or in the home of the patients and the agencies providing case work service when economic distress is complicated or brought about by indirect causes such as unhappy family life or disorganized homes.

The second class of objective has only in recent years been recognized as an independent activity rather than as a method of performance or as something attached to services intended primarily for economic assistance. Usually designated by the term "social case work," this activity has been known in connection with the administration of relief, medical care, probation and parole work, guidance of dependent and delinquent children, and hospitals and clinics dealing with mental diseases. As case work services have come to be rendered independently of these established forms of social work in family-service agencies, child-guidance clinics, mental-hygiene organizations, and psychopathic clinics, their practice has tended to take on an independent status conceived as personality adjustment directly concerned with the psychological problems of clients, whether these problems appear as causes or effects associated with poverty, crime, and illness or without relation to these phenomena. Because in the

majority of instances social case work is still a part of the work of relief-giving agencies, children's agencies, and medical agencies, its emergence as a separate division of the field has not been complete. But the trend is strong enough so that, for the sake of clarity it may better be regarded as a distinct division of social work.

The third objective may best be seen as a combination of the concern for those of limited economic means and of a fourth objective, the interest in raising standards of living. This class of activity seeks to assist the economically less favored to secure those amenities of life, such as recreation and cultural activities which constitute part of the content and goals of an enriched standard of living but which may only with special efforts be made available to the poorer section of the population.

The fourth class of social work objectives, less uniformly accepted, boasting a less clearly-defined and less unified historical tradition, goes beyond the obligation of providing basic needs. It concerns itself with the standard of living of the community as a whole, in terms of which a progressing civilization increases its returns to man, who has step by step conquered nature and forced from it greater and greater satisfactions. In such a standard of living our American civilization has deliberately included successive increments, such as school education; medical care in keeping with the expanding discoveries of the medical profession; physical improvement that comes from outdoor life, even under urban conditions; recreation for young, old, and family units; aesthetic satisfactions in the form of concerts, art galleries, botanical gardens, and labor-saving devices for the housewife and householder. By city planning and communal enterprises and with the aid of the greater accessibility offered by the automobile and cheap intercommunity transportation it has created a sense of the larger community; by the reduction of hours of toil, owing to the greater efficiency of productive machinery, this civilization has developed an expanding margin of leisure necessary for the enjoyment of the new components of the standard of living.

These additions to the standard of living cannot, in a complicated system like ours, be acquired as items separately purchasable by the individual; rather they have been developed by way of a larger conception of public service. The trend of our civilization has been toward the expansion of the number and types of communal services available to the general public. Correspondingly, we have adopted these services as a proper burden upon the taxpayer. Thus, playgrounds, parks, grade schools, high schools, and even colleges, galleries, camp sites, state and national parks, medical care in schools, clinical services, and a host of other facilities for the greater enjoyment of the fruits of our civilization have become functions of the public service. In many of these fields the

status of public service (or even public utilities, by a more recent and more imaginative conception) was not attained directly without the mediation of private experiments and demonstrations financed by voluntary contributions and promoted by citizens in their private capacity. Social work embraces a large area of demonstrations and temporary services of this type on the theory that they are on the way to becoming public services. In this area of social work there is necessarily greater leeway for expansion. We can hardly speak of minima, and perhaps less of maxima. In a sense they are all the luxuries of our civilization of abundance in contrast to those basic needs, such as food, shelter, and clothing, in which we recognize no choice but to give and to establish the right to receive. There is, therefore, less of social obligation and more of choice involved.

Needs, as conceived in relation to this area of social work, are defined by a variety of social agencies and are conducted by even more diverse types of sponsorship than the first category of social work. Neighborhood houses and settlements; recreational divisions of public departments of education and of parks; collateral institutional activities of churches; public health agencies, official and voluntary; child-guidance clinics, young men's and young women's associations; varieties of boys' and girls' clubs—all operate in this field of endeavor and attempt both to define and to meet the needs that arise out of a progressive concept of the desirable standard of living.

It is in the fifth class of social work objectives that least uniformity of definition and purpose is found, and it is this class in which the recent years have introduced greater and faster changes in accordance with corresponding changes of public opinion. This area is on the boundary line between social work and social reform. The principal reason why it is not so clearly an integral part of social work is that in this field differences of opinion have their largest sway. In this area political science, economic and social theories, principles of government, and basic philosophies of social organization meet and overlap the interests of social work. In so far as specific modes of action for the betterment of social and political life are gradually crystallized, social work as a practical art gains a more clear-cut foothold. This has been true, for example, in such phases of progress as the treatment of the criminal, the drive for a minimum wage, protective labor legislation for women and children, and reform in local government. From the standpoint of general social progress this field of work may be of prime importance. In a specific social work program for any community it must cede priority to provision for those actually in distress and for the expansion and raising of the standard of living.

The organized bodies that carry on activities in this field are in some cases independent bodies and in others social agencies whose programs

extend over a wide area of social work objectives. Thus, some neighborhood houses, many Y.W.C.A.'s, and the Urban League cover a considerable portion of the total scope of social work; while others, such as the Consumers' Leagues, child-labor committees, and agencies for penal reform, may be more clearly regarded as confining their activities to this fifth division of the field of social work. Within this same area and constituting in a sense a class by themselves are agencies or parts of agency programs in which activities partaking of characteristics common to all social work are conducted for purposes of religious advancement and revitalization.

Whether the division of social work into these arbitrarily-defined areas is completely tenable or not, it provides a framework for selecting the agencies whose services fall within the field and in terms of which the scope of the present study has been given its outer limits.

NEEDS AND SERVICES

If the scope of social work may be defined as covered by these five areas and by the agencies operating in them; if the objectives to be attained within the field are intended in the main to meet needs more or less overt, either for economic assistance or for advancing standards of living or for general amelioration of living conditions, the services rendered by agencies must presumably be matched against the needs they are intended respectively to meet. What, then, are these needs and how can they be ascertained? Obviously, the most desirable thing would be to measure directly the amount and kind of need in the community and then to provide for it. That, however, is just as obviously impossible, even if we accept the simplest interpretation of need, namely, that of economic distress. It is impossible to know the conditions of the population except when those in distress are sufficiently troubled so that they attempt to obtain help from the outside. How many people are living on less than they need all the time or part of the time; how many are stinting themselves and undermining their health and morale; and how long efforts go on to make ends meet before finally one is forced to look for succor—it is impossible to tell. One might by an intensive investigation at a given time and place with adequate resources ascertain the approximate truth, as has been done from time to time in Great Britain, but a stream line picture of economic need like a perpetual inventory of stock is beyond possibility. Attempts have been made in this country as well as elsewhere to ascertain the extent of illness and to estimate, therefore, the need for medical services of various kinds. This also was possible for a limited time and place rather than as a current measure of changing needs. One of these attempts was made in Pittsburgh and will be referred to in some detail later. In

the less obvious forms of need, such as pertain not to an existing deficiency but to a deficiency created by proposed higher standards of living, even studies limited in time and space may have only relative bearing, since the cultural standards of the community define standards of living, which advance as economic conditions improve and are diffused in the mass of the population. All hope of direct measurement must be banned, even in the more obvious fields, as a means of judging the adequacy of social services.

There remains only the indirect method, of which there are two possible forms: one is to measure the services actually performed on the assumption that when needs are overt and pressing enough agencies and resources in a community become available. This method, indirect and inadequate as it is, must be one of the guides in the field, and it has been to a considerable extent applied in the latter part of the study. The other method, in a sense more indirect still in that it relates not to services at all, but less indirect in that it relates to the actual life of the community, is the method of evaluating and describing the economic life which determines the livelihood of the community; its fluctuations and determinants; and the social and living conditions under which the people earn, live, and work out their personal aspirations and cultural ideals. These things constitute the stuff from which standards of civilized living are made and which determine the more serious personal tragedies not directly connected with economic distress.

The connection between the general economic and social life of a community and the demands which it creates for social services is not always obvious. That it is direct and inevitable cannot be denied. While only in the rarest instances have social agencies adjusted their objectives and policies by a direct study of living conditions in order to ascertain the unmet needs and the services required, it is clear enough that the importance of these services, the extent to which they should be provided, and the significance that they have for a rich and peaceful community life can only be understood in connection with the tasks of making a living and helping others, of having a home, neighbors, family and social relations, and of having satisfactions or frustrations in the search for a better life.

For this reason, it has been the wish of the sponsors of the present study to attempt some evaluation of the living conditions in Allegheny County, and this coincided with the point of view and perspective of the staff. No truly comprehensive interpretation like that of the English studies already referred to could, of course, be undertaken. The selection of what to include was conditioned partly by available resources, but also, and largely, by the direct relevance of the material to an understanding

of those needs that might by custom and tradition be met by social work. Thus the characteristics of the county as a whole have been examined with especial reference to those factors that contribute to the peculiar conditions in its numerous local communities; the chances of making a living, ways of economic advancement, housing, ethnic and racial problems, strivings for the better life and the all-important psychological factor of public opinion are dealt with at least briefly. These subjects comprise Part One of the report. To meet the needs that are created by life and labor in Allegheny County many forms of social action have been operative. Some of these are touched upon here. Our special concern, however, is with those forms of social action that are practiced by social agencies. The second, and major, part of the report is devoted, therefore, to those considerations that underlie the organization, management, and activities of social agencies, with a view to their maximum service in meeting the needs within their scope of operation.

What happens when a need suitable to be met by social service becomes manifest enough for the organized attention of a social agency? Social agencies exist because there is a response to manifest need by those who, as sponsors and supporters, are responsible for its creation and continued operation. What is behind this response? What provides the compelling force, the motivating power; how is the nature of this philanthropic impulse related to the basic forces of community life? How does this relationship affect the practical problems of the social work of 1936?

MOTIVATIONS OF SOCIAL WORK; PARADOXICAL INTERESTS

Social agencies represent the result of crystallized public opinion concerning the responsibility of the community for meeting individual needs. The sense of community responsibility is compounded by motivations that are primarily benevolent and constructive. Whether the programs derived from it are always the most rational and intelligent and whether objective analysis is followed as much as are impulse and imitation are questions that will require further discussion.

An analysis of the place of a social agency in the community discloses what may be fundamental contradictions between the interests of agency, community, and client, and it reveals further complications that arise from the diverse characteristics of sponsoring group, agency executive, and staff worker. The agency has its own institutional existence and interests. As a corporate entity it has obligations, privileges of choice, freedom of action or of refraining from action, freedom to formulate, express, and propagate theories and to carry them into action. On the other hand a social agency is also an instrument through which the community as a whole, or some group representing the community, carries on its philan-

thropic activities. In expressing community purpose the agency, even though an independent corporate entity, must take account of the opinion and will of the community in so far as these may be ascertained. To this extent its freedom of action must be restricted and its formulation of principles must retain some harmony with the philosophy held by the community as a whole. To ascertain that philosophy in the first place is difficult, and the obligation to do so easily forgotten. The portent of this obligation returns, however, with the periodical necessity faced by the agency of raising funds for its activities. At such times it must either express intentions harmonious with the community's will or take the risk of the pioneer whose hope is in a willing or intelligent minority. The somewhat paradoxical tasks of educational pioneering, which has been one of the persistent functions of social agencies, and of gaining acceptance by the community as an instrument of its own manifest will have never been satisfactorily combined and have been but rarely stated with candor and clarity.

Besides the agency and the community, a third factor in the situation is the client. As a member of the community he plays the dual rôle of citizen and beneficiary. In fact, he often plays multiple rôles, which are not always reconcilable or clearly differentiated. The opinions, choice, or will of the client may be in harmony or completely opposed to the opinions, choices, and will either of the community as a whole or of a given agency or of other citizens who are not at that time clients. Social work has tended to regard the client's interest, if not his expressed choice, as a factor of increasing importance in determining the general function of the agency and its specific processes or practices. If the interest of the client as such should seem to be contrary to the interest of the citizen as such or in but incomplete harmony with the interest of the community and the policy of the agency, how shall the latter function?

The social agency itself is not a unitary concept. It consists of at least three important constituents, each contributing a different element to its composition: the sponsoring group, the executive, the worker.

The sponsors usually consist of a board of directors or trustees who take the responsibility for raising funds and who directly or indirectly through the executive define the purposes and program of the agency. To their philanthropic motivations are added other forces comprising both their own philosophies and the strivings of a more or less extensive section of the community for which they speak. This is perhaps most clearly seen in the religious and sectarian sponsorship of much social work and is well exemplified in Pittsburgh, which is a deeply religious community and strongly denominational. Charity is not only a virtue but also an obligation and a way of life commanded by the Church. Reciprocally, its exercise

strengthens Church and denomination. The sponsors of the social agency, when it is related to a religious organization, promote, therefore, a dual and mutually supporting activity, which on one hand follows a mode of life prescribed, and on the other, strengthens and perpetuates the institutional identity of the Church.

Equally powerful in its impelling and conditioning power upon the sponsoring group is their socio-economic philosophy and the aristocratic tradition which adheres to it. It assumes that there must be those who have more and those who have less; those who have power and those who must serve; those who have wisdom and those who must take guidance; those who can plan and those who must depend upon others. It further not only assumes that the "better class" is an economic-social concept, but also imputes to it superiority in moral standards and stamina. Indolence and shiftlessness are associated with poverty, poverty with squalor, and the "poor" is not only description but judgment as well. There is a feeling that more redemption is needed among the poor than among the rich; that more discipline and greater enforcement of moral standards must take place among the working class than among the middle or upper class of the community; that lawlessness is more natural to manual laborers than to members of the upper class.

It is difficult for the contributor to charitable funds to free himself from the pressure of this aristocratic tradition. A high degree of self-discipline is required to recognize a real equality between the beneficiaries of social work and those who, on boards or as contributors, provide the instruments for aiding them.

This feeling is further complicated by concern (which is sometimes conscious and sometimes unconscious) with the maintenance of a status quo with its class distinctions and its concentration of wealth, power, and prestige. The deliberate and conscious striving for power and privilege is not restricted to history, not to feudal times and European territories alone, nor even to those conspicuous examples of exploitation of which the financial and industrial development of this country have given ample instances. It is visible in the pervasive assumption that it is natural for working classes, especially for those economically dependent, to live on a scale so palpably below that of the middle class as to render any substantial approximation in the standards of the clients of social agencies to those even of high grade artisans a well-nigh destructive social concept. Thus class consciousness, while preached by some as political doctrine, is practiced by others as part of the aristocratic tradition which still permeates Western life.

In public agencies the sponsoring group is theoretically the body politic, but actually the political party, held to its specific task by the

strength of articulate public opinion, which through its influence on the voter is the chief outside check upon the quality of public service. In shaping that public opinion within the several fields of civic interest the sponsors of voluntary agencies exercise one of their most important functions. Civic organizations and voluntary social agencies, more particularly their directing boards or trustees, constitute the active front in this task. The extent of their effectiveness depends on their own philosophies, their convictions and militancy, their influence as individuals, their direct or indirect control of the channels of public opinion, and most of all on their capacity to reconcile their own interests with the interests of the larger community, particularly of the masses of the people, the potential clients of social agencies.

This reconciliation is not easy. The biases of cultural tradition are not easily dissipated from within. A few unusual men and women in every community succeed in reorienting themselves to a perspective stripped of tradition and habit, and these have been, by and large, the great leaders in social reform and public welfare, to whom belongs the major credit for whatever achievements social service may have attained beyond the giving of alms and the sheltering of orphans.

Dependence on these leaders has become less assuring in recent years for a number of reasons. The time-honored motivations of social work—charitable impulses, pity, religious precepts—seem inadequate for the scope of present-day social work, with its technical case work, social security, progressive education, labor reforms, low-cost housing, venereal clinics, recreation grounds, and folk dancing. The very numbers of clients served by dispensaries, relief agencies, children's courts, medical social work departments and settlements, to mention but a few agencies, preclude the kind of stimulation that comes from personal service rendered man to man and from which the charitable member of the more favored classes in the past has gained conviction and derived the driving force for so much of the lay leadership. The spirit of the day is, moreover, one of specialization, of trained and expert services in all professional fields. Thus the citizen philanthropist has come to share his one-time charitable activities with a new, paid, professional group; he shares the task of managing policies and administration with the executive and has practically turned over to the "worker" the task of direct service to the client.

The social work executive is the second and in these days often more conspicuous representative of the agency through which the social responsibility for meeting needs is exercised. He may be either the directing officer of a voluntary agency or a public servant. In the latter case he is in much the same situation as any other public servant, balancing technical demands against considerations of public policy and the accepted im-

plications of party organization in politics. As public opinion becomes sensitive to the importance of technical performance, the public servant is enabled to advance the criteria of service. Thus, for example, because of the progressive public recognition of the priority of technical competence, education and medical care have attained in many places as high standards under governmental auspices as they have attained under voluntary management. In the field of social work there are perhaps two additional factors of diminishing importance, namely, that the criteria of social service have been worked out chiefly in the voluntary agencies and that the recognition of technical proficiency of the performance of the public official is conditioned somewhat on its conforming with the criteria defined in voluntary social work.

The executive of the voluntary agency in social work has in many ways an even more difficult task than the public servant. Frequently he must live on a diet of paradoxes and in the midst of conflicting interests and points of view. He represents the agency, is chosen by its directors, accepts the task of carrying out its policies; he has to that extent a formal mandate and a moral obligation. He knows that the agency is representative of the community as a whole, expresses its conscience and practices its will; he knows that his board is representative of that community only nominally, for the community has not clearly articulated its will or translated it into policy or chosen them as its representative; the agency as an actual organization and as managed by particular people is representative of the community, not demonstrably by conscious choice clearly expressed, but by assumption only and only as long as it and the directors carry out what seems to be the community will. But the executive knows that the extent of identity of agency policy and social desire is a question of interpretation. Who, then, shall interpret it—who can judge? The donor to whom appeal is made for support? Hardly, for he reponds to sales technique. The client? He seeks particular benefits for himself; not, at the moment, for the public. The board members? They carry out family and cultural traditions of the economically and socially favored few and of a civilization which changes faster in dynamics than in concepts. There is the public weal as a criterion of interpretation, but what that weal is and how to attain are points on which political, social, and economic theories are least in agreement. In fact not only is there difficulty in finding a basis of interpretation, but also there are actually conflicts and direct opposition. Client, directors, field workers of the agency, public press, political parties, churches, and nationality groups have held contrary and often militantly opposed views on what to give, to whom, when, and how generously; whether the worthy and deserving are always synonymous with the politically sound and church-going; how far democracy and freedom extend with regard to the

exercise of free speech and assembly and the use of an agency's facilities; whether charity and social work include overhead; whether social work is a professional pursuit or the exercise of personal virtue, man to man, from helper to succored.

The executives must in the end take responsibility for the interpretation of the objectives of the agency, which, while not arbitrary, is not dictated by any of the conflicting interests; he must, beyond that, attempt to inform his multiform public of facts and situations that determine the need for the work of his agency, find a common denominator of the interests involved, and advance the objectives of the agency beyond the static purpose to a changing goal as defined by changing conditions. The further such an analysis proceeds, the more it would seem that the executive of a social agency must qualify as a superman and the more his deficiencies might seem justly to be condoned. There is, however, the ineluctable fact that he must represent the interest of the poor and the defenseless first and foremost; that his professional status, preparation, and daily concerns impose an obligation of leadership, courage, and intellectual penetration; that if he does not lead, define, and stimulate, he cannot serve.

Generally speaking, the caliber of the social work of a community can be expressed in terms of the character of the executives of its important social agencies. This is true even when lay members contribute much of the leadership or have found and developed it. The guidance given to social work in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County by its professional executives as a whole has not brought the character of the work in this community to a place of conspicuous national excellence or placed technical performance of the agencies in the van of professional development. Much of it is palpably behind the times as judged by the technical standards of the present study. This is true, with some exceptions of course, of case work, group work, promotion, coördination and planning, interpretation, and experimentation. For this the responsibility lies deep in the nature of the community, with its conflicts, its "flocking apart," its harsh contrasts of cultures, and its social-economic stratification; it lies also in the limitations of its body of executives who have tended to take on the character of the community and to be ruled by it, instead of forming and molding it, at least within the field of social work.

The difficulties that beset the social work leader are, of course, legion, and the temptations are great. Combining coöperation and persuasion with militant leadership is not easy. Particularly, one cannot conduct an agency without the support and confidence of its directors and of public opinion; one cannot change ideas of directors or mold public opinion over night. Time marches at different speeds in different communities; working

against time is difficult, and more difficult still is the maintenance of a militant tempo, of aggressive advance, while patient understanding keeps time with the inherent speed of local culture. To render these difficulties more acute still another type of paradox emerges and haunts the executive and other workers—professionalism, as such. It is of the utmost importance to establish the professional status of the social worker in order to protect his activities from the intrusion of irrelevant interests of politics, denominationalism, and other social and economic schisms and biases. The resistance of public opinion to the acceptance of social work as a practice requiring professional fitness and preparation breeds a protective professionalism on the part of the worker—executive and staff—which may sometimes exceed the benefits inherent in professional specialization and alienate community, client, and novitiate. The executive may become leader by accepting instructions from his directors, he may then attempt to retain self-respect by emphasizing professional separatism, lose militancy under guise of philosophical acceptance of imperious Time, and expend his energy in busy controversies over minor issues of technique and organization.

The staff worker of the agency, as interpreter of its functions, has experienced a change of status in recent years so significant as to require more detailed consideration elsewhere. For the present he may be regarded as constituting, together with the executive, the new professional element in the practice of social work and, consequently, to be involved in the fundamental question of the sound division of labor and responsibilities between lay and professional personnel in social work.

THE PLACE OF LAY AND PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL

The policies of a social agency are laid down on the basis of prevalent public opinion. Within this framework of policies the tasks are performed by persons selected for the purpose by the members and officers of the agency. Up to a half century or more before our day there was no sharp demarkation between the officers of a philanthropic association and its employed personnel. This may have been due in large measure to the relatively small size of the tasks to be performed. Officers of the agency took executive responsibility and were merely aided in the performance of their duties, to the extent deemed necessary, by clerical employees and other assistants. Recent developments in technical standards of performance have established an increasingly definite demarkation between the professional or trained personnel and other members and officers of the social agency. In most instances, also, the dimensions of the task to be performed now require the full time of a staff frequently of large size, so that administrative responsibilities can no longer be carried as an avoca-

tional interest by the economically better situated members of the community. This increasing differentiation between professional and lay personnel among those responsible for the administration of social agencies has spread into other aspects than merely those of technical training and vocational, as against avocational, relationships. Some of these differences are of importance in defining the relative responsibilities of lay and professional members in the present-day social agency.

First, the professional social worker makes his living by his occupation, just as ministers, engineers, doctors, and lawyers make their living by the exercise of their professional skills. This implies that the professional social worker comes in the main from the middle and lower economic classes of society, in contrast with the lay leaders of social work, who, by and large, represent the upper economic ranks, including business and financial and economically advanced professional groups. Because of their special training for their tasks, much of which comes from the study of social sciences, the professional group tends to have political and social theories less conservative than those of the social leaders constituting the lay board members of social agencies. Because social work is their primary interest and because its practice is based on sociological, psychological, and economic principles to a greater degree than on religious motive or a purely philanthropic impulse, points of view and aspirations may differ concerning important points of social policy. Because much of the time they deal with individual clients with whom they must develop a confidential relationship if they are to be of service, a relation comes about as between professional social worker and client into which the lay sponsor of the social agency cannot gain direct admission, no matter how thoroughly philanthropic his interest, without endangering an essential and important confidential relationship similar to that which exists between physician, priest, and lawyer and their respective clients. All this leads to a paradoxical situation in which the lay person, as the true representative of the community's will and social aspiration and as the one particularly responsible for obtaining the necessary financial support for the social agency, particularly that financed from voluntary contributions, the one who lays down the general framework of policies and who is responsible for the very existence of the social agency, sees his sphere of activity and power increasingly diminished as higher standards of professional competence are introduced into the work of the agency. The stimulation for social work which comes to the layman from a direct perception of social conditions or of individual unhappiness of those needing help is decreased by the interposition of the professional worker, who in his confidential relationship keeps the layman in a sphere apart and retains the direct contact with the client for himself. No matter how much loss is involved in

this interposition between the one to be helped and the one who is willing to help and no matter how hard the professional worker tries to minimize this loss by the organization of case conferences and by devising a variety of means to retain the layman's opportunities for direct contact with conditions to be improved, the general tendency remains. A system of social work is being built up which clearly recognizes these limits and which must depend upon the intellectual and imaginative processes of the layman rather than upon the emotional response to direct human appeal.

The division of responsibility between layman and professional worker is no different on the whole in social work from what it is in other fields of endeavor. In the end it is the layman who decides the most important and fundamental questions in a civilized community. Constitutions and laws are made by elected representatives, who need not be and often are not lawyers; a political system or a form of government is adopted by individual voters who do not qualify as specialists in political science and government and whose acceptance or rejection of the most basic principles of organized life is based on judgment in which a minimum of expert knowledge of political science is involved. What determines in the end whether one is a good doctor or not a good doctor, pragmatically at least, is the judgment of the layman. In the financing of the functions of organized government from school systems to sanitation, from geodetic surveys to entomological experiments in departments of agriculture, the last word belongs to the layman who votes appropriations or refuses them. The existence of any private agency or groups of agencies is determined by the extent of the lay sentiment of the community concerning the desirability of such agencies, recreational, educational, or remedial, and concerning their financing and their recognized and approved objectives. The simple matter of providing financial support for a program of social work represents a profound social conviction rather than merely one of successful promotion. At any particular time or place a particular program or social agency may indeed owe its life to the expert manipulation of one or more persons of great conviction and leadership, but on the whole a social work program can be neither created nor killed except as the public opinion of the community and the tradition of many years permits or urges it.

This fundamental lay conviction, in which may be epitomized the entire cultural history of the community, may express itself through government action or through spontaneous and voluntary activities. Many differences arise as to the scope and character of activities to be undertaken under government and under voluntary auspices, but the impelling force behind these activities is social conviction expressed in certain patterns. Expert or professional persons may contribute leader-

ship, initiative, stimulation, and the creative impulse that may start a new form of service, as well as the skill in execution, the command of technical efficiency, and even the judgment of social values; but the essence of the values to be sought is in the general, lay community. Even when far-reaching or uprooting changes in program that bear the stamp of individual leadership and competency take place and when a special social interest or objective is clearly attributable to the expert or professional worker, the social impulse behind it is more akin to the motivation which impels the layman than to that which guides the specialist. The same person may indeed be both layman and specialist in the same field, representing in one case manifestation of social interest and impulse and in the other the artisan's special competency. When the importance of professional service is emphasized, therefore, whether it be in social work or in any other profession, it is the competence necessary for effective performance that is at the center of that idea rather than any greater virtue attaching to his choice of objectives. The community as a lay body decides that there shall be a church and what church it shall be. The minister performs the professional services in the church. It is the differences among the lay population that create those sectarian differences which make it possible for the minister to be an expert professional, to promulgate and expound one faith or another, even though no single layman may be on an equality with the minister in his command of the tenets and theology of the faith which he professes. The analogy carries through medicine, politics, law, engineering, and social work also.

Whatever be the special skill or the social vision of the professional worker, by which he hopes to guide and advance public, that is, lay, opinion, as an agency worker he must recognize the superior authority of that lay public as defining the purposes and sphere of his professional activities. With the growth of the problem of economic security to the dimensions attained in the past half dozen years, the relative importance of professional skill as compared with lay public opinion and popular objective must decline; or, to put it differently, professional skill must comprise a wide understanding of the importance of economic, social, and political opinions and intentions held by the general public.

Much of what is proposed as a social work program for Pittsburgh and Allegheny County in the following pages depends upon a clear understanding of what constitutes the proper scope of action of lay and professional personnel in the field of social work. It is, for example, absurd to assume that a professional worker *ipso facto* represents greater wisdom, wider knowledge, more sympathetic understanding, or more general ability than does the lay person. Undoubtedly much that the professional worker does as a routine part of his job can be done equally well by any

lay person who can give the requisite amount of time and energy. It is equally unsound to assume that any lay person is more truly representative of the community, as such, than is the professional worker. Each represents the community in a different aspect—one as an expression of its intentions and the other as its instrument for carrying them out. The professional worker must take his assignment as a prior obligation upon his thought, time, and interest, while the lay person, who may be professional in some other field of activity, may regard his social work assignment as a self-imposed task which must share its demand upon his time with other interests, duties, and avocations. To the lay person social work is not so inclusive an obligation. He may, in fact, be impelled by a variety of motives, some of which may be contradictory and none of which need perforce have the same exclusive claim upon his interests as do the motives of the professional worker.

The impulse to carry out mandates of religious tenets as contained in the Christian and Jewish religious traditions renders the interest in the practice of social work frequently a by-product of religious observance. As such it may emphasize redemptive purposes, orienting social work to the salvation of the client; it may emphasize charity as a duty—a virtue bearing on the salvation of the worker as distinguished from that of the client. The church of which the worker is a devoted member may conduct social work as part of its religious program of redemption and moral guidance; it may also conduct such a program as one of the means of strengthening the church itself and the religious aspirations of its membership.

Interest in social work may attach itself to interests other than religious interests. Nationality groups, neighborhood associations, industrial personnel management, or even political parties may undertake social work activities in this way. Service given under such circumstances tends naturally to be oriented to the primary interests of the group rather than to the needs of the client. There are other motives also, as we have seen: a general tradition that social recognition results from the practice of philanthropy, an unconscious sense of power that attaches itself to acts of bounty, and the tenacious loyalty that may develop to some particular group or society under whose auspices a traditional activity has grown up.

The professional social worker is not without these motives, but with him they necessarily become secondary to the professional task itself. As long as he is an honest servant of his cause the client or group served is his primary interest. It is to his client's welfare that church, nationality, social position, or group loyalty must subserve. In so far as he is the responsible executive of the agency for social service it is incumbent upon him to utilize any motives that may be yoked to the service of the client, whether for remedial or preventive measures and to avail himself of inter-

ests such as church, race, social aspiration, or personal ambition of any group in a community may make available for the purpose.

If it could be assumed that no conflict exists between the interest of the client as represented by the professional social worker on one hand and, on the other hand, the community interests as represented by the sundry groups of lay persons comprising social agencies, churches, neighborhood associations, and other groups, there would be no problem concerning the relation of lay workers and professional workers. They would supplement and enhance each other's contribution and render the social agency the channel through which their combined forces could be devoted to their full extent for the benefit of client and society. Such conflicts, however, do exist. They exist in all communities. More exist in some than in others. They are more obvious and present greater differences in some parts of the community than in others. In many ways they reflect the special characteristics of one community in contrast to other communities. The plans of social work organization proposed in this volume assume that lay and professional persons agree on the general purposes to be served by the social agencies and on the corresponding agency policies; that the lay person is responsible for obtaining the community's support in the form of goodwill, coöperation, finances, publicity, and so forth; that the professional worker conducts the details of the service and carries the continuing responsibility of interpreting the nature and results of that service to the lay public—both to the board and to the general public; that he gives to the community an accounting of his activities, both professional and financial, through the lay sponsors; and that lay and professional workers permit the agency to carry on its work on the theory that it is a primary activity rather than one incidental to the religious, the racial, or the nationality interests to which in their individual capacities they may have a primary allegiance.

PUBLIC AND VOLUNTARY RESPONSIBILITY

Any comprehensive plan for the organization of social services in a community must be based on some principle of division of labor between official bodies, tax-supported and expending taxpayers' moneys, and agencies representing voluntary initiative and expending, in the main, contributions obtained from voluntary sources. There is little disagreement as to who is responsible for financing and promoting that part of social work which lies in the field of propaganda and the promotion of social action. This is necessarily a field for voluntary initiative. As to other fields, theories are not so self-evident.

The literature of social work is heavily weighted with discussions of what shall be the function of public authorities and what the scope of

private philanthropy. Theoretical assumptions and practical considerations have gone into a variety of plans for a division of responsibility between these two. All are agreed that society in some form has an obligation to those in distress. All agree that a sense of social obligation on the part of the individual citizen is a necessary condition for realizing this social responsibility. To some, however, this sense of social responsibility takes on the form of charitable impulse and philanthropic intention, while to others civic duty to be carried out through governmental agencies is its outstanding expression.

Often in the promotion of one or another theory we forget that one cannot speak of basic and permanent principles but only of principles applicable to a given type of civilization or social structure. In the same places and under the sway of the same racial and national culture principles of action with respect to the distinction between public and private responsibility for relief have changed with changing conditions. In the more ancient civilizations, including the Greek, the Roman, and the Hebrew, the state's obligation was recognized as primary, and the duties of the citizen were defined in both civic and ethical terms with the emphasis, however, on the organized responsibility of the commonwealth. As the political existence of these states disappeared, the function of helping the distressed fell back to the individual, whether alone or in groups, and later was taken over by the Church. For more than a thousand years the Christian Church was the exponent and channel of organized philanthropy in Western civilization. After the fifteenth century the competence of the Church to handle charity in a way that was socially sound as well as individually satisfying began to be questioned. First, independent municipalities on the Continent experimented with setting up municipal authorities for taking over from the churches a field of activity which confused charity with repression, the succor of the poor with the suppression of the work-shy. The Elizabethan Poor Law with its sequel of three centuries of patchwork legislation represented this same transference of the handling of relief from voluntary initiative, mostly under Church control, to local governments and tax-supported bodies. By the beginning of the nineteenth century public opinion became aware of the fact that in England it was the public bodies that had become irresponsible and undisciplined rather than private charities and that the social consequences of a loose and heedless poor law were a serious menace to public economy and social policy. The charity-organization movement, inaugurated in London in the sixties of that century, was still in part a reaction registered by thoughtful leaders of public opinion to the chaotic organization of poor relief under public authorities; it was a recognition

also of the fact that voluntary efforts were no more coördinated, systematic, or purposeful than were the efforts of the public bodies.

On the Continent and in the beginning of the twentieth century in Great Britain the basic responsibility for the control and in great part also for the financing of poor relief by organized government was recognized. For reasons that may be found in the peculiar cultural history of the United States, where tremendous premium was offered to individual initiative, luck, and independence, philanthropy also became almost exclusively the function of individual initiative. There was relatively little public responsibility for the relief of those in economic distress in this country prior to the twentieth century. At different times in the nineteenth century the need for greater participation, more control, and the introduction of better standards of performance with respect to public welfare made themselves felt. The almshouses first received this concentrated attention; the care of the insane and the service to neglected and dependent children followed. In the latter part of that century a number of state public-welfare departments was established.

During the first few decades of our own century governmental concern took the form of discussion and promotion of pension and insurance systems: compensation insurance first, then mothers' assistance, old-age pensions, and some abortive attempts at health insurance. The last half-dozen years have ushered in an entirely new situation, which, despite its short duration, may already be regarded as a new era. For this era, whether it is conceived as permanent or as merely of long duration, a plan for the division of labor between public and voluntary agencies must be in keeping with the facts and probabilities. We must draw the lesson from the history of poor relief that this division of labor is written by the hand of time, not by that of eternity. It is a question, therefore, whether we can decipher the script in which was penned the theory applicable to our own day.

While on the basis of factual inquiry it cannot be determined whether a relief system ought to be private or public, sectarian or nonsectarian, motivated for redemption or for social adjustment, it may be possible to judge from facts what is probable or even inevitable. Regarded in the light of ethical choice, religious duty, Church program, or political philosophy a preference for one or another system or a combination of both may seem logical. Facts, however, do not point to a choice except as they reflect pragmatic possibilities for a given time, place, or situation.

Thus, the financial burden of supporting those in economic need today exceeds by a wide margin anything that experience justifies us to expect private contributions to carry. Only the taxing power of government, whether local, state, or federal, can provide the necessary funds for such a

large task.² To all intents and purposes, therefore, economic relief is bound to be a public obligation, a tax burden—not necessarily because it ought to be, but because it cannot help but be. A large part of this burden has been converted into security legislation. It provides at present for only a limited number of the categories of dependency. Eventually, however, in theory at least, such provisions may cover the entire gamut of conditions: those due to death, incapacity, unemployment or illness of the head of the family, old age, and physical and mental defects. A few types of dependents, including those not technically eligible for public support, remain as the probable burden of private philanthropy. The free choice of private individuals or groups to give and of others to receive philanthropic assistance from special groups or from sectarian sources is likely to continue as one reason for voluntary financing of relief; this is usually in the form of institutional care of children or aged. Other limited areas, as yet unprovided for by public funds or for other reasons suitable for voluntary financing, will be mentioned later. Generally speaking, however, present trends and conditions point inevitably to the assumption of practically the entire relief burden by public authorities, local, state, and federal.

Compared with economic assistance, other forms of social work are quantitatively small and philosophically of a different complexion. The great and long-standing controversy concerning the proper division of responsibility in social work has been predominantly in the fields of relief, and it need not for the moment be discussed in relation to other, less controversial areas.

NEW PERSPECTIVES

What no social scientist or observer can be certain of is whether conditions of his day, no matter how striking and novel, constitute a passing phenomenon or the beginning of new things. Obviously, the perspective of the future is, nevertheless, determined by one or the other of these views. Planning for the future must attempt to weigh new phenomena in order to decide whether they represent merely slight changes in the old order or the first steps in a new order. At the height of the boom period prior to 1929 many economic observers wrote that a new era of consumption as well as of production was at hand and that expansion in every direction was the natural concomitant of the new era. At the beginning of the depression, particularly of the catastrophic tumbling of employment, it was thought by many that we were facing merely a temporary phenomenon, the recurrence of a cycle, and that recovery was only a matter of

² Statistical data in support of this statement will be found elsewhere. Cf. *infra*, chap. x.

time. There is no inevitable cogency in the facts to show whether a new, prolonged, and sadder economic era is before us or whether recovery is merely slower and less widespread than in other cycles. For the planning of social work it is quite evident that the probabilities of the future economic situation are of prime importance. Whatever should turn out to be the eventual fact, changes in the immediate field of social work have occurred that must enter into a practical community program.

In the first place, the measures that have been taken to meet the conditions of the depression, with its unprecedented federal financing, the assumption of governmental obligations, the establishment of federal, state, and local public bodies for the functions of relief, public works, and made work of various kinds, have made the problems of relief and of economic conditions associated in the minds of the general population as never before. The business of relief, heretofore the concern of a relatively small group of persons associated with philanthropic activities and some public welfare departments (and of course, the clients served by them), has become the concern of political parties, voters, and citizens. Theoretical questions, practical problems, and administrative difficulties have become the possession of the lay public no less than of the social agency, the executive, the board member, and the public official. The very size of the problem makes it no longer possible for this combined relief, employment, labor, and finance muddle to be the technical specialty of a few. Conflicting philosophies with relation to wages, employment, standards of relief, division of labor between voluntary agencies and public agencies, and other old questions are no longer the subjects of exclusively professional discussion. They are material of public interest which newspaper, radio, and the screen handle no less extensively or enthusiastically than they do celebrations, disasters, and murders. No important plans within the major field of social work that are concerned with economic welfare can any longer be made with which only agencies and officials, only contributors and professional social workers need be satisfied; public opinion now shares theory and practice in this field. This is a new situation, a new perspective in our century, and one that planners must take cognizance of in every phase of the social work program. In this respect we have a pale repetition of the historical position of relief in the biblical theocracy, in ancient Rome and ancient Athens, and in some periods of the more closely-related history of England.

The situation created by this process of reclamation of lay interest in at least a large portion of social work becomes particularly difficult to handle because of the reverse process which had been characteristic of social work during the two or three decades of the present century. The most prominent and professionally sponsored interests of social work have

been concerned with technical specialization. Competency of the practitioner has been made increasingly contingent upon special preparation. The creation of a professional attitude, with all its corollaries, had its most manifest expression in the creation of a self-conscious body of practitioners which gradually set itself apart from the general lay public by the same tokens as other professions, law, medicine, ministry, and so forth, had set themselves apart from the matrix of the general public. The extent to which the technical specialization has been carried is best known in the field of social case work, which has, for that purpose, drawn freely on psychology, medicine, law, and psychiatry and which, somewhat unconsciously, has set up an increasing pragmatic paradox between the interests of the individual and those of the community. More recently professional workers in the field of leisure time activities, drawing principally upon educational psychology and the more speculative aspects of political science, have plowed the initial furrows in the cultivation of the technical specialty of group work. In lesser degree, perhaps, community organization, so-called, and social publicity and interpretation have followed the same general trend. The task of *rapprochement* to a lay partnership becomes theoretically difficult, psychologically uncomfortable, and demands a certain retraining of the perspective of the leaders in social work. The difficulty is further enhanced by the fact that that portion of the lay public which had been most directly under the influence of professional leadership, such as board members of agencies, have themselves come to espouse the professional point of view and find it nearly as difficult to conceive of themselves as members of the general public as do the more professional practitioners. In a reëxamination of programs of social agencies and of the technical policies pursued by the agencies one must face, therefore, a solid front of professional and lay sponsors who are conditioned by two or three decades of technical orientation and who find it difficult, therefore, to take on a new perspective in the light of changed conditions, whether they be temporary or permanent.

These apparently academic difficulties create very practical problems to the social work planner of today. They are made more difficult still by obstructions that would seem even more academic, but which yet have a tangible influence on the field of social work. Changes have taken place in the economic and political thought of the masses and of the leaders. The latter, with the exception of relatively minor groups, have become more liberal, or at least more realistic, and therefore, under the whip of manifest economic changes, more sympathetic to a reëxamination of the basic principles that determine the functions of social agencies and the relation of donor, practitioner, client, and citizen. Conscious particularly of the increased financial burden represented by social work, they no longer re-

gard the sharing of responsibility with government as quite so abhorrent as it used to appear. The progressive rate of taxation has forced upon donors particularly, both individuals and corporations, a recognition that tax payment and voluntary contributions have certain social characteristics in common. With this liberalized understanding has come, however, a tendency to restrict contributions and a willingness, therefore, to prune the scope of activity of voluntary social agencies as taxation for purposes of public relief and social security increases.

A different, but closely related, change has taken place in the economic-political thought of the social work practitioners which may become an important factor for the future of social work. What is generally referred to as the "rank and file" movement has emphasized in the field of social work a phase of social philosophy which, though never entirely absent from the field, has not, in the past, had comparable influence. Its principal characteristics may be listed as follows:

1. A sense of greater caste or class identity between client and social worker, both of them being recognized as wage earners, as subject to economic fluctuations in the control of which they have no part, as representing a close identity in standards of living, and as presenting similar contrasts, that is, between masses and leaders in the economic and social sense. To a considerable degree this fact is rooted in the historical events by which the vast body of emergency relief investigators were drawn from the unemployed white-collar personnel, especially among the young and the recent graduates from colleges.

2. The contrast between the new employee in social work and the established professional, especially as the latter is represented in the executive and supervisory personnel, with respect to salaries, working conditions, security of tenure, and other important phases of employment presents striking features in many communities. To the degree to which the new worker felt a growing identity with the unemployed masses a gulf tended to separate him from the established executive and supervisor, owing to the latter's closer personal relations with board members and with the wealthier component of the community. The employer and the employee contrast became accentuated and so, within the field of professional workers, the older practitioners with administrative responsibilities would seem to be identified with the employer status, while the numerically preponderant practitioner takes on the employee psychology. All this has been emphasized as the new workers have begun formal organization, are becoming affiliated with the trade union movement, and seem to threaten conflict between the management of social agencies, public or private, and their practitioners.

3. As do all forms of social thought, so social work also has had to reckon with the theoretical questions arising out of the Russian form of government. These theoretical discussions have become important because of the parallel interest awakened at the same time in the clients, the unemployed of the country. To a minor degree the occurrence or threat of riots by the unemployed, especially in the earlier periods of the depression, and the similar threatened or actual collective acts by employees of public agencies in the latter period have added to the established inner conflict within the operations of social agencies.

Changes in opinion and philosophy, in the degree to which hopes for a better world are sanguine or pessimistic, and in the sharpening or mellowing of class conflicts get their momentum in considerable measure from the size of the tasks that are being performed: the immense relief burden, permanent and emergent; the increasing system of state pensions to dependent mothers, to the blind, and to the aged; the unyielding statistics on unemployment; the increasing number of jobless and schoolless youth; the unsolved problems of public financing, local and state, and the uncertain participation of the Federal Government give body, weight, and force to a restless and dissatisfied public opinion. These things must be borne in mind in the planning of social work for any community.

THE SPECIAL PROBLEM OF PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY COUNTY

One general understanding, even though of local significance only, underlies all recommendations and proposals submitted in the present report: the services to be rendered are planned for Allegheny County as a whole, rather than for the city of Pittsburgh alone. This understanding is interpreted as meaning not merely extensions of service into the convenient sections of the county, contiguous and easily accessible to the city, but basic planning in which the needs of the entire county are considered and in which any restrictions or concentrations favoring one area rather than another are to be justified either by unavoidable, practical considerations or by the more intensified needs of certain areas. The distribution of services at present is relatively centralized in the city of Pittsburgh. Practically no other part of the county receives services per unit population comparable with those rendered in Pittsburgh. Only part of this one-sided distribution is due to greater need in the city. Thus, for example, the relatively larger number of cases of unemployment relief in Pittsburgh, as compared with the rest of the county, is due to the fact that a considerable portion of the county is composed of self-supporting farming population or commuting population of the better economic stratum which works in the city and resides in the county. The urban areas in Allegheny County, that is, those areas in which the industrial employment and general conditions of living are comparable with the city of Pittsburgh, receive relatively less of these services than is received by the city proper.

There has been a tendency to assume that a community which pays for services shall receive services; that a direct relationship exists between an area from which sources of support are raised and the area within which services are to be rendered. This assumption has been strengthened by the further theory that support for services and the supply of those services are conditioned upon the community's understanding of the needs and the importance of meeting them. This theory is held despite the fact that the

entire history of social work is replete with efforts of pioneers and disciples to persuade an unwilling community to recognize and assume responsibilities arising from living conditions of its less fortunate members, which the economically privileged stratum of the community has neither the occasion nor the natural urge to associate with or to observe. It is still held, despite the evidence of stranded communities and of stranded neighborhoods in larger communities in which greater needs are combined with lesser resources.

The sponsors of the present study, while assuming that the entire county shall be responsible so far as possible for the support of its social work has adhered, nevertheless, to the position that services should be determined primarily by needs rather than by local availability of financial resources. It is understood, therefore, that, allowing for the fact that technical and practical considerations will inevitably retard sudden changes, an equitable distribution of services is to be planned throughout the county in accordance with the distribution of needs, rather than with the distribution of financial capacity to pay. Moreover, it is not certain whether the data now available give a true indication of the spread of financial resources. City and county are interrelated with respect to residence and place of business, with respect to location of industrial plants and of owners or officials, with respect to purchasing power and trade centers, and with respect to the reciprocal use made by city and county residents of the respective advantages offered. Thus, only the conception of a larger unit, including both city and nonmunicipal county area, would seem to give a practical basis for a permanent plan of social work operations. A striking example of this, typical because of its frequent occurrence, is the fact that entire political subdivisions of the county, boroughs, or municipalities may consist of a population so overwhelmingly of the laboring class and so completely dependent upon a single industry or two as to render any concept of the self-sufficiency of the community palpably absurd.

This general intention of the sponsors of the study to regard the county as a whole as the unit for planning is, moreover, not merely a theoretical position held by leaders of social work but also corresponds to a movement of considerable standing for the consolidation of the entire county into a metropolitan unit. This consolidation almost became effective by legislative action some two or three years ago. The failure of the enactment of that law may be regarded as purely accidental.³ It would seem inevitable that sometime in the near future, quite apart from any intentions or plans of those interested in social work alone, some plan of consolidation of the county as a political unit will be effected, so clear and strong is the movement in this direction. General recognition of the expensiveness of the

³ See *infra*, chap. ii.

present government set-up, as well as of its inefficiency and inadequacy, have gradually impressed themselves upon the population of both city and county.

These then are the basic assumptions which will be taken for granted in the discussion of the details of the organization of social work contemplated in the following pages: First, that social work is conceived in the light of a primary task rather than as something incidental to other interests—religious, racial, or geographical.

The second assumption relates to the differences of responsibility between the professional and lay workers, the establishment of the agency and of its general policies being recognized as the extension through lay citizens of community purposes, while the execution of those services is left to the professional personnel whose training and primary concern with social work are taken for granted.

The third assumption is that the services comprised in social work constitute a social responsibility with respect to which the concepts of “public” or “voluntary” are relatively pragmatic and in which the division of labor between tax-supported agencies and voluntary agencies must be determined by what is most practical and what makes for greatest security for those in need. The responsibility for providing these services is recognized as “voluntary” or “public” in external form only; the differentiation is not based on the distinction between what is optional and what is compulsory.

A fourth consideration involves a realistic estimate of the importance of changes in public opinion and professional thought on matters of social and political philosophy; of the relative importance and permanence of new economic conditions; and of the extent of future unemployment and its related problems of relief and social insurance. Finally, as of particular importance to Pittsburgh and to Allegheny County, we have the interrelations of city and county, the peculiarities of Allegheny County as a congeries of communities both separate and interwoven in community consciousness, economic and cultural aspirations, and political activities.

GENERAL PROCEDURE OF THE STUDY

The central purpose to which the present study was dedicated is the formulation of a general plan for the organization of social work in Pittsburgh and in Allegheny County that would take account of the actual needs of the community and make the most effective use of available resources. The individual agencies and institutions already existing were examined with a view to determining what part they might play in an integrated program for the future. In so far as the standard of performance of an individual organization was considered, it was done with an eye to

its possible usefulness in a future program rather than to the quality of its work or the validity of its policies in the past. Questions of technical efficiency, of organizational duplication or overlapping, of uncoordinated work and unsound relationships were studied from the standpoint of the effect which they might have upon the utilization of a given organization in a new plan. If inefficiency or extravagance were found or if the existence of an agency did not seem justified by the conditions of the community or by the needs to be met, these findings were considered not in the light of a reflection upon the given agency but rather as bearing upon its place in a future program. In Part Two of this report, which deals more directly with this practical phase of social work organization, the attempt is made to retain in focus principally those facts, descriptions, or evaluations that are pertinent to the formulation of a practical plan for carrying on social work in the community under present conditions and in keeping with the trend of the times. Because in some respects, the working out of a new plan implies changes in the existing organization of social work even to the extent of eliminations, mergers, and the creation of new agencies, some of the steps by which the proposed program might be effected are described, and occasionally alternative plans or procedures are suggested. In so far as possible the plans submitted are viewed as constituting an integral whole. But this does not mean that the community would be expected to accept all or nothing in order to effect any improvement in its social work or that alternatives, either in detail or in major decisions, might not be equally justified in principle or even equally practicable. The proposals represent what the staff and their advisers thought best in the light of their own experience, and of the social and economic complexion of the day. Traditions are disregarded when they appear to be useless vestiges of a bygone day or when they are kept alive by the destructive reluctance of those who will not recognize that times and conditions have changed and that institutions must adjust themselves accordingly.

A very substantial part of what appears in the proposed social work program merely describes the present program. The proposed plan is not entirely a substitute for what is being done today. In the main the work and practices as they were found by the Study were sound, constructive, and in keeping with the direction of progress. If merely the recommended changes were to be enumerated, a very short statement would suffice. The significance of changes, however, is not clear without knowledge of what is to be changed and to what end. The description of a contemplated system may, moreover, be a more useful document to guide the steps of those working toward it than merely an enumeration of recommendations would be. The order of the steps to be taken may have to be changed in

compliance with difficulties and new developments that cannot be foreseen in their entirety. The proposed plan for social work organization is, therefore, not a new plan, but combines existing activities with some new ones and is based on the development of social work in the community during the past quarter-century.

The nature and extent of the community needs that social work may meet are, generally speaking, beyond the immediate control of the community. The particular objectives of the program are defined by the cultural heritage of the community which determines its aspirations and ideals. The instruments by which social work objectives are pursued, namely, the agencies and institutions, are more amenable to deliberate control, to planning and coördination, to change in structure and in program, than are the other factors that create the needs or mold its objectives. But even these are not fully within control, for they themselves are the products and manifest expressions of a social heritage which still defines the powers by which community life is manipulated and guided. It is this imperfect control of the conditions which determines the community needs and resources that renders the inauguration of an integrated social work program an uncertain adventure and at best a slow process. It is this same fact that makes it necessary to exert a degree of self-discipline, intellectual honesty, and sincere motivation beyond that ordinarily given to public affairs. Whether the structure of social work proposed here, with its modest changes and adjustments, exceeds the community's capacity for action depends almost entirely upon the degree of its determination to exercise this self-discipline. Whether the exact form of organization and the particular changes proposed are fully accepted and minutely followed is less important than is the recognition of the need for change and the determination that these changes must be oriented to the best interest of the less-advantaged portion of the community.

Changes in those factors that determine community needs depend not upon social work initiative but rather on the development of a socialized view and on enlightened action in industrial and economic organization and in cultural aspirations. This is a national and even international problem for which Allegheny County cannot accept responsibility. Even if it wished to do so, Allegheny County could not establish utopian social relations and a local economic life that would conflict with the economic organization of the nation as a whole. It can be responsible only for making the effects of our particular civilization no more serious and disrupting within its own borders than they need be or than they are in other communities of the land.

Certain of the material, governmental, and cultural facts that surround life in Allegheny County are assumed as relatively permanent—permanent

at any rate so far as any immediate planning of a local social work program need take into account. The geographical facts of Allegheny County are among these relatively permanent facts. The hills and valleys, the rivers and underground resources in coal, oil, and gas, and the conditions which this topography imposes upon expansion, communication, industrial development, and residential distribution, with Pittsburgh as the trade and communal center of the area, may be regarded for our purposes as permanent.

Psychologically Pittsburgh's position as an industrial center, whose products have a nation-wide distribution and whose activities, therefore, depend on the fluctuations of national demand and continental prosperity, renders the leaders of economic, financial, and social life in the community national-market conscious. The community that surrounds the plants, and the homes of the economic arbiters represent merely part of the routine that surrounds production and national distribution. Economic activity in the Pittsburgh district does not rise out of the community but is merely anchored there by accidents of geography and natural resources. The community is secondary. The producing plant is primary, and the more conscious relations of the producing plant are with a national market, rather than with people in Pittsburgh and in Allegheny County. This fact must be recognized as affecting the nature of participation, the sense of responsibility, and the extent to which spontaneous interest in the affairs of the community may be expected; and it is a relatively permanent fact.

Probably the size of the community in terms of population is practically static. The rate of increase in the population of the county as a whole has diminished to a point where it is not far removed from a probable stable population. Changes occur chiefly in the form of shifts between Pittsburgh and the suburban area. Because of the unique and unyielding topographical character of Allegheny County even these shifts are subject to much greater limitations than are shifts in most communities.

The fact that Pittsburgh and Allegheny County are capable of supporting the social, educational, and cultural objectives and aspirations of their population is also for any immediate purposes permanent. Despite excursions and alarms the industrial future of the Pittsburgh area is reasonably assured for a sufficiently long time and the "value added to raw material" within its area is sufficiently great to leave no doubt that the support of all public expenditures in the interest of a high standard of economic and cultural life is comfortably within the means of the community. On the other hand, the trend of the time indicates a decreasing rate in the expansion of this economic and financial power and the need, therefore, for long-time planning in community economy. Other communities are advancing in steel production, and a comparative regression in the national status of this community is possible.

The rate at which religious, racial, nationalistic, and social stratifications are obliterated is unfortunately so slow that the practical mind hesitates to take democracy as a basis of social planning in Allegheny County too seriously. Social cleavages are based on groupings by wealth, by depth of local family roots, by church affiliations (not only by denominations, but even by individual churches within denominations), by the number of generations since the citizens arrived in this country, by the nationality of their ancestors, and by similar factors that have loomed large in the stratification of community life and in the creation of factions and conflicts in the cultural life of the community. It is impossible to expect that an employer will cease to recognize a social cleavage between himself and his employee; that Protestant will no longer be aware that his neighbor is Catholic; that the foreign-born will not be regarded as of inferior cultural and social status; that the Negro will be offered advantages equal to those of his white neighbor; or that the poor will be regarded as only accidentally different from the rich. Yet it must be assumed that deliberate efforts will be made by the community at least to diminish the sharpness by which these stratifications are established. If a common ideal of democratic American life is not sufficient to serve the purpose, a recognition of the practical danger involved in a continued keeping aloof from those considered on a lower level will have to be recognized. The exclusion of the foreign-born and even of their descendants of the second and third generations, from equal participation in social life is creating political and industrial schisms that may prove increasingly dangerous. The persistent efforts of employing organizations to discourage collective action among employees is gradually being recognized as having possibly greater danger than would deliberately encouraged collective bargaining. The coal industry, admittedly one of the most important in the economic life of the community, has already recognized this fact. Some of the other major industries regret that an insufficiently competent leadership in the field of labor organization makes the building up of a situation similar to that in the coal industry uncertain and slow. Within this phase of social life, which determines the background of a program of social work, deliberate effort has been started, and further effort might be counted upon.

Despite the tremendous importance of the social, economic, and physical factors that underlie social needs and objectives of social action, or perhaps because of them, the planners of community social work must concentrate on the nearer and more amenable factors for future improvement. These will be discussed in the second part of the present volume, while the pages immediately succeeding these are devoted to a consideration of the more general economic and social background that underlies the community life of Pittsburgh and of Allegheny County.

CHAPTER II

ALLEGHENY COUNTY AS A PLACE IN WHICH TO LIVE

Physical setting and historical development of Allegheny County.—
The nature of county communities.—The manufacturing towns.—
The mining villages.—Residence communities.—The townships.—
Community individualism.—The communities and local government.—
The educational system.—Pittsburgh and the county.

IN ONE way or another urban Pittsburgh is relatively well known as an industrial, financial, and commercial center and as a place in which to live.¹ Surveys, Chamber of Commerce publicity, information circulated by

¹ With negligible editorial changes this chapter is the contribution of Elizabeth T. Alling, of the staff. The following quotation from a prefatory statement in her manuscript is pertinent:

"The writer accepted responsibility for making this study of the county area realizing that only an extensive and impressionistic study was possible. Counties, generally, are no-man's-lands in research. Allegheny County is no exception. In published reports it is overshadowed by Pittsburgh, as an indistinguishable part of 'the Pittsburgh district, or of 'Western Pennsylvania'. It is, on the other hand, an accidental grouping of 125 separate communities with few central and variously kept local records. The writer had reason, not only to understand and regret the small amount of previous research, but to appreciate doubly any which existed.

"The dearth of central sources of information proved a handicap that was not without advantages. It has reduced the amount of uniform information which can be presented or safely totaled. It made it necessary to go to local sources in the various communities. In these direct contacts one got considerably more than the factual information—understanding of situations and a cross section of points of view, more important in this than in some other types of surveys.

"Any description of Allegheny County within the limits of time available for acquaintance and research, and within the space limits of this volume, will seem to be an oversimplification. The report represents synthesis and selection. Particular facts included may seem trivial and unimportant. They were selected from a much larger amount of material as illustrative of or as throwing light on situations. Because information and points of view were given with an apparent assumption of a confidential relationship, quotations not previously made public have been used anonymously. Every possible effort has been made to omit reports which were not corroborated by other evidence even though scientifically adequate supporting facts were not always at hand to present. If, in places, insufficient information has resulted in false inferences, it is hoped that a more thorough study of those subjects will in some way be found possible in order to correct the mistake.

"There has been an attempt to represent the actual balance between favorable and unfavorable conditions in the county. In a study which received as an initial charge that of finding areas of unmet needs, no explanation seems necessary for what may sometimes appear to be greater detail in the portrayal of the unfavorable."

social agencies, and a variety of other channels have brought to the interested public much information concerning Pittsburgh's life. A few individual communities in Allegheny County, such as Homestead, for example, have received similar public attention. By contrast the other county communities and their nature, problems, and characteristics are relatively unknown, and the way in which they may affect social work planning has not before been made manifest. In the remainder of this volume Pittsburgh will, because of its dynamic position as the hub of a metropolitan life, inevitably occupy the center of attention. In general the character of the entire county is stamped upon it by this, its central community. The present chapter attempts to lift into proper perspective those important parts of the less known areas in Allegheny County which set them apart and distinguish them from the metropolis.

The fundamental factors that determine the conditions of life and that give character to Allegheny County are the same for the city of Pittsburgh as for the rest of the county. One may indeed think of the entire county, and even of a considerable area outside the county limits, as greater Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh has become a symbol of economic and industrial history in America. In many ways it is a symbol also of its social history. In the economic-industrial life of America it has represented pioneering combined with achievement, the welding of abundant raw material with the genius of technical invention. Production of wealth has been the driving power and rationale of its birth and growth. Writ larger, and more inclusive of the material life of the nation, it is one of that series of symbols which include Gopher Prairie and Middletown.² Yet withal it is a particular community, geographically circumscribed and unique, not only in the sense that it has had an unusual history, but also in that its habitants are individual persons not interchangeable with others in space or time. The drive of progress in Pittsburgh has been unusual in force and has emphasized certain contrasts of modern life; contrasts have been accentuated between rich and poor, American and immigrant, conservative and radical, employer and employee; social stratifications have been deepened along most lines where stratification is possible—sectional, racial, ethnic, political, and economic. To understand Pittsburgh one must conceive of it as a huge factory with a national market as its perspective, drawing its resources from all parts of the land and looking to all parts for the disposal of its product. Industrially, it is a locality merely by accident and by the technical demands of production. Its scope and its outlook are national; its financial interests are at least country-wide; and the forces that control its destinies, which are basically economic, are forces that move with the

² The typical American town as interpreted for smaller places by the novelist Sinclair Lewis, in *Main Street*, and by the sociologist, Robert S. Lynd, in *Middletown*.

large strides of national progress and regression. This general characteristic, deeply rooted, ubiquitous in its influence, is emphasized again and again in the life and activities of the community.

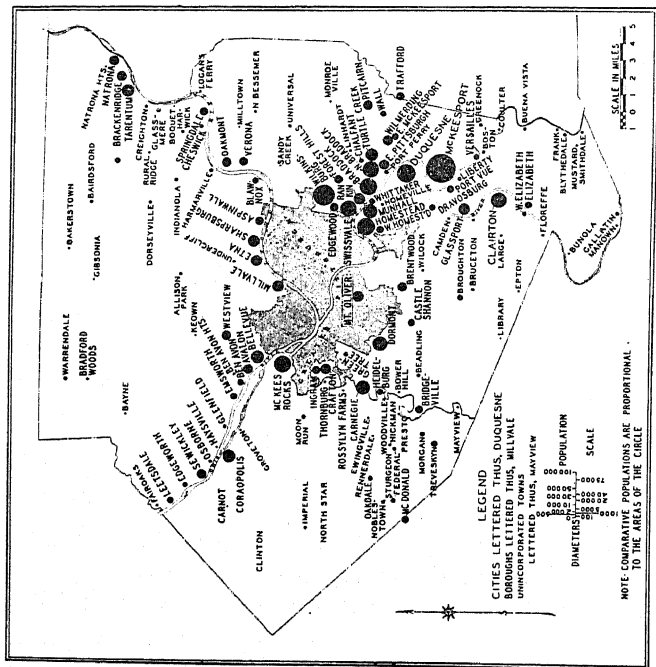
With respect to the influence of these economic facts Pittsburgh and Allegheny County are one. This basic unity of the county is further emphasized by the urban continuity represented by a large proportion of its constituent communities. To the casual eye Pittsburgh and a score or more cities and boroughs melt into one another without visible boundary lines or differential characteristics.

Yet, from the standpoint of available resources this continuity and homogeneity is very deceptive. Many of the conditions that directly impinge upon the inhabitants of any particular community are not the immediate expression of economic life but are either its indirect corollaries or the results of a specific corporate organization and form of local government. It is the local government that provides many of those public services comprised in the terms of education, health, police protection, and organized assistance in the form of social-welfare activities. The local government is an important factor in determining form and amount of taxation. Allegheny County has some 126 corporate entities or political subdivisions, and the amenities of community life are subject to at least that number of possible variations.

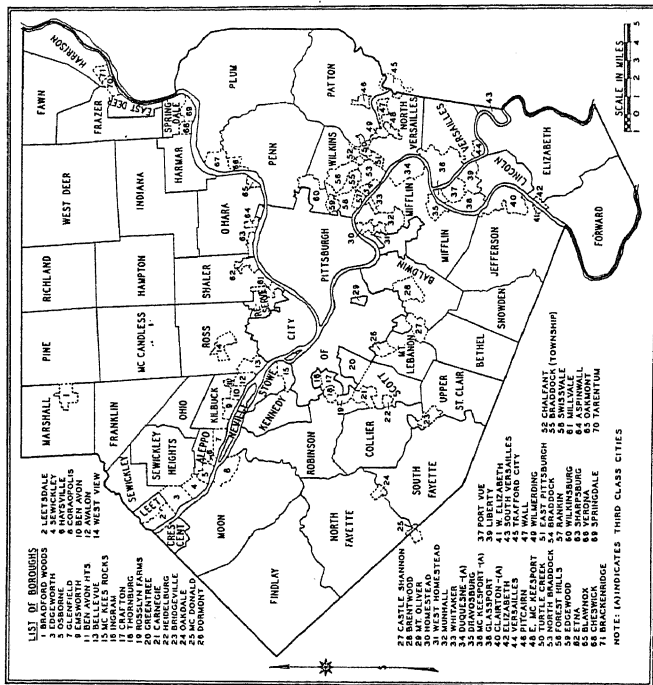
The concentration of resources and the means of studying and expressing public opinion have favored urban communities in the provision of the advantages of civilization, material, cultural, and political. Both public and voluntary services have arisen and prospered more in the greater cities than in the smaller ones, more in concentrated urban communities than in rural areas or small communities. Dissatisfaction is more articulate, application of pressure is more direct, and remedial action is more certain in the city. By and large, Pittsburgh, despite its many deficiencies, is better off than most of the other communities in the county outside its municipal limits. Allegheny County comprises besides the municipality of Pittsburgh the three cities of McKeesport, Duquesne, and Clairton, sixty-nine boroughs, twenty-four townships of the first class, and twenty-nine townships of the second class.

PHYSICAL SETTING AND HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY

With Pittsburgh's Golden Triangle near its center and with the city of Pittsburgh, occupying an area of fifty-three square miles, about this triangle, Allegheny County extends for a distance of some twenty miles to the northeast (twenty-nine, measured by the winding Allegheny River), sixteen miles (or thirty-five miles along the still more crooked Monongahela) to



(a)



(b)

FIGURE 1

MAPS OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY

(a) Population of cities, boroughs, and towns; (b) Location of cities, boroughs, and towns.

the southeast, and fifteen miles to the west along the Ohio's course. Freeport, Monongahela and Ambridge are just outside the county boundaries in these several directions. The area of the county outside the city of Pittsburgh is 677 square miles. The county does not include all of Pittsburgh's metropolitan area. As defined by the Federal census this larger area covers also a large part of Westmoreland and Fayette Counties to the east and southeast, reaching down the Monongahela valley to the West Virginia line. It projects into Washington County to the southwest to include the city of Washington, Pennsylvania, and an intervening coal and oil area; it extends a few miles farther west along the Ohio River, including the steel towns of Ambridge and Aliquippa. The metropolitan area, on the other hand, does not entirely cover the county, omitting all, or nearly all, nine rural townships to the northwest and southwest.

This region illustrates more clearly than do most communities, the influence of a history that began in geologic eras long past. The veins of bituminous coal and small reservoirs of natural gas and oil folded into the foothills of the western Allegheny highlands, the navigability (now increased by United States dams) of the two rivers, the Allegheny and the Monongahela, which converge at Pittsburgh to form the Ohio, have been generally recognized determinants of the two major industries of the region. To a considerable extent topographic factors have influenced also the location and order of settlement of communities, their interrelationships, their social and governmental organization, and even their social problems.

According to geologists³ the topography is typical of a greatly dissected plain in the mature stage of erosion—not young with deep gorges and narrow valleys, nor old with broad valleys and gentle slopes. The rivers have eroded their valleys to a fairly uniform grade, and smaller tributary streams flowing “in every conceivable direction” divide the intervening triangles into “hundreds of narrow ridges.” The contours of the hills depend to some extent upon the rocks of which they are composed. In some areas heavy sandstone predominates and the hillsides are steep and rugged; where sandstone is the cap rock, the tops of the hills are broad and flat. In other parts of the county, where the outcropping rocks are shaly, the hills have rounded tops and more gently sloping sides. The highest hills are about 1,250 feet above sea level, and the most abrupt relief (555 feet) is on the Monongahela in the southeastern part of the county. The rivers flow in narrow-bottomed valleys, bordered by hills which in many places rise so steeply from the river banks as to prevent any use of the bank.

³ The facts and the quotations in the following paragraph are selected from descriptions of the Pittsburgh and Carnegie Quadrangles in the *Geologic Atlas of Pennsylvania*.

This is the physical setting for the drama of human history in Allegheny County. There have been five principal episodes in this drama—episodes which individually parallel similar developments in other regions, but which, in combination with one another and directed and controlled as they were by the particular physiographic features of the locality, have made the region unique. They are: the river trade, coal, steel, railroads, and oil.

It was largely the strategic geographical location of the converging rivers which led to settlement in their valleys following the military expeditions of Braddock and Forbes. Even before the Revolution migration began. When turnpikes were built across the Alleghenies, settlers came in from eastern Pennsylvania, from Virginia, and from Maryland. As Pittsburgh became a gateway to the new Northwest Territory, the river settlements on the Monongahela and its tributary, the Youghiogheny, and somewhat later those on the other rivers served a growing river trade toward both west and east. McKees Rocks, McKeesport, and Elizabeth were among the earliest of these river towns. Several others—Braddock, Tarentum, Verona, Etna, and Millvale—also date back to pioneer days. The first steamboat on western waters started down the Ohio from Pittsburgh in 1811. River trade received another impetus when, about 1840, the Monongahela Navigation Company completed its system of locks to Brownsville.

The triangles which form the hinterland of the county were more slowly settled. Here it was the valleys of the smaller streams which attracted the early settlers for farming. Small communities such as Noblestown, Library, Bridgeville, Bethel, and Unity show where a grist mill or a church served the communal needs of the residents of a particular valley and became the foundations of communities whose later fate depended upon larger developments beyond their control. Wagon roads built by the new settlers connected the communities with other settlements in the valley, with river towns, or with Pittsburgh. Some roads followed the tops of ridges instead of the valley bottoms. When these roads were the routes of stage coaches between Pittsburgh and outside towns, small communities grew up about the main stops. This explains the origin of communities such as Perrysville, Wexford, and Warrendale along the Perry Highway and Bakerstown on the Butler Road.

The Monongahela valley is one of the oldest bituminous fields in the country. Coal was mined first in territory that is now within the city of Pittsburgh, then successively in the vicinities of the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers, in the drainage area of Chartiers Creek, in the Allegheny valley and in other widely scattered parts of the county underlaid by the Pittsburgh vein. Early mining developments were on a small

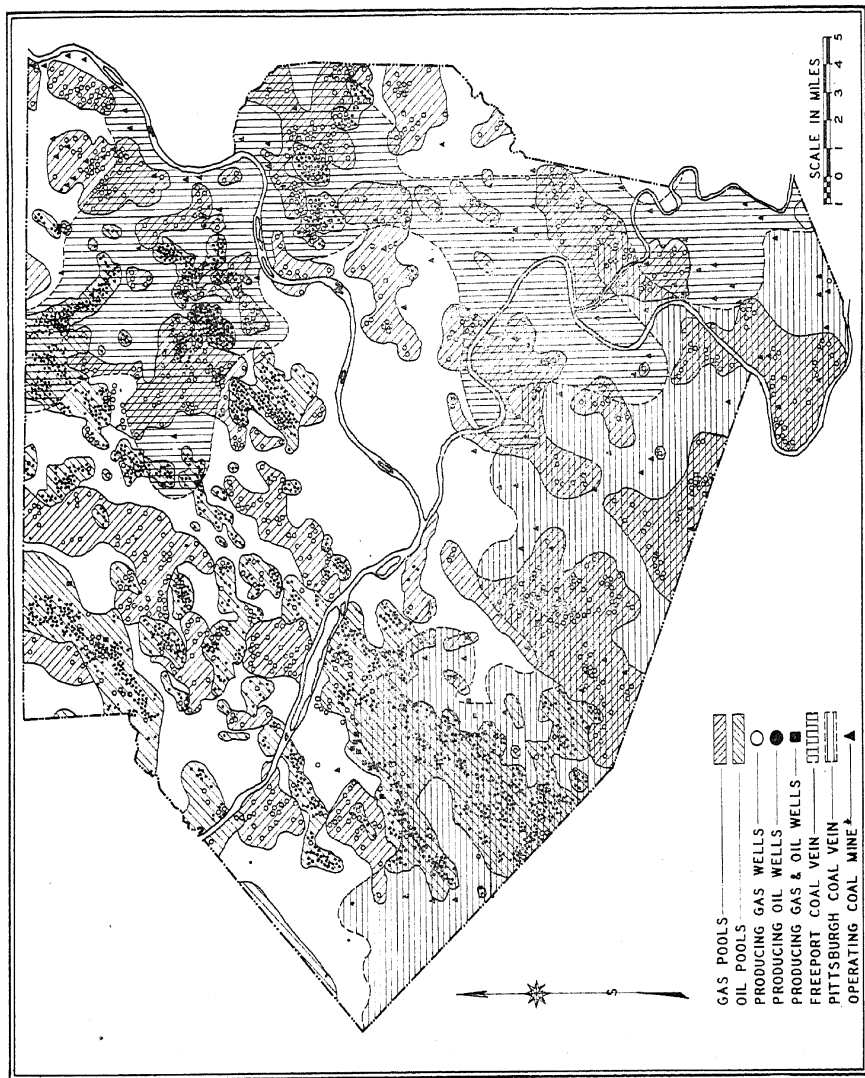


FIGURE 2
COAL AND OIL RESOURCES
OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY
 From the map prepared by
 the City Planning Commission.

scale in size of mine, company, and community. They expanded with the increase in markets due to better transportation and with the rise of local industries. As far as the Pittsburgh vein is concerned, mining reached a peak in 1910. This vein is rapidly approaching exhaustion. According to the Geologic Survey, there are still vast reserves of coal in other veins, the thick Freeport and Kittaning, which have hardly been tapped and which guarantee a long future to the coal industry in this county.

The Pennsylvania Geologic Survey reported 161 mines in Allegheny County in 1925. Seventy-seven mines and eighty-two coal companies⁴ were listed in a tabulation of industries under the City Planning Commission in 1934. They represent all kinds, from the "one-man mines" to the active mines operated by large coal companies or as "captive mines" by the industries or utilities. The one-man mines are made possible by the relation of the coal veins to the hills, which in many places has eliminated the necessity of shafting. Many mines are small operations in corners of old mines. Some territory has been successively worked by several companies. The number of miners in the county has decreased about one-third since 1910. This decrease has been due to the exhaustion of old mines in the southern part of the county, the depressed condition of the industry, especially in the last dozen years, and its rapid mechanization in the larger mines.

Because it is an exhaustive industry, coal mining has been responsible for the growth and decline of towns—not only the mining communities which originated with the large-scale importation of foreign labor, but shipping centers like Dravosburg on the Monongahela. It contributed to the original growth of mid-county towns, such as Carnegie and Bridgeville.

In the two larger centers in the county, Pittsburgh and McKeesport, the steel industry started before the Civil War. The war and the extension of the transcontinental railroads to the West greatly increased the demand for steel and stimulated expansion of the plants. The profits to be made, the limitations to expansion which geology had imposed on Pittsburgh, and the rising taxes there induced the industrialists of Pittsburgh to seek other locations for plants, thereby starting a half century of industrial development in the narrow valleys which crisscross the county. Mills were built or taken over by Carnegie at successive locations up the Monongahela valley—Braddock, Homestead, Rankin, Duquesne, and Clairton—and one at Etna on the Allegheny River. Meanwhile the McKeesport Iron Works became the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company, and the National Tube Works grew. Steel mills and related industries were built up along the Allegheny River and to the west on the Ohio. The best

⁴ Some of these companies operate only in territory outside Allegheny County.

sites had been preëmpted when the Westinghouse Company, about 1890, moved its plant from East Liberty to the Turtle Creek valley.

Thus did Pittsburgh decentralize its industry in advance of most cities. The industrial population followed the rivers as if Pittsburgh had poured out industry like its molten steel into the huge mold of Allegheny County, and communities received their limits and shape from the contours of the mold. Railroads, "glass houses," salt works, and finally aluminum were responsible for the growth of other towns.

Dunaway's recent *History of Pennsylvania*⁵ is authority for the statement that Pittsburgh accounts for only 27 percent of the value of the products of the Pittsburgh industrial area as a whole (in which he included Allegheny, Beaver, Washington, and Westmoreland counties). Approximately 70 percent of the manufactures of this area, he says, are located in Allegheny County, including Pittsburgh. It will be seen that the county outside of Pittsburgh accounts for the larger part of these manufactures.

Overlapping the developments of both coal and steel, made possible by both, and contributing to both was the extension of railroads. Pittsburgh and Allegheny County played as important a part in this transportation era as in the era of river transportation. Railroads now parallel on both banks each of the three largest rivers. Main lines or short lines serving mines or industries follow also the valleys of many lesser streams. They have been wholly responsible for some towns like Pitcairn and Wall and the unincorporated villages of North Bessemer and Rennerdale. They are important industrial factors in McKees Rocks and Carnegie, and indeed in most of the centers, large and small, in the county.

Development of oil wells and gas wells in various parts of the county did not result in the building of new communities although because of it much real estate was sold in a speculative boom, especially in the townships about McKeesport in the second decade of the present century. Oil operations at Noblestown have perpetuated this very old settlement near the Washington County line.

Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century all towns throughout the county were small and fairly homogeneous, peopled by "Americans" compounded of the English, the Scotch, and the Irish, with a liberal quota of Germans in some communities. In 1870 the entire county population was 262,204; there were two cities, Pittsburgh and Allegheny, with populations of 86,076 and 53,180, respectively, and twenty-three boroughs, most of which eventually were annexed—as was Allegheny—by Pittsburgh. Of the present county communities only the following had been incorporated in 1870: Bellevue, Braddock, Elizabeth, Etna, McKeesport, Millvale, Sewickley, Sharpsburg, Tarentum, and West Elizabeth. In the

⁵ W. F. Dunaway, *History of Pennsylvania*, 1935, p. 650.

last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, the labor requirements of the industries brought in workers from eastern and southern Europe, who differed from the old population in religion and traditions. During the World War and during subsequent labor troubles Negroes and Mexicans were introduced.

LATER SETTLEMENT, IMPROVED ROADS, SUBURBAN MOVEMENT

The last phenomenon in Allegheny County history has been the suburban trend from Pittsburgh, a development similar to developments in all large cities, but probably receiving special impetus because the smoke and fog of the steel mills and river valleys may be escaped by going a few miles distant into the higher land. The suburban trek started as long ago as the middle of the last century toward Allegheny, just across the Ohio, the fashionable residence district for Pittsburgh. Bellevue and the North Boroughs followed suit. Because travel from Pittsburgh presented greater difficulties and involved more expense than does commuting from other large cities, the early suburban movement here was limited more exclusively to the wealthy. Distance was not prohibitive to them, hence residential areas were developed along the Ohio and Allegheny rivers before industry had filled their banks with manufacturing plants. Sewickley to the west and Oakmont to the east were among the first of these communities—the former, at first a place for summer residence only. Early travel was by railroad or private carriage. Street-car lines later reached these places and also made possible the growth of a newer ring of more predominantly middle-class suburbs, Wilkinsburg to the east, Aspinwall to the north, and Mt. Oliver, Ingram, and Crafton immediately across the Monongahela to the south. The more extensive suburban movement followed the popularizing of automobiles and the building of roads early in the present century. The county program of bridge, road, and tunnel building deserves a place in the recording of county history along with the early development of river transportation, the opening of mines, the expansion of industry, and the building of railroads. There were no improved roads in 1890; in 1900 there were 56 miles; 511 miles were improved by 1920; and by 1935 approximately 1,300 miles. Immediately Pittsburgh people scattered out along the highways. By about 1910 there were enough residents in some new districts or added to old communities to incorporate such new communities as Edgeworth, Westview, Brentwood, and Dormont. The completion of the Liberty tunnels through the hills to the south in 1924 opened that part of the county to Pittsburgh commuters. Mt. Lebanon and smaller commuting areas to the south were the immediate results. Because of the previous slow settlement of the interior triangles some of the loveliest areas of the county were left for residential expansion.

It is the suburban communities that have grown fastest in recent decades, even in spite of the check on development during the depression.

Good roads, the spread of utilities such as electricity, and probably also a greater appreciation of the out-of-doors, have induced Pittsburghers with means to penetrate still farther into the country, remodeling old houses for week-end homes or building estates. Such homes are scattered over the north county area, where industrial and commercial development has been discouraged. Groups of homes with the pretentiousness of estates are found in Sewickley Heights, Coraopolis Heights, Fox Chapel, and Churchill. The available land in the county and the pleasantness of the hills have attracted numerous institutions also.

There is also some movement of population from the county to Pittsburgh, which is indicated by the fact that a special school census in Pittsburgh under the Board of Education in 1934 found 6,650 families who had moved to Pittsburgh from the county.⁶

Since 1880 population in the county outside Pittsburgh has been increasing faster than that in Pittsburgh, in spite of the fact that Pittsburgh population has been increased by successive annexations from the county. In total population Allegheny County, including Pittsburgh, now ranks seventh among counties of the United States, exceeded only by the counties listed below:

COUNTY	TOTAL POPULATION	CITY	COUNTY	
			POPULATION	POPULATION (OUTSIDE CITY)
Cook	3,982,123	Chicago	3,376,438	605,685
Kings	2,560,401	Part of New York City	...	...
Los Angeles	2,208,492	Los Angeles	1,238,048	970,444
Philadelphia	1,950,961	Philadelphia	1,950,961	...
Wayne	1,888,946	Detroit	1,568,662	320,284
New York	1,867,312	Part of New York City	...	...
Allegheny	1,374,410	Pittsburgh	669,817	704,593

The table shows that in population of county area outside the large city Allegheny ranks second only to Los Angeles County. Of all large city-counties in the country (having a city of 300,000 or more) only Hudson County, New Jersey, (containing Jersey City) and Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, have a county population outside the city larger than the population of the city itself. By 1930 in Allegheny County 51 percent of all the population lived in the area outside Pittsburgh.

THE NATURE OF COUNTY COMMUNITIES

What kind of communities have resulted from these combined effects of geologic formation and historical development; how have they organized

⁶ This figure, though a close approximation, is not absolutely accurate, since, as reported, some families were vague in giving information to the C.W.A. workers who made the census.

to provide for the needs of their residents; what is their relation to Pittsburgh and to one another; and what social problems still press for solution?

The most significant characteristics of Allegheny County communities in comparison with communities in other counties are their number, their variations, and their separateness. The number of communities in any county depends upon the definition of community. By two definitions communities in Allegheny County are more numerous than in almost any other county in the United States. The map on page 47 shows the location and chief industrial characteristics of these communities.⁷ There are within the county 123 governmental units in addition to Pittsburgh, and there are two more on the county line which are partly in other counties.⁸ The Federal post-office department has considered an even larger number of communities (133 outside Pittsburgh) as sufficiently separate to be given individual post offices.⁹ The physical barriers, streams and hills, and the complexity of development described above partly explain this large number of communities; another reason is that the Pennsylvania law for borough incorporation has made it easy to create governmental communities to correspond with these other factors. Uniform statistics are available (when at all) only for governmental units. These governmental units in Allegheny County are townships, boroughs, and third-class cities. State law classifies cities according to population and townships according to density of population. Ten thousand is minimum population for a city, and 135,000 the maximum for third-class cities. There are first-class and second-class townships; those with three hundred or more residents per square mile are designated first-class. Boroughs are incorporated communities of this or greater density and have neither minimum nor maximum population limits. Whether a first-class township, or some part of it, shall incorporate as a borough and whether a borough with the required population of 10,000 shall apply for privilege to become a city is optional with the citizenry. These facts help to explain the discrepancies between size of population and form of government in some of the Allegheny County communities.

Communities in Allegheny County are too numerous to be described

⁷ A table at the end of this chapter shows the latest population figures for these governmental units which do not, however, necessarily correspond to true community populations.

⁸ These two, McDonald and Trafford, were not covered by the county study and are hereafter omitted from this report.

⁹ Three other counties in the United States nearly equal Allegheny in number of communities. Cook County, Ill., seems to have 122 governmental communities, some of which overlap, and 59 post offices; Los Angeles County, California, has 115 governmental units and 132 post offices; King County, Washington, has 164 "precinct" governmental units and 62 post offices. Most counties, however, have fewer governmental subdivisions and post offices.

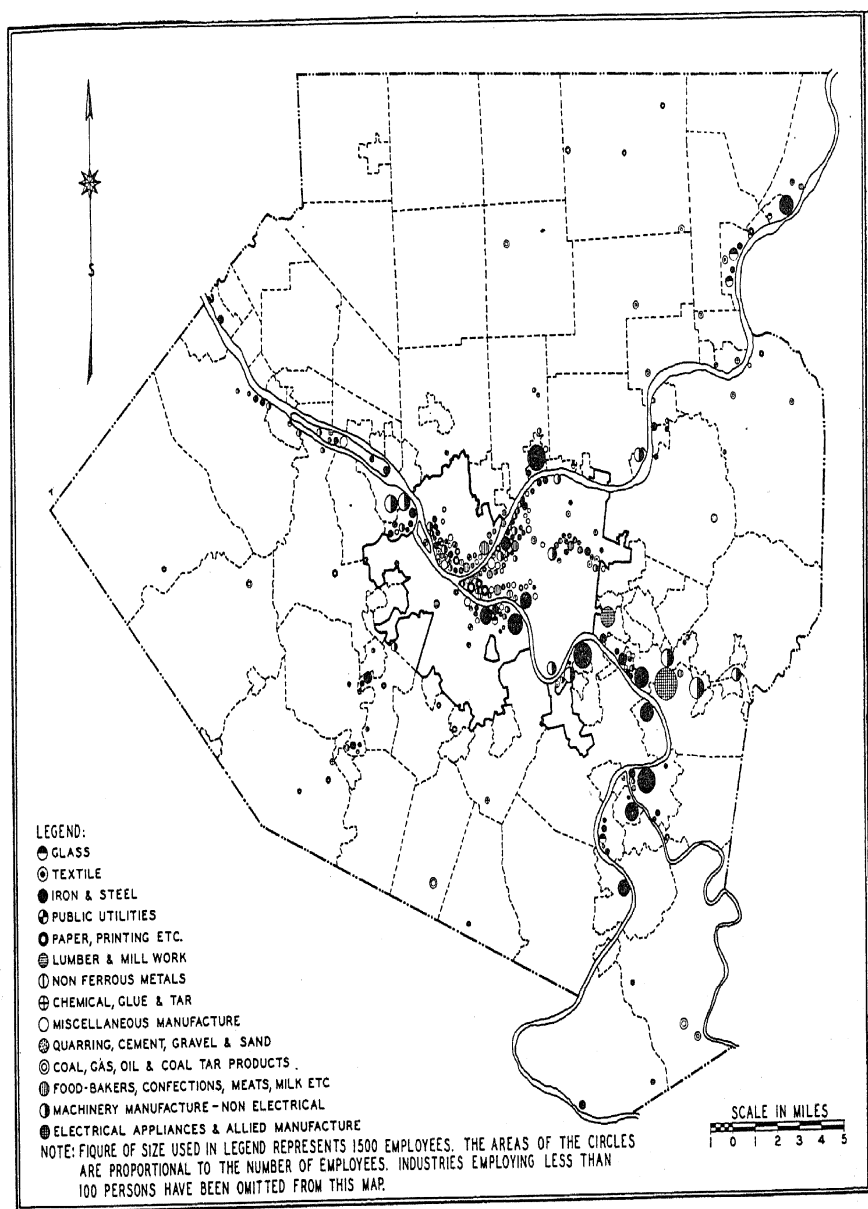


FIGURE 3
LOCATION AND SIZE OF CHIEF INDUSTRIES IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY

From the map prepared by the City Planning Commission.

individually, and too varied to make a combined description possible. The problems and resources which they present can probably best be understood by considering them in four groups: manufacturing towns, mining villages, residence suburbs, and rural townships. It should be kept in mind, however, that while most of the communities in the county can be described under one of these types, there are others which do not belong exclusively in any one classification. These communities represent a combination of the characteristics of two or more types. The descriptions which follow apply to them to the extent to which these communities resemble the type described. Some of the boroughs and the three third-class cities have included residence areas instead of developing separate residence communities. Tarentum, Springdale, and Coraopolis are examples of combined banking, trade, and industrial centers. Oakdale is practically the only retired-farmer town in the county, but it is also in part a dormitory community for people who work in Pittsburgh. Pitcairn and Wall are predominantly railroad communities, while McKees Rocks and Carnegie have a railroad and mixed-industry basis.

THE MANUFACTURING TOWNS

✓ According to census figures for 1930, 51.5 percent of the gainfully employed population of Allegheny County outside Pittsburgh is engaged in manufacture and mechanical industries. The number represents chiefly men, for Allegheny County industry offers relatively little employment opportunity for women, and child labor is no longer a problem as it was in certain industries and plants at the time of the Pittsburgh Survey. These men and their families live, for the most part, in communities situated on the rivers and their larger tributaries. The map (page 47) which shows the distribution of industries indicates fairly accurately the aggregations of industrial population. According to the map this population appears to be an irregular, but almost continuous, industrial extension of Pittsburgh. It is so in part; but there are, in addition, chains of communities which, though many of them are contiguous, are yet separated by features of topography, by numerous political boundary lines, and by economic and social differences. The separate communities are partly explained by the existence of some of them prior to the industrial development which, forcing their growth, resulted in their contiguity. There has been also a marked tendency for separate communities to grow up around separate plants. Some of the places, such as Duquesne, Clairton, Carnegie, and Coraopolis, are separated from others by several miles of open country.

The larger circles on the industries map, most of which represent steel mills or the Westinghouse plants, and some of the smaller isolated circles indicate not only one-industry but also one-plant communities. The Car-

negie steel towns (Homestead, Duquesne, and Clairton), the Allegheny steel town (Brackenridge), and the Westinghouse communities (Wilmerding, Turtle Creek, and East Pittsburgh) are outstanding examples.

In comparison with steel communities farther west and with many manufacturing communities elsewhere, the Allegheny County manufacturing communities show three circumstances which aggravated the problems which all such towns present. These circumstances are their valley location, their earlier origin, and the fact that they were overwhelmed with immigration from peasant regions of Europe and later with colored immigration from the South. The resulting communities have taken their form from the topography; their color from the mills and the railroads; and their social and political organization partly from the small pioneer communities which they replaced, partly from the mill organization, and partly from Europe—the former home of so many of their residents.

The early owners of the industries were attentive to the advantages of the river sites for locations for their heavy industries; not so much attention was paid to the suitability of these narrow valleys for an industrial population. Perhaps they did not expect the expansion of their plants and the resulting growth of the communities. The valley location implies that the towns are in a continuation of Pittsburgh's "smog" area. From a health standpoint this means less sunlight and the deleterious effects of smoke and gases; from a housekeeping standpoint it means dirt; and from a psychological point of view it destroys attractiveness which the more fortunate communities in the county have gone to considerable effort to provide.

No description of these towns fails to speak of the bleakness of their landscape, perhaps because it is so at variance with the green hills of the nonindustrial part of the county and with the landscape which very old settlers remember along the rivers. The introduction to the *Interchurch Survey of Rankin* in 1920 describes the appearance of Rankin as follows:

Two hundred and seventy-five acres of river bottom and broken hillside mostly covered with mills and houses. . . . Seen from across the river Rankin is a reddish drab prospect practically unrelieved by color.

In a description of Braddock written in 1923 Gwendolyn Shand¹⁰ said:

The acme of dreariness is expressed by these huddled mill towns extending from beyond East Pittsburgh to the outskirts of Pittsburgh itself.

The landscape surrounding the Braddock-Rankin district is particularly cheerless.

Even from the hills, the view is obstructed by other high hills, which are desolate, destitute of trees, and in places covered with the bare and ugly houses most common in this region.

¹⁰ *The Sociological Aspects of an Industrial Community*, written as a master's thesis at Carnegie Institute of Technology.

In many places the hills have no grass; in other places what grass there is, looks brown and withered. The constant clouds of smoke and spreading gas fumes from the mills make the few trees stunted and all the foliage and vegetation sparse.

Just across the Monongahela is a high hill rising almost straight from the river, and casting a dark shadow at all times. To add to its gloominess, the hillside is dotted with the skeletons of once living trees, but long ago killed by the smoke and fumes of the mills.

Up and down the Monongahela are to be seen groups of mills with a pall of smoke always hanging over them. The only bright spot, the river itself, can seldom be seen distinctly on account of this smoke.

Some of these towns extend back a short distance from the river into hills where they bend down to discharge a tributary stream. The classical-minded christener of Etna, across the Allegheny from Pittsburgh to the northeast, must have seen similarity to the ancient crater in the town site shut in, except at the river, by hills. If he lived until the steel mills were built on the lowest ground to belch their thick smoke and flame, he may have appreciated the full appropriateness of the name he chose.

More of the towns, however, are long and narrow, built between the river and the parallel bluff. The flood plain some quarter of a mile wide on which these communities started provided little room beyond that occupied by mills and railroads. The flats of the industrial towns represent the most congested spots in the county area.¹⁴ A traffic survey, made in 1934 by the County Department of Highways, computed the number of people per net residential acre in the various subdivisions of the county. Of the ten most densely populated boroughs of the county, listed by the survey, all but Mt. Oliver are predominantly manufacturing communities. Their density, in terms of persons per residential acre, is calculated on the basis of 1930 census figures as follows:

BOROUGHES	PERSONS PER ACRE
Braddock	131.5
Homestead	116.2
Rankin	76.2
Mt. Oliver	65.3
Sharpsburg	62.6
Blawnox	55.7
Springdale	51.9
Tarentum	49.6
McKees Rocks	49.1
Wilmerding	47.1

¹⁴During the flood in the spring of 1936, which came to a climax on March 18, considerable of the residential area of the county underwent serious injury. As indicative of the use of flood plains in the manufacturing communities of the county, it was shown that some 8 percent of the homes in the relatively urban area outside the city of Pittsburgh was reached by the flood, in contrast to only 4.2 percent in Pittsburgh. Of the total of 83,207 persons estimated as affected in the flood area, some 68 percent were in this county area.

The figures above mean a population rate per residential square mile ranging from 30,144 to 84,160. There are, moreover, differences in population density in the various sections of some of the communities which make even these figures a totally inadequate description of congestion in the flats.

To house this number of people in such a narrow space—usually between the river and the railroads—required all possible economy of space, many row-houses, and the elimination of yards and gardens. Margaret Byington's study of Homestead in 1907 showed that the real estate company which originally laid out the town for a modest suburban development had planned yards, though the lots were narrow. Increasing demand for houses led later to the addition of alleys between the streets; these in turn became lined on both sides with houses. Streets on the Homestead flats bearing names of trees and fruits bear also tragic witness to a lack of vegetation.

Industrial communities built half a century ago during an era of rapid industrial expansion and sharp competition, when relatively little attention was being given anywhere to the living conditions of workers, almost invariably have worse housing and sanitation than communities which have been started since then. The age, as well as the original cheapness, of many of these houses is one explanation of their present condition.

The following quotations from recent reports of the Pittsburgh Housing Association give an idea of the conditions that exist in the oldest parts of a number of the communities.¹²

The buildings in the area are largely residential but business and commercial structures are scattered through the ten blocks, giving an impression of mixed housing and business uses. . . . Most of these houses are two-story and of frame construction. . . .

There are 215 families living in the 166 houses in the area. There are 104 one-family houses, 29 two-family, 10 three-family and 23 mixed occupancy, (combination of store and dwelling in the same building) with a total of 253 dwellings of which 38 are vacant. . . .

The dwellings are for the most part in wretched condition, dilapidated, out of repair, lacking sanitary equipment. Among the 673 violations of the sanitary and building code are 96 privy vaults, some serving several families and some as close as three feet from the dwellings. There are 34 leaky roofs, 20 houses with no indoor water supply, 19 houses with dark or gloomy rooms owing to neighboring houses being only one to four feet away. Fifty-six of the 215 families are living in overcrowded conditions. In some cases, sleeping in the kitchen is necessary.

The total assessed valuation of all the property (business and dwellings) as of 1930 was \$449,125.

It is owned by 59 individuals and 6 corporations. . . .

The housing in this area is obsolete, has deteriorated to the point where rehabilitation is not practicable. . . .

¹² Omissions are made for the sake of brevity.

There are 17 apartments in the court of Heisel Street and Gold Way. Three frame bandbox houses (3 stories, 3 rooms per house) face on Heisel; 3 row brick houses face on the court; 3 large frame bandbox and 2 more frames face on Gold. The disrepair and neglect of the place are startling. Practically no rent is paid. . . .

The court space is rather large. The only hydrant, only water supply for 17 apartments—housing 55 people—is placed in a shed next to one house; 6 toilets (of a sewer connected water-flush type) are in the middle of the court. These toilets have been out of order for 4 years. A family of seven lives in 3 rooms totally unfit.

Almost all the plaster has fallen. The roof is in such a condition that it is easy to understand the tenants' observation that "it rains in here and leaks outside."

The rooms are bare of furniture,—2 beds, table, stove, and a couple of soap boxes for chairs. Semi-darkness and ill-heated rooms complete the miserable picture.

A few of the houses are kept in somewhat better repair by the tenants. To really make the dwellings habitable would involve a sum of money far exceeding their worth. Meanwhile, these families stay on with little hope of improving the situation.

The effects of declining conditions show here as elsewhere:

As conditions . . . grow worse, one housewife after another slackens the struggle. and health, family relationships and self-respect inevitably suffer. As a result, the population must gradually become less employable and the town less attractive to industry.¹³

Descriptions of the flats are not in every case representative of the entire town, for many towns have overflowed the flats and crept up the inhospitable hills. A recent description of the towns of southern California¹⁴ listed as one of their advantages the fact that they "have sprawl." It can as truly be said that Allegheny County communities have "crawl" or "climb." In the mill towns the main business street above the flats usually parallels the river. In most of the narrow towns along the north bank of the Allegheny, such as Sharpsburg, and in other places (McKeesport, Turtle Creek, and so forth), the main course of traffic by street car, automobile, and truck goes through this street, narrowly built for days gone by. The better residential district is above this, and in spots still further out on the hills the homes of the laborers who have left the flats, in the words of Harvey O'Connor, "straggle up the hillsides, perch on sharp declivities, rim the hill-tops."¹⁵

The hill locations had their own difficulties. The provision of streets, sewers, and other utilities was not prohibitive for the companies who built homes for superintendents and higher-paid employees and the more modest homes to be sold to workmen. But the provision of these utilities was beyond the means of the poorer-paid mill hands who built the outlying houses. Of the latter homes some face on paved streets and some face unpaved roads, sometimes paralleled by an open ditch for sewer; others are scattered along what are hardly more than lanes.

¹³ Hilda Jennings, *Bryn Mawr—a Study of a Depressed Area*, p. 95.

¹⁴ In the *Southern California Annual* for March 31, 1936.

¹⁵ In *Steel, Dictator*, by Harvey O'Connor, 1935.

A marked difference is observable in some of the newer manufacturing towns and in the newer sections of older communities. When the Westinghouse Company planned its plant at Wilmerding, it also planned a town. The best of the Carnegie Land Company housing, which in most places is superior to that built by individual private owners, is in the newer part of Clairton—this company's most-recently-built community. There is a newer section in Duquesne also. A company employee in the latter town said with regret that had it not been for the depression their row of two-room houses could have been eliminated. In spite of the plainness and monotony of some company row-houses, one sees, even in smaller industrial communities examples of neatness and attention to upkeep which speak well for both tenants and owners. Occasionally, as in Preston ¹⁶ row-houses have yards in which there are trees.¹⁷

For an understanding of conditions in some of these communities some reference to the changes in their population and characteristics is required. In 1870 Braddock, for example, was a village of 1,290 people similar to the residents of Pittsburgh. There were 1,060 native white Americans. Its population grew in successive decades as follows:

YEAR	POPULATION
1870	1,290
1880	3,310
1890	8,561
1900	15,654
1910	19,357

Its 1930 population of 19,329 is made up of 25 percent native whites of native parentage; 41 percent native whites of foreign or mixed parentage; 22 percent foreign-born whites; and 11 percent Negro. Rankin now has only 9 percent native whites of native parentage. The present composition of the larger industrial centers is shown in the table on page 54.

The European immigrants and later the Negroes crowded into the cheaper quarters in the flats until some of the more ambitious, by dint of thrift which in many cases amounted to overcrowding and too-low standards of living, joined those others who were able to move to houses on the hills or to build farther out.

A later chapter discusses the difficulties which the newcomers have experienced; the difficulties for community programs also deserve atten-

¹⁶ A section of Stowe Township where, unfortunately, the industry had closed down shortly before this study was made.

¹⁷ A civic movement to provide shade trees started in Duquesne and Homestead about 1927 or 1928. The Shade Tree Commission in Duquesne reports that each year for about five or six years, certain streets were selected for planting. Smoothleaved trees were selected because they would not retain the dust and carbon. With some individual planting done by property owners, it is estimated that 1,000 trees were set out from 1928 to 1935.

TABLE 1

COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION IN THE PRINCIPAL MANUFACTURING CENTERS OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY OUTSIDE PITTSBURGH

COMMUNITY	POPULATION 1930	PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION WHICH WAS		
		<i>Native white of native parentage</i>	<i>Foreign born and native of foreign or mixed parentage</i>	<i>Negroes</i>
Brackenridge	6,250	54.4	40.0	5.6
Braddock	19,329	25.0	63.4	11.5
Carnegie	12,497	37.7	58.3	3.3
Clairton	15,291	32.7	53.2	13.5
Coraopolis	10,724	48.0	43.8	8.2
Duquesne	21,396	24.9	66.5	8.5
East Pittsburgh	6,214	33.2	66.6	2.0
Etna	7,493	40.6	57.6	0.1
Glassport	8,390	33.1	66.0	0.9
Homestead	20,141	22.5	57.6	16.7
McKeesport	54,632	37.3	58.9	3.5
McKees Rocks	18,116	28.5	68.7	2.7
Munhall	12,995	34.6	64.8	0.6
North Braddock	16,782	31.6	65.5	2.9
Rankin	7,956	9.5	70.9	19.6
Sharpsburg	8,642	34.7	60.7	2.4
Stowe Township	13,368	23.2	76.3	0.5
Swissvale	16,029	49.0	47.7	3.2
Turtle Creek	10,690	55.2	44.5	0.2
Wilmerding	6,291	37.8	60.3	1.7

tion. The previously-rural communities were submerged by large industries and a large population different from the old and made up of different nationalities. As Miss Shand said of Braddock, "Neither the town, school nor church were in a position to deal with it [the change] adequately." In some of the communities, where the new immigration was largest, the adaptation of community programs was made more difficult because many of the older residents moved to other places. In the poorer and most congested mill communities of the lower Monongahela valley and in some of the corresponding communities on the Allegheny, families in a position to choose (the higher paid mill workers and most of the business and professional groups) have moved away, and now live outside. Residence outside the town has become a goal. When there is a residence requirement, as there is for Braddock teachers, it is said that many maintain a room in the town although they spend most of their time with their families elsewhere. The exodus has meant the draining from the towns of financial support and of much potential leadership. It has left them, to a great extent, towns in which to work and make money only. Since the time when, as reported, the Homestead Mill

workers tried in vain to get in touch with Carnegie in Scotland, absentee ownership and control has been a curse of these towns, applying to industry, to much of the ownership of real estate, though proportions differ in various towns, to commercial recreation, and to politics.

Adjoining these industrial communities, separately incorporated residence towns, such as Munhall and North Braddock, grew up to provide more adequately for the group who could afford better homes. With some variations Oakmont and Cheswick likewise illustrate this latter type of community. Other communities expanded to include all groups within one corporate unit. This was true of McKeesport, Duquesne, Clairton, Coraopolis, Carnegie, and other towns all of which show widely different conditions in their various parts.

The development of any real community life and of community programs has been retarded in these towns by another population characteristic of Allegheny County industrial communities—the variety of nationalities in each. Statistical illustration of this variety would necessitate lengthy tables. The 1930 census shows that the population of McKeesport and McKees Rocks represented all of the thirty countries listed in the census as birthplaces; Homestead, Duquesne, and Clairton, twenty-nine countries; and Braddock, Carnegie, and Coraopolis, twenty-seven. When these groups have developed organization and programs to express their own particular traditions, culture, and aspirations—the things that mean community to them—they have done it through and for their own nationality group.¹⁸

During the period of sudden transplanting of these people, there has been an advantage to them in nationality organization. Since the American community was not ready to provide programs for the newcomers, the only alternative to such organization would have been the negation of religious, cultural, and group ties. In some of the areas on the Monongahela flats, impoverished Americans, European immigrants, Negroes and Mexicans do indeed live without these ties, in an indiscriminateness which is avoided by more self-respecting and more fortunate members of the groups in the larger community.

The absence of normal civic control in some of the mill communities is explained in part by the fact that the population is unassimilated, inexperienced, and divided, and also by the fact that it occupies a subordinate position in comparison with the overwhelming power of industry and politics. In commenting on their government a borough manager in one of the residential communities of the county said, "There is no civic group strong enough in those mill towns to demand good government." An American woman who has had long connection with one of these com-

¹⁸ Cf. *infra*, chap. vi.

munities, but who is not connected with the industries, said that the people who depend upon industrial employment do not express opinions freely since they do not know when they may be reported and lose their jobs. "We wouldn't dare discuss vital issues," one of the Community Council presidents was told by members.

It is obvious that communities as congested as the manufacturing towns and made up so largely of low-income families need public regulation and municipal and voluntary health and social programs just as much as do the sections of large cities which they resemble. When the early industrialists moved their plants to these outside locations to escape the high taxes in Pittsburgh, they seemed to overlook the fact that the causes of Pittsburgh's high tax rate would operate also in these communities unless they were to go without the amenities which taxes can buy and that the provision of services by smaller communities might be more difficult and more expensive than in Pittsburgh.

The separateness of these communities and the emphasis in Pennsylvania law on local authority rather than on delegation to an intermediary unit, such as the county, means that, with the exception of relief, public services in these communities have had local initiation and support. This also has been true until fairly recent years of most programs under private auspices.

There is a difference in community programs corresponding to the differences in wealth and leadership. Many of the communities have been handicapped by a lack of tax money for public services and improvements. They are governed as third-class cities, boroughs, or even, in a few instances, as first-class townships.¹⁹ In three industrial boroughs tax rates for local government are now higher than Pittsburgh's rate; in four other boroughs the rates are less than two mills lower. Brackenridge has a per capita valuation of only \$481, and Wall, a borough of railroad shops, of \$386. There are marked differences in residential boroughs, particularly where incorporated lines have been gerrymandered²⁰ so that the mill property (the tax-yielding property) is in the borough where the higher-paid employees live, while the majority of the lower-paid employees of the same plant live in another borough. Homestead, Whitaker, and Braddock have assessed valuations of \$707, \$488 and \$888 per capita in comparison with \$1,506 and \$1,111 in Munhall and North Braddock.²¹

In comparison with Pittsburgh and even in comparison with the functions permitted by state law in the smaller governmental units municipal

¹⁹ See p. 54, *supra*, for principal manufacturing communities and pp. 107-8 for their governmental classifications. Practically all of Stowe Township and considerable parts of Harrison and East Deer Townships are industrial communities similar to some of the boroughs, but they have not incorporated.

²⁰ See map, p. 57, *infra*.

²¹ Figures are based on a tabulation for 1934 made by the Pittsburgh Real Estate Board.

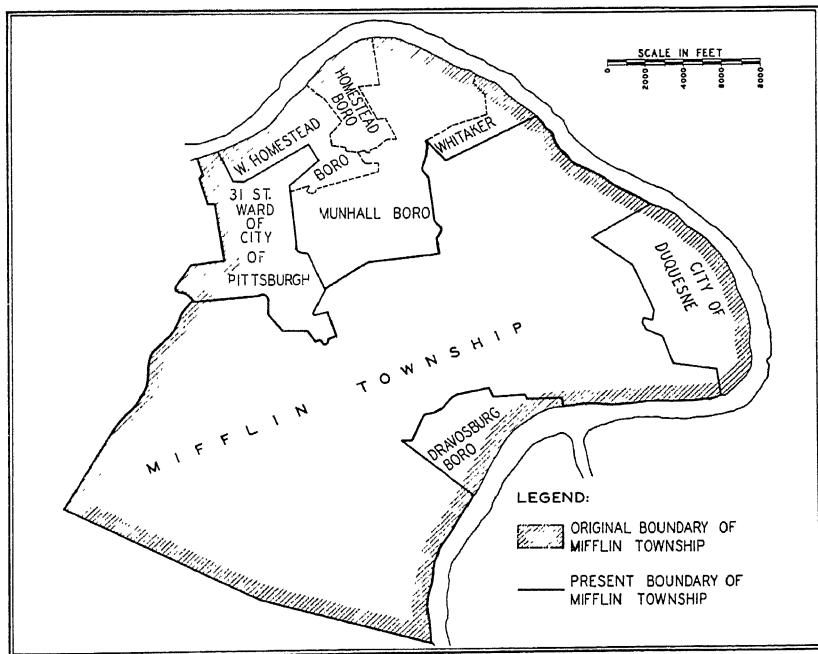
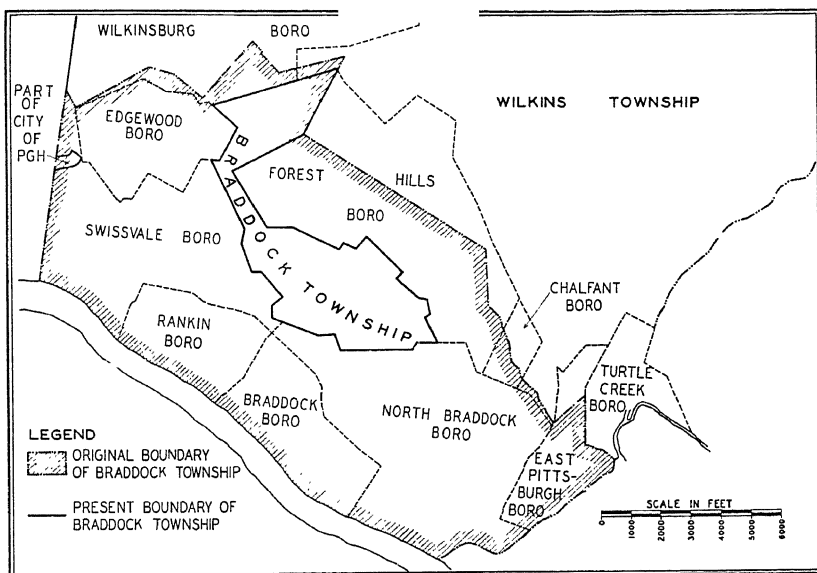


FIGURE 4
GERRYMANDERING OF TOWNSHIPS

programs have tended to remain simple. Most of them depend on lay, rather than specially trained, personnel. In some instances this results in economical and faithful service. Often, however, there is a tendency to put the greatest emphasis on political qualifications, and so programs are frequently least extensive or least efficient in the communities which need them most.

Building codes and sanitary codes are often inadequate; in some communities enforcement is lax. It is generally known that in several of these towns there has been an alliance between politics and real estate or commercial recreation which has meant special privileges, exemption from too close supervision, and protection even for rackets and prostitution. Legitimate needs of the people have been exploited without the control usually exercised by public opinion. Gambling on a large scale and on a small scale and the number-writing rackets have flourished, sometimes after "clean-ups" in Pittsburgh. When the field worker, early in the period of the study, suggested to a leading citizen of Homestead that the town might have been painted too black, he replied with thoughtful seriousness: "I don't think that it has been painted half black enough." The flats of Homestead, indeed, seem to show delinquency and conditions contributing to delinquency at their worst. It was said that Homestead does not begin to live until after dark. The number and open recognition of houses of prostitution and of poorly regulated night clubs and drinking places testify to the general standards which handicap higher-class families of the larger Homestead community. The worker was told by competent local observers in Homestead that among the young people the crests of the delinquency wave come at the ages of fifteen and sixteen years, when many children leave school, and again at nineteen and twenty-one, when they are "under the influence of numbers-writers or cheap politicians." The amount of juvenile delinquency in these mill communities cannot be judged by the number of juvenile-court cases, since only a minority of the cases get to the court. Few juvenile-court charges may mean little delinquency because of successful community efforts of schools and of a socially-minded police force, such as the one in Coraopolis, which has in large measure become the supervisor and sometimes even the adjuster of young people. It may, however, be due to a general acceptance of, and resignation to, the existence of extensive delinquency.

Governmental programs have fortunately been supplemented in other ways—by industrial programs, by the schools, by not infrequent gifts from industrialists, by voluntary programs organized in the communities, and more recently by health programs and social programs emanating from Pittsburgh.²²

²² Programs will be described more fully in other parts of the report.

In the places where their plants are located industries contribute the lion's share to all programs. We were told that in a recent year 85 percent of Munhall's school tax and 94 percent²³ of West Homestead's had come in one check from the mills. In contrast, only 12 percent of the tax was received from the mills in Homestead.

Schools are the major civic enterprises in all these communities, and in a number of places they supplement other public programs by provision of school nurses and by recreation facilities for school children. School-tax rates in the industrial boroughs rank with the highest in the county and are often more than 150 percent of the rate in Pittsburgh.

A difference with regard to contributions to local voluntary programs is to be observed among the various companies. As ownership has been transferred to more distant centers, and perhaps also as companies adopt the plan of county-wide contribution through the Community Fund, there seems to be a tendency on the part of some to withdraw the community contributions.

When the officials of the industries live in the communities and are socially minded, even though ownership is held outside, the community benefits financially from their individual gifts to churches and community projects and often because of their participation in civic affairs. This is one reason that there is more efficient government in some of the towns.

Since they symbolize the power of the industry, it is not strange that the mill superintendents in one-industry communities are, as O'Connor says,²⁴ "uncrowned kings" in their communities. This supremacy is often unsought and not to be envied. There must also be a tremendous difference between the position of officials in the locally-owned industries and those in the huge corporation industries. In the latter, control at a distance, pressure for results, and competition for positions make it difficult to stand between the industry and the community.

The larger industries provide company nurses and welfare workers (who are also usually nurses) to visit in the homes of employees when there is illness or especial need. During the boom years preceding the depression some companies allowed these workers to spend money freely for food, clothing, summer-camp expenses, carfare to clinics, and medical treatment.²⁵

Company relief was greatly expanded during slack-employment periods

²³ The fact that this was a depression year was partly responsible for the size of these proportions, since a large part of the individual taxes were in arrears, while the industries were continuing to pay. The company's share in Munhall is about 70 percent.

²⁴ Harvey O'Connor, *Steel, Dictator*.

²⁵ Such programs are now in operation in the Carnegie-Illinois steel mills in Clairton, Braddock, Homestead, Rankin, and Etna, in the Spang-Chalfant at Etna, in the Pittsburgh Plate Glass at Creighton, and in the Allegheny Steel Company, at Brackenridge. There is a reduction in relief items provided however.

in 1921 and in the earlier part of the last depression by the provision of baskets and packages of food. Where relief responsibilities were not carried as industrial programs, community relief committees or small relief organizations were started by citizens in the early depression period in nearly all these communities. Only two of them, at McKeesport and at Verona, seem to have existed earlier. That they were informal is indicated by the fact that the latter was organized as "The Calendar Club." Lodges and fraternal organizations with relief features have, of course, been common in these towns. Service clubs have also carried on projects which might come under the head "relief" as would a few Salvation Army programs of which McKeesport has the most extensive.

Hospitals at McKeesport, Braddock, Homestead, Tarentum, and just outside McKees Rocks serve in varying degrees their respective industrial areas. Public-health nurses work under the joint auspices of the Pittsburgh Public Health Nursing Association and a local community group in a number of these towns. This program and the case work programs of Pittsburgh agencies, which find much need for service in these towns, are described in Part II as will be also the county-wide relief programs.

Recreation programs have been private and local more often than public or county-wide. A number of the larger industries have provided company recreation facilities for their employees. When Negroes were brought in, special provisions (a Negro welfare worker or a small recreation center for Negro employees) were added in several plants. During the prosperous twenties children's playgrounds near the mills, small community centers, day nurseries, and so forth, were occasionally maintained by companies.

No other type of community in the county has more examples of community gifts. These have usually been in the nature of facilities for recreation and leisure time activities. Outstanding among the gifts have been the combined libraries and athletic clubs endowed by Carnegie in Braddock, Munhall, Duquesne, and Carnegie; the Schwab Vocational High School, in Homestead; and the Renziehausen Park, in McKeesport. There are Y.M.C.A.'s in Wilmerding, Tarentum, Sharpsburg, McKeesport, Pitcairn, and Coraopolis, smaller Y.M.C.A.'s in Turtle Creek, and Carnegie. A "Community" center for employees and a playground formerly maintained by an industry at Etna is being continued under private auspices. Community centers under church auspices started as benevolent undertakings in Rankin and Leetsdale and on an underprivileged edge of Munhall. It is a frequent characteristic of these community provisions, however, that like some of the public facilities, they are more accessible to the better districts than to the poorer ones. The "Homestead Library" is in Munhall; this library and those in McKeesport and Carnegie are approached by steep ascents. Clairton's seventy-five

acre park and fine municipal swimming pool are at the extreme edge of the most open and privileged end of town.

Considering the congestion of the flats, it is not surprising that play space is almost entirely lacking there. The streets and the river swimming holes are the usual outdoor recreation places for residents of the river bottoms. The municipal athletic field and playground in the crowded district below the tracks in Coraopolis was an achievement. Tarentum is the only county community to have saved river front for a park; plans are underway, however, to extend this small park along the adjoining river front of Brackenridge.

Local Boy Scout councils have been one answer to recreation needs in Homestead, McKeesport, and the East Boroughs. A camp in the country within walking distance of town is being built under Boy Scout auspices of the Homestead council, and it will add materially to recreation facilities in this district.

The very number of voluntary programs in the older communities has been one of their chief handicaps. The number of nationality groups referred to earlier has been in part responsible. In McKeesport, with its population of 54,000, there are ten nationality groups including as many as one thousand members of first and second generations. Groups of this size are large enough to develop some community life and to support certain organizations of their own with some degree of adequacy. Such nationality-group provisions added to the organization of the American population mean, however, a complex social organization in which the arousing of a community spirit is difficult. In an introduction prepared by the Chamber of Commerce the McKeesport directory lists: 72 churches representing 23 denominations; 26 civic organizations; 113 benevolent and fraternal organizations; 20 labor organizations; 27 military organizations; and 50 other clubs and orders.

The church survey²⁶ shows more than twenty churches each for Homestead, Duquesne, Braddock, and McKees Rocks. Parochial schools have been organized by the largest nationality groups, resulting in a multiple school control more involved than is usual in communities of the size of these. When this tendency to organization on nationality basis expresses itself in the smaller industrial communities, especially in those from which there has been an exodus of wealth and leadership, it results in many small organizations, which must perforce devote most of their attention to their own maintenance.

Those communities which started as industrial communities and did not prosper as such are the most destitute of social programs. Heidelberg, a borough of 2,130, seems to depend almost wholly on its elementary

²⁶ Survey by Pittsburgh Council of Churches.

school and a Presbyterian mission, except that a few clubs serve their members. Its 1934 municipal budget was \$7,502. Glassmere, in East Deer Township, built and abandoned by the Ford Glass Company, is another example.

At the time of this study, which took place during the depression—though not at its staggering worst—the cumulative effects of the terrible lean years showed in more rapid housing deterioration, in the depletion of public and of individual finances, in business failures, in the curtailing of community programs, in the increasing number of health and of social problems, and in the lowering of morale. Although a description of the towns at that time is not typical, perhaps the problems which a depression reveals are particularly important in planning future social programs. The industrial towns were naturally the places with the highest percentages of people unemployed and on relief. It was inevitable then that they should show in marked degree the individual and community effects of depression. Housing repairs had fallen into arrears as had the rents and the taxes and the payments on the newer houses built more recently in the hills. Because of nonpayment of water rents water had been turned off from houses in various localities. There were far fewer boarders, since single men had left town in large numbers, many of them having gone to transient and Civilian Conservation Corps camps, while extra families had crowded into the poorer homes on the flats.

In the Allegheny County mill communities there are evidences of the “despondency, bitterness and apathy in the minds of many men,” “the considerable number of youths from 14 to 18 who have never had even temporary employment and who are fast losing their employability.”²⁷ It is not strange that desire for money and adventure sometimes brought those young people, who could not afford even movies, into conflict with the law. “Gangs of Forty Thieves,” whose membership requirement was a theft of sufficient proportion to impress the “gang,” were heard of in Homestead, Duquesne, and McKeesport. It was reported in Homestead that the depression had so increased the competition among the many night clubs and drinking places that many proprietors had felt forced to let their customers take any liberties in order to keep their trade. Since public regulation has been lax, young girls participate in, and are the victims of, some of these revels. The connection between delinquency and poverty and inadequate homes is so clearly recognized in some communities that it seems unjust and useless to take action against the young delinquents. One official told the investigator that measures taken were so ineffectual that the young people were losing their respect for the authorities.

²⁷ The quotations are from the book *Bryn Mawr—a Study of a Depressed Area*, by Hilda Jennings, p. 95.

Community programs of social and civic service at their maximum development in the 1920's would have been taxed to their utmost by such conditions. But when the industries were deflated by the depression, community programs suffered a serious disruption. It showed in the crippling of public services. The policemen (as well as the firemen) were employed for only half time in Duquesne. In some of the smallest industrial boroughs such as Wall, there was no police service. There were reports that Glassport teachers had gone eight months without pay and that school nurses had to be dismissed in Verona and in other places. McKeesport Hospital, which was generous with free service to surrounding communities, nearly "went on the rocks" earlier in the depression. The mills stopped using the Homestead Hospital, renting instead a ward at a larger Pittsburgh hospital. One heard social workers speak of the difficulty of getting hospitalization and clinical service in all these communities.

Leisure time programs become more important when homes are crowded and demoralized, but instead of being expanded to meet the greater need, they suffered drastic cuts. The City of Clairton, which in 1929 had made a \$2,500 appropriation to children's playgrounds, in the summer of 1935 left the entire program to a small recreation committee of the Citizen's League, which had less than \$200 to spend; playgrounds were maintained in Duquesne during the same summer for one month with minimum equipment furnished by the Women's Civic Club and supervision by a Federal project.²⁸ The recreation programs of industries and community institutions presented the same sort of picture. The playground equipment bought by some industries during the twenties was now at a replacement stage and could not be replaced. The recreation buildings owned by the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, at Turtle Creek, and the Spang-Chalfant Company, in Etna, remained closed during the entire eighteen-month period of the study. The athletic facilities of the library at Carnegie were closed. The membership fees of the athletic clubs at the other endowed libraries were materially reduced²⁹ to meet the emergency, but even the reduced rates were prohibitive to many people, while the reduction in these rates meant income subtracted from the library budgets.

Programs like those of Y.M.C.A.'s, Y.W.C.A.'s, and the few community centers that depended upon current subscriptions suffered sudden losses of income which necessitated cuts in staff and, in several cases, meant closing down the plants—sometimes with a later opening on reduced budget made possible by Community Fund support. The Wilmerding

²⁸ Schools and a voluntary association were helping out in Swissvale and Y.M.C.A. and Federal recreation projects in several places.

²⁹ Depression rates per quarter year in the various libraries were as follows: men \$1.50 to \$2.50; women \$1.00 to \$1.75; children 50c to 75c.

Christian Association and perhaps the McKeesport Boy Scouts³⁰ seem to have been the only activities of this nature which had been able to maintain their pre-depression volume of program without outside help. During the study the Turtle Creek Y.W.C.A. was maintaining an office at first with a half-time secretary and then without a paid secretary. The discouragement of program workers and sponsors was understandable.

The secretary of the East Pittsburgh Turn Verein described the predicament of the wholly member-supported programs: "Income . . . is very little and [we] are not able to pay the county, school and borough taxes for 1934. The most of our members are out of work and the society sacrificed many thousands of dollars of dues," which he says are 35¢ monthly.

Churches have shared the effects of the depression. Practically all those who answered a request for information sent to the ministers and priests of all the churches in one contiguous group of industrial communities made reports of increased difficulties, of which the following are typical: "reduced budget, less enthusiasm for religious work and a general lowering of morality and spirituality"; "people moved away, some impoverished, discouraged on account of no work, poor attendance on the part of those who do not have the right clothes. . ."; "morale has weakened, a feeling of dependency has crept into the lives of the people."

The depression picture is not all dark. The foreign women in Willow Way, a block on the Braddock flats, still kept tubs and boxes of flowers outside every doorway. The 1934 Community Fund in Rankin went over the top on the appeal of "showing that our community has not become pauperized." Because of the policy of the Carnegie Land Company, from which many workers had been buying homes, and of numerous banks in all parts of the county, there were few mortgage foreclosures, and fewer people lost their homes than might have been expected. Although it was not a normal time to judge community programs, it was a good time to appreciate their importance, as well as their difficulties. There were greater efforts to compensate for reduced budgets on the part of individuals connected with some municipalities, community institutions, and organizations. As was mentioned above, the Community Fund saved some programs from collapse. After the Negro center of the McKeesport Y.W.C.A. had to be closed, Negro girls' clubs were provided for in the old residence which is the general headquarters of the organization.

Among the new programs inspired by the depression the early community-relief programs ranked largest. But there were also the "Depression Colleges," such as those in Whitaker and Turtle Creek; the thrift-garden programs; and the recreation programs, in which active recreation

³⁰ Information about this program is incomplete.

committees of certain of the Community Councils coöperated with Federal recreation projects through the Federation of Social Agencies. There were self-help recreation programs such as that organized by some young Italian men under the name "Keystone Club," in Sharpsburg, and the Athletic Association which was responsible for the reopening of the library gymnasium in Carnegie. The Unemployed League in Millvale, by means of penny bingo, financed to the extent of five dollars men looking for work.

The depression threw into bold relief the difficulties connected with and underlying community programs. So far as community programs are concerned, the greatest difficulties center about the unequal distribution of resources, their fluctuation with the prosperity of industries and workers, and the circumstances that hamper civic development. Even limited experience in these mill communities impresses one with the fact that some of their most fundamental handicaps are beyond the power of anyone in the community to remove. Since their amelioration depends not only upon Pittsburgh and Allegheny County but also upon the management and the stockholders of the United States Steel Corporation and those of other huge corporations and, in some measure, upon the country as a whole, the communities have reason to welcome occasions which bring their difficulties to the attention of a wider audience. Perhaps the depression was such an occasion and the larger coöperation it called forth may have happy results in future programs.

THE MINING VILLAGES

The mining communities of Allegheny County do not constitute a large total population in comparison with the manufacturing communities. Since they are parts of townships and unincorporated, they have no official boundaries for enumeration and are not listed in any census figures. Some estimate of the total mining population in the county can be derived from the census figures on employment, and from the general observation supported by school enumerations, that miners' families are larger than the average family in the county. The 1930 census lists the number engaged in mining in this county is 15,010.³¹ Some of the miners live on farms, some in other communities, and some even in Pittsburgh; but the number represented by their families is probably more than offset by the number of families living in mining communities who depend for their livelihood on other occupations within or outside these communities.

Situated as these villages are, in the more isolated and remote parts of the county, they constitute perhaps the least-known group of communities. Because of the shifting location of operations in this industry,

³¹ The statistical appendix to the 1934 *Minerals Year-Book* of the United States Bureau of Mines gives the total number of mine employees as 13,220 for Allegheny County.

mining communities have a life history which is unique. It usually goes something like this: The company builds the community, since houses and stores are immediately needed for more men than the living facilities of a remote rural neighborhood could supply. It has not been the policy for coal companies to sell houses to their employees; hence the rather small percentage of families who have both the desire and the ability to own homes of their own built on private land just outside the community. Private grocery stores and perhaps a few small commercial amusement places grow up there, too. Where there is a sufficient demand and prospects seem to warrant the investment, some houses are built for rent or sale by private owners. The life of the mine—if the vein is thick—is from thirty to fifty years. Usually at some time, or several times, during the life history of most of these communities, there has been a strike, followed by the eviction of families from company houses, which has led a union to build rough barracks also on private land just outside the community. Most of these were torn down later, but a few remain, still owned by the union or bought by an outside individual and rented at low rates.

When the mine closes, the community disintegrates, breaking up rapidly at first when many miners move to the vicinity of other mines; then it suffers a gradual shrinkage and metamorphosis, as those who had bought homes, those whom the company does not consider desirable enough to transfer to a newer mine, and some of the broken families or otherwise unfortunate make their slow adjustments to the change. It is the policy of the larger companies to sell houses—often to be moved elsewhere or torn down for lumber after a mine closes—but the market is usually slow, so that the houses, no longer kept in usual repair, only gradually disappear. As the population dwindles, or when houses are occupied by people with little income, who have been attracted by the cheap rents in these abandoned communities, the small business places suffer and finally close.

Occasionally a mining community has a more fortunate history. Automobiles have made it possible for miners to remain in some of these places and travel longer distances to their work. A small industry occasionally succeeds the mine as the economic basis of the community or it becomes a small trade center for the surrounding rural region. There are in Allegheny County mining communities which represent all these stages of development. The list below includes the larger communities at the most active mines. The population of most of them is between one thousand and two thousand. Their ages vary from twenty to forty years.

Bairdford, West Deer Township
Coverdale, Bethel Township
Curtisville, West Deer Township
Harmarville, Harmar Township

Harwick, Springdale Township
Horning, Baldwin Township
Mollenauer, Bethel Township
Montour #10, Snowden Township
Moon Run, Robinson Township
Morgan-Treveskyn, South Fayette Township
Renton, Plum Township
Russellton, Plum Township
Smithdale, Elizabeth Township
Wildwood, Hampton Township

Remnants of former mining communities would make a longer list: they are most numerous in the southern part of the county. Library, Imperial, Sturgeon (the privately owned half of a former company town), Broughton, Universal, and several villages on the upper Monongahela are illustrations of mining villages which have survived. The following description applies chiefly to present company towns.

Since the location of mining communities depends on substrata of the earth, they have no uniformity and many difficulties because of surface features. They are as likely to be perched on a hillside as to occupy a valley. There were, in fact, two advantages to the hillside locations as far as the company which built the houses was concerned—land could be secured more cheaply since it was less valuable for other purposes, and drainage of a primitive sort was easily available. Where hillsides were not chosen many of these communities border a small stream, which receives part of the drainage.

These villages bear witness to the difficulty of building communities upon such terrain and upon a temporary industrial foundation. Some give evidence, in the so-called “streets” which were never graded or cindered, in the lack of trees and grass, and in the closeness of the tippel and slag heap, to the fact that the company looked upon them as camps and built them as a necessary adjunct to industry with about the same utilitarian consideration in mind that they would have in building storage places for equipment or garages—cheap patches on the landscape. In others the companies have, during the life of the mine at least, disregarded the circumstances of impermanence for the sake of the people who would after all live in the community for a generation or more and have achieved a real attractiveness. The old disintegrating communities have the appearance of having lingered on too long and having outlived both attractiveness and usefulness.

Mining communities have two marked advantages over mill communities—location outside the smog area and abundant space. It is true that houses are often close together, since the companies do not own large areas of the surface, but there is space for yards, and there is space all

around the community.³² Houses are not, for the most part, overcrowded. In this respect and in other respects there has been a change for the better in the mining communities. "People do not live as they used to, large families in two rooms," is the report. Improvements are ascribed by some to more strict state regulation and to the influence of mine labor organizations. It is probable that they reflect also the general rise of standards of living in which communities of all kinds participate. There are still three-room houses—some of them, unfortunately, the last ones built—but the majority of family dwellings consist of half of a separate double house, having two rooms on the first floor and two rooms on the second floor. Some still larger houses are occupied by larger families and by higher-paid employees.

The company houses are usually frame structures with a few exceptions, such as the stone and brick rows in Harmarville and the brick at Montour #10. Frame outbuildings, usually privy, coal bin, and storehouse stand in the rear.

In a few rare exceptions companies have installed, or are now installing, underground drainage and inside water and toilets. Such installations have been made in the newer part of Harmarville and in parts of Harwick and Russellton. In the majority of communities water is furnished from hydrants and pumps, each of which serves from four to twelve families. Enterprising families have piped water from these lines into their kitchens at their own expense. Electricity is available. Wallpaper is furnished by the tenants. Some companies still allow tenants to pick up coal around the slag heap instead of buying it, as is now most commonly done.

Because of the original isolation of these communities and the continuing lack of public services under the local governments in the townships, the coal company is not only employer, landlord, and storekeeper (with exceptions) but also the purveyor of public utilities and public services. The company stands in the place of police department and health department, sometimes of recreation department.

The companies generally take responsibility for garbage disposal and cleaning of privy vaults, as well as for general repairs. There are more complaints in the communities about these services than about anything else connected with the housing. General upkeep and services have suffered during the last decade of labor trouble and depression. Privy vaults are cleaned once a year in practically all communities. The frequency of garbage collections varies from once a week in a few communities to less often than once a month during the summer and only two or three times during the remainder of the year in other villages.

³² Except in Harmarville the writer saw none of the row houses common in the manufacturing towns of the county and in mining villages in England.

Rent for these company houses, including water and in some instances electricity, varies in different villages and with different years. It probably averages from ten to twelve dollars for a four-room house. As in every community, tenants also vary widely. Some of the enterprising families make rather extensive changes in these company houses, even to the addition of a room. Unless they buy or build houses on private land, there is no opportunity, however, for such tenants to move away from irresponsible and slatternly neighbors.

Many of the miners in Allegheny County live in company houses. The Pittsburgh Coal Company alone has about nine hundred houses in Allegheny County, and usually has a waiting list of prospective tenants in company towns located near "long-life" mines. Rents for four-room apartments in double houses range from \$5.50 to \$8 per month per apartment, and single houses rent for about \$11.50. All the Pittsburgh Coal Company houses in Allegheny County have outside toilets, and about 50 percent have running water. Wells were used formerly, but now city water is piped into all the Pittsburgh Coal Company towns.³³ House rents are covered in the union agreement.

Because conditions in communities vary with the age of the mines, the nature of the terrain, the general prosperity of the industry, with the various companies and even from time to time under different superintendents, it is impossible to describe in detail all mine communities together. The best company villages in the county comparé favorably with bituminous-coal communities elsewhere and with small towns of different origin. Harwick would impress anyone as one of the most attractive places of its size in the county. The Real Property Inventory listed 200 dwellings of which 155 were single family dwellings and 40 were occupied by their owners. Although the village is thirty-five years old, they found no house unfit for use, and only one needed structural repairs. One hundred and thirty-two needed minor repairs; 158 of the structures had basements; and 207 of the 240 "family units" which these "structures" provided had running water. Thirty-nine family units had three rooms; 77, four rooms; 42, five rooms; and 72, six rooms. As far as one could judge from its appearance the village deserves the comment made by one of its younger residents: "I have lived here all my life and I've never had reason to complain."

The following description of another village, one of a series of brief comparative reports on several villages seen in 1935 by a field worker from the Pittsburgh Housing Association emphasizes company services:

Looking down from the new highway, one sees a widely scattered patch with

³³ McDowell, C. A., personnel manager, Pittsburgh Coal, by interview, Aug. 27, 1935.

much space between houses and the yards cleaned of all garbage and rubbish. This is one of the noteworthy conditions of this camp and rules of this company. Garbage and rubbish are collected without fail weekly throughout the year. Regular garbage cans with covers are supplied by the company. There are trees and vegetable gardens. The streets are graded and of macadam construction with some sidewalks. The street lights are rather far apart, but are on every night.

This patch consists of approximately 125 double houses, two-story construction of frame, painted a light green. The privy vaults are thirty-five feet from the houses and are cleaned once a year. With a few exceptions, there are no houses with inside water or sinks. Eight families use one pump. The sewage, except the stream, is not much in evidence, but a tenant claims that there is practically no piping. The company makes repairs very promptly and supplies lumber and whitewash for further repairs which tenants wish to make.

The description which follows is an abbreviated report of the only detailed study of a mining village which the Housing Association has made. Inspections were made first in 1931 and rechecked in 1933 and 1935. It is not typical of all villages in the county nor of all those of the particular company but is a fair composite picture of the conditions in a number of poorer mining communities.

The village is laid out with four parallel ungraded "streets" going up the hill and five across—the streets are cut by deeper ruts and rain-washed gullies as one ascends the hill. The drain ditches beside the streets are full of weeds, tin cans, bits of garbage and other rubbish. Many of the tiles which line the ditches have through years past been disarranged or broken. As a result, waste water stands in pools every few feet along these ditches and also trickles across yards or stagnates in hollows. Except for three or four small struggling fruit trees, there are only two trees in the patch. The 160 odd company-owned frame houses are uniform in type, color and arrangement—ten rows made up of units of four to ten four- or five-room double houses, with retaining walls and high porches. Houses were last painted about four years ago (an earlier report for this community said that the company painted once in ten years). There is an unsightly combination of cast off lumber, bits of furniture, broken pipes, etc. under many of the high hillside porches. Nowhere is there any spruceness. The barrenness and roughness of the land, the steepness of the terrain do not encourage trim lawns. The field worker found only two yards with grass. Between rows of houses are the roughly built out-buildings—wood sheds, coal sheds and privies, arranged in units as are the houses. Many of the privy vaults are not securely sealed; some cement vaults are cracked and broken.

The superintendent reports that a garbage drum with lid has been furnished to each family; some lids were not in evidence. Rubbish and garbage were removed once a month during the past summer.

Water is supplied by hydrants standing on high wooden platforms, one to every eight to twelve houses. Of the nine hydrants but five are in working order; two pumps are out of order; the others have no pumps. The majority of the tenants have, however, installed inside water with sinks and drains. A spring at the end of camp is preferred by some families as water supply.

The tenants of the very last house up on the hill were enterprising enough to install two street lights on opposite corners of the building; these are the only usable street lights in the village. There are twenty-one high street-lights but they have no globes and two are minus fixtures.

The superintendent says that two men are kept busy all the time plastering, roofing, carpentering. The company gives lumber to any tenant who asks to make his own repairs.

Electricity is furnished free for houses but wires are poorly insulated, simply strung up along walls and ceilings. Most of the stairways are dark, but the steps solid and not badly worn. Many of the floors on the main floor sag. Invariably kitchen floors are badly worn; rotting holes are frequent.

The field worker from the Housing Association inspected 81 of the 157 company houses. The report shows more accurately than description, the violation of the Association's minimum housing standards which these houses presented:

Defective chimney or flue	8	Unsafe floor	8
No inside water supply	34	Unsafe steps	14
Insufficient sinks	36	Unsafe porch	9
Sink untrapped	13	Unsafe wall	14
No hydrant drain	37	Unsafe toilet house	4
Privy vault needs cleaning	39	Garbage, rubbish & ashes accumulations	25
Privy vault too close to house	31	Irregular garbage & rubbish removal	75
Low ceiling	63	Garbage not in covered can	69
Defective rain leader	78	Open sewerage	61
Leaky roof	40		
Plaster broken	36		

As in other communities, there are the dirty, careless, destructive families—perhaps next door to the self-respecting tenant, who cannot rest until the house is cleaned throughout with disinfectant; and who, by dint of some miraculous management, keeps the paint and wall papers fresh. About twenty-five of the industrious tenants have made vegetable gardens—some merely 6' x 12' patches—fencing them off from the ubiquitous dogs and chickens with scraps of boarding, wire and left-overs. Fourteen yards were found with some attempts at flowers, but many of the women had found window gardening safer; there are many windows full of potted plants and ten or more vine-covered porches. Especially in the upper houses, there are to be found pretty cushions, good kitchen linoleum, nice sets of furniture, large radios, modern kitchen ranges, electric refrigerators, electric washing machines.

The first two rows are still among the most dilapidated and ill-cared for on the patch. Likewise most of these houses contain less furniture, a few being bare of everything but beds, stoves, chairs and tables. The lower rows are occupied chiefly by the Negroes, of whom there are fewer than in 1931, but the whites are scattered among them, sometimes living in a double house with Negro neighbors. Other Negroes, sometimes two families, in a double house, are scattered among the Poles, Slavs, Russians, Italians, farther up the hill.

In spite of the violations of good housing standards found, the field worker reports improvements since the first inspection here. In general, conditions are the same as in 1931 and 1933, although abatements exceed new violations. There are no marked improvements except a greater number of houses supplied with inside water, a small number of new privies, a more regular, though still infrequent garbage and rubbish collection and the demolition of twenty of the oldest and worst houses.

The next paragraph of the same report furnishes a comparison between company-controlled villages and the smaller privately owned settlements which grew up near them. The former present more uniformity and undoubtedly prevent the lowest extremes in housing and sanitation.

Along the highway are some twenty assorted privately owned dwellings. Because of the wide diversity to be found here, it is difficult to make a comparison with the patch. There are several six to eight room, well built, well conditioned and attractively painted houses. The other houses vary from these to shack-like barracks and a tent used in the 1927 strike. In the main, the middle class houses are in better repair than those in the patch. The yards are fenced in, there are gardens and even lawns; more trees and a general appearance of more care and neatness than in most of those on the patch. There is no rubbish or garbage service here and apparently what is not burned, buried or carried to a large dump farther down the road is thrown on the lot among the debris of a house which burned several years ago and was never cleared away.

Mining communities differ not only in houses and physical appearance but also in the intangible factors that make for or prevent community-mindedness and community programs. Such villages are difficult places in which to develop civic action. The one accepted common interest is the work. There is a labor union which meets on each pay day or less often, but in some communities only about one-tenth of the miners are members. There are different degrees of coöperation with the company about community affairs in different villages and on the part of the various families. The broken light bulbs, the lack of care shown by some of the premises, the report by one community that the miners would vote against any township candidate whom they thought the company favored are illustrations on the negative side. Whether individuals fail or whether the company fails in its part, there is little opportunity for civic control in these communities. They are, more particularly the older ones, feudal estates, the barons of which live elsewhere and delegate authority and responsibility to the mine superintendents and other employees. Such a system breeds subservience or resentment rather than coöperation and community development.

COVERDALE POPULATION

Total population, approximately 1,881; total families, 409

American white	580	Lithuanian	24
American Negro	180	Magyar	17
Austrian	15	Polish	275
Croatian	116	Russian	63
English	65	Scotch	20
French	15	Serbian	21
German	57	Slovak	148
Irish	20	Slovene	92
Italian	68	Ukranian	63
Hebrew	21	Welsh	9

The most marked difference to be noticed in other communities is that Negroes are absent from most of the mines and most of the communities in the north and northeast sections of the county.

Population characteristics and population changes present, perhaps, greater difficulties than are encountered in manufacturing towns. It is probable that the coal companies which originally sought new labor for the mines shared the labor policy of the Carnegie Steel Corporation of purposely hiring men of several different nationality groups for each mine. The drifting from mine to mine has not changed this. A resident of Sturgeon said in response to a question about nationalities, "You have a League of Nations here." Actual count of nationalities by the worker in the local Presbyterian Mission, during her annual home visit, showed the groups listed on page 72 included in the population of Coverdale.

The changes in the population following labor trouble is one of the chief sources of resentment in these communities. "This used to be a nice town" was heard in several places. A postmaster reported: "Although there has been no decided increase or decrease in the population during the last ten years, a great transformation has taken place here." The amount of drifting from mine to mine depends upon industrial conditions and upon the opportunities in other places. The Real Property Inventory in West Deer Township, where the population is composed largely of miners gives some illustration of the amount of change in these villages.³⁴ Of 888 tenant-occupied family units, 103 had been occupied less than six months and 303 less than three years.

Usually even these communities settle into some rough social levels which can be guessed by the differences in houses in various parts of the villages, not only by the better houses of mine officials at the top of the scale, but by the poorest groups of houses which have received characteristic nicknames. Bairdford has a "Hollywood" and a "Shantytown." Curtisville, Moon Run, and Coverdale show their tendencies to exclusion in "Little Italy," "Hog Hollow" (now almost dismantled), and "Mexico," respectively.

The social rejection implied in these names is directed in largest measure against Negroes, partly because of race prejudice, partly because they were brought into some mines as scabs during strikes and somewhat for their reputation for poor housekeeping. A resident of Moon Run said that the Negroes are a distinct element in the community, adding that they are "kept in their place." It was said also in Coverdale that Negroes were the only group not "accepted." In some communities, where the number of Negro families is small, they take their place with others as individual families rather than as a distinct group. In some of the communities a few white families are greater outcasts than the Negroes because their ostracism is personal, due to misconduct of some kind. Often

³⁴ Moving to different houses within the village will, of course, partly explain the above facts.

such outcasts cannot get work, hence they cannot pay regular rent and must live in the poorest quarters the community provides.

In the mining communities of Allegheny County only one group, the "Grannish,"³⁵ seems to have had initiative to overcome the disadvantages of these many-nationality communities. Although a small group, its members have been thrifty, many of them having saved money to build homes, some by taking boarders and some by starting grocery stores or other small businesses. This group apparently values their community facilities as well as the family ones—as their community halls in Coverdale, Sygan, Moon Run, Presto, and Renton testify. For the Grannish group the community hall takes the place of church, lodge hall, and recreation center—lodges for women and young people, as well as for men, meeting there, and occasional dances being given to pay for the halls and their upkeep. There are picnics out-of-doors in the summer, attended by Grannish people from miles around. The other residents of the community are welcome at the dances, but most of the activities are limited to the Grannish group, who in turn do not mix very much with the rest of the village.

Meanwhile, the families of other groups in the community have gone some distance for their own nationality lodge and church and occasional recreation, or they have been unaffiliated with organizations and limited to the recreation available in the community—the pool room and the drinking places open to all nationalities with the possible exception of Negroes. There has been little of a social nature for the women except in some communities which had a sufficiently large nucleus of English-speaking people to start a women's lodge such as the "Royal Neighbors of America," in Moon Run, said to have been founded by the English and the Scotch, which now includes a few Grannish and Slavic women.

In a number of the mining communities, especially the older ones, an elementary school has been built for the children—schools which often have several rooms, due to the comparatively large number of children, but which in other respects are more like one-room schools than consolidated schools, and which for the most part have not become community centers. This is partly because direction is from outside, as it is in other community affairs, in this case with the school board of the township as a whole. Upon inquiry in one such two-room school, it was learned that there are practically no parent-teacher associations. In that particular school it was explained the parents had met a few times at the school-house and had even bought several things for the school. To an inquiry about what matters these parents had discussed, the teachers replied that they had not attended the meetings; neither had they visited in the homes.

³⁵ The name by which a group of Slovene people are known here. They are said to have come from a part of Hungary near the Austrian border where they were in closer contact with trade and culture from Vienna than were others of their nationality.

When consolidated schools were inaugurated, however, children in mining communities began to attend the same school with the other children from their vicinity and throughout the township, and they have shared greater advantages. That they have taken their places academically in these schools is indicated by the fact reported by the superintendent of the Bethel Township school that four out of five honor graduates in a recent class were Coverdale children. Some of the comparatively new township schools have been located with mining communities in mind. Just as Bethel School is near Coverdale, Robinson Township school is near Moon Run. The Findlay Township school is the center of the Imperial community (now grown to the proportions and likeness of a small town rather than a strictly mining village). Morgan, Russellton, and Harwick communities seem to be served by centrally located consolidated schools. Such schools, especially when they are located in a mining community, not only are educational institutions but also are contributory to the health and recreation programs in these communities.

Medical attention for miners and some service for their families is furnished by the company doctor, who usually lives within the village while the mine is active. Service is paid for on the check-off system, the doctor receiving the specified amount checked off each miner's pay on pay days. Service is usually given at the doctor's office. Foreign-born men usually represent the women in their family and take to them medicine and instructions. Until the depression there were more company nurses than there are at present. During 1935 nurses seem to have been employed only at Harwick and Montour #10. At the latter place there is also a doctor on a salary and a small "hospital" with modern equipment. This health center serves the miners in the surrounding country within a radius of five miles. It is a center of health education, as well as treatment, having classes in home care of the sick and first aid. In this instance and at Harwick the company nurse gives service to the township schools. The mining populations of North Fayette, Bethel, and Plum townships, on the other hand, share in the necessarily thinly-spread services of a single school nurse (in Plum Township she is on half time only). Townships with large mining populations, such as South Fayette and West Deer, were without any nursing service, an annual, a biennial, or an even less-frequent physical inspection of school children and the health education provided in the larger schools constituting the school-health program.³⁶ An indication of health conditions in several mining towns is to be gathered from reports that one reason for social cleavage in these consolidated schools is that the children from outside do not like to play

³⁶ See also chap. xix on public health administration in the county area, and the note about the more recent W.P.A. nursing project p. 106.

games involving contact with the children from mining communities, since they fear exposure to dirt and skin diseases. Another indication is the report from one of the school nurses that cases of illness and physical defects in members of miners' families who are not in school are often neglected for long periods.

Most companies have shown an interest in good schools for their communities; several companies attempt to place the boys who graduate. There were Smith-Hughes night classes in mining in Elizabeth, Snowden, Penn and West Deer townships, with an enrollment which varied from nineteen to twice that number. A larger vocational school with teachers furnished by a Federal education project was started as a coöperative project of the schools, the company, and the local union in a community on the extreme edge of the county. The township board's share of the cost of the courses was paid in one township at least, and perhaps in other townships, by the coal company.

Churches were the first outside agency to attempt to meet the program lacks in mining villages, sometimes by sending a minister or priest from the outside once or twice a month, as the Bethel Presbyterian church still does in Coverdale and as is done for Catholic services in Renton, sometimes by building a mission or church within the community. A Baptist church at Library maintains a missionary at the nearby village of Montour # 10.

The Pittsburgh Presbytery has missions at Coverdale and at Santiago, and until recently they had one at Mollenaure. These missions are small community centers with a Protestant religious emphasis; they are open to anyone for nursery schools, for boys' and girls' clubs, and for church services. The Mollenaure Mission used a building belonging to the company and intended for a hospital. In Coverdale a very small frame building has been available. The people of the community have recently proved their appreciation of the mission by putting in a basement, largely at their own expense and by their own work. The finest feature of the programs of these missions is perhaps that they provide resident mission workers. These workers visit the homes and identify themselves closely with the people.

The Protestant church in Russellton started as a mission church under outside auspices and has a woman as pastor who carries on a community program. This church now, as do the other missions, contributes to foreign missions. The Catholic church in the same community, which has a resident priest, serves two hundred families and was able to pay for a sixteen-thousand-dollar church before the depression. Churches have difficulties due to the diverse religious traditions of the many nationality groups, and most of them have remained weak. They do, however,

especially the Catholic churches, occasionally have social events, mostly for money raising, which help to compensate for the dearth of recreation facilities.

Especially during more prosperous times the coal companies made provision for the children in some communities by building and equipping playgrounds like those in the mill communities. Some of these playgrounds show the effects of the depression. Renton's small hillside triangle once had quite expensive equipment which is now in a dangerous state of disrepair; Curtisville Park is now only a name for unused ground. Because of danger of destruction and accident Bairdford's and Russellton's equipped summer playgrounds are fenced and under the custody of a caretaker.

In mining communities the group which probably most needs further programs is that of the young people many of whom have stopped school early. "A crying need" for informal educational activities was reported. A close observer of one of these communities reported that lack of recreation for young people was perhaps most serious among the thrifty Grannish group. The parents are inclined to think playing and reading stories a waste of time; they do not encourage athletic games because they wear out shoes and clothing; they discourage company in the home by being very careful of the good houses they have built. According to one of the Grannish young people the older generation conduct the business meetings of their lodges in "Grannish" language, and have nationality orchestras for their dances. The young people often leave early; if they have transportation facilities, they seek out a road house for dancing; if not, on the many evenings when there is no event at the community hall they meet their friends on the streets of the village. In a few communities the companies have made some provision for older young people. Several have allowed the boys to grade a lot for baseball. Russellton has tennis courts (which report says are used chiefly by officials) and an outdoor pavilion in a field some distance from the road. Harwick also has tennis courts and one of the best playgrounds in any part of the county.

Programs and leadership are not supplied unless, as was done formerly in Mollenauer and some other communities, baseball games with the boys are organized by a mine superintendent or unless a program is brought in from the outside, which is done in rare cases. Villages which have achieved the greatest amount of coöperation and community-mindedness reflect it in more community-initiated programs.

Some unusual ventures in community programs deserve attention because they fill, or have filled, some of these needs. According to an official of the Ford Collieries Company, operating in Curtisville, men who were in the war saw the advantages offered by the Y.M.C.A., Knights of Columbus, and other organizations, and wanted something of the sort in

their community when they returned. They gave ten dollars each toward erection of the large, substantial community building which the company furnished. The company also installed a rather extensive library and paid the salaries of three workers: a girl who served as librarian, another in charge of activities for small children, and an industrial Y.M.C.A. secretary. The official quoted above commented, "If people say miners won't read, they don't know what they are talking about." These activities were discontinued when the depression came on, and the building was closed, except for sporadic events, until Local Work Division³⁷ projects started, when a club under county Y.M.C.A. auspices met here. Parts of the building are rented for a barber shop and a small commercial poolroom.

The mine superintendent at Harwick happens to be a township official. When a larger school was needed for the township, he was instrumental in persuading the company to offer to remodel and equip the old four-room building in the community for a community center, if the miners would vote for the new building, for which this company and one other would be the chief taxpayers. Groups or organizations within the community can secure the use of part or all of this building for meetings, dances, and so forth. Sunday School and evening church services are held here regularly as are Boy Scout meetings.

Much depends on leadership. Interested superintendents elsewhere may not have been allowed to start programs like the above, but some have helped develop cooperation and good community feeling. In at least two communities visited, the company doctor had added to his own professional services some measure of community leadership.

One large company has a director of personnel who during the past nine years has developed clubs and supervised gardens in all of the active communities of the company,³⁸ thus encouraging a more adequate and healthful diet and providing both the pleasure in growing things, an attitude and habit which many of the miners brought from Europe, and an occasion for greater pride in the community. A colored worker helps in the garden and the club programs among Negroes and gives a measure of supervision to these newer residents.

Due to the spread of good roads most of the mining towns are no longer so isolated as were the early communities—a change much appreciated by their residents. At the Pittsburgh bus station one now hears announcements of busses to all the larger mining towns.

As mentioned above, sons and daughters and occasionally wives of miners are leaving these communities to work in nearby places as domes-

³⁷ One of the designations of the Federal Work Relief program.

³⁸ Last year's report showed that 45 percent of all families and 97 percent of those in company houses in these communities had gardens.

tics by the day or week, or in mills, stores, or offices. This practice has been prevalent partly because of necessity during the years of slack work in the mines, partly due to the fact that "going to town" and being able to "dress up more" has a fascination for these young people, as it does for other rural young people, and partly because the old tradition of "once a miner, always a miner" is to some extent breaking down.

One coal company tried with some success the plan of coöperating with the miners in making possible transportation from their homes to the more distant mines. A prominent official of this company is authority for the prophecy that no more company villages will be started in Allegheny County. Even in the company communities there is beginning to be some sharing in outside citizenship: the taking of occasional complaints to health officers; voting as the company or the union advises; and, in rare instances, the aspiration of a miner to a township office. To this extent do the residents of the mining communities participate in the wider life of the county. The extent to which Pittsburgh social programs reach their communities will be discussed in Part II.

RESIDENCE COMMUNITIES

Allegheny County represents a decentralization of Pittsburgh's residential area almost as much as it does of her industrial affairs, as the evening outward-bound traffic by automobile, electric cars, and steam railroads testifies. Some twenty-five of the county's incorporated places receive the commuters.

PITTSBURGH'S SUBURBAN RESIDENCE COMMUNITIES

OHIO RIVER GROUP

Bellevue	Emsworth
Avalon	Osborne
Ben Avon	Sewickley
Ben Avon Heights	Edgeworth

SOUTH HILLS GROUP

Mt. Oliver	Crafton
Brentwood	Ingram
Dormont	Greentree
Mt. Lebanon	Roslyn Farms
Thornburg	

SCATTERED COMMUNITIES TO THE NORTH AND EAST

Aspinwall	Wilksburg ³⁹
Fox Chapel	Forest Hills
West View	Edgewood
Bradford Woods	Oakmont

³⁹ Wilksburg and Forest Hills are the residences of office employees of the Westinghouse plants, as well as of people employed in Pittsburgh; the same is true of Edgewood, but to a lesser extent. Oakmont is partly a commuting community, partly the home of the highest-paid group in local industry.

These boroughs represent "dormitory communities" for Pittsburgh, but they represent also something more—an independent local life, with pride in their independence, with traditions of their own, and with the aim and the ability to create good places to live. They were built and are administered for homes and families as zealously as the manufacturing and mining communities function to make money. Some of these communities are middle-class, stable, conservative, some are "new and smart." Mt. Lebanon, with its eighty apartment houses, shows the only marked exception to the prevailing custom of building one-family houses. The population in these communities varies from 311 in Ben Avon Heights to 28,450, more than twice the minimum required for third-class cities, in Wilksburg, the largest borough⁴⁰ in Pennsylvania.

All advantages except that of topography are with these residence communities. An advantage easily apparent was that of clean, wide, paved streets, comfortable and beautiful houses, and lawns and gardens. That they had grown up recently, many of them later than the industrial towns, was in their favor. More utilities were available, and more modern building methods were in vogue in the newer towns. With the assistance of the engineering services for which they were able to pay, even the difficulties of topography turned into assets, for the completed homes have beautiful outlooks from hill tops, and they also have surrounding privacy-giving space.

A benefit to these communities which is greater than wealth is the homogeneity of the people who settled them. In general they attracted people not only of similar and rather high economic status but also of similar nationality and rather high cultural background, so that from the start coöperation on community affairs, whether official or voluntary, was comparatively easy. The residential boroughs probably have the best government and the least "political" activity of any communities in the county. Perhaps the latter fact is partly accounted for by the report from some communities that they are "solidly Republican." Current events forums, like that of the Ingram Parent-Teachers Association and of the League of Women Voters, have prominence equal to that usually held by political clubs.

There are two methods by which the citizens of these communities secure good local government and see to it that they get value received for their taxes. One plan is civic participation. Due to the homogeneity of the people and to their comparatively high intellectual caliber an interesting degree of democracy seems to exist in these residential communities—at least, did exist during their earlier years. Forest Hills, along the

⁴⁰ For an outline of some technical differences between borough, city, and other types of local political subdivisions, see *infra*, pp. 109-13.

Lincoln Highway, east of Pittsburgh, is new enough to illustrate this process. It was incorporated in 1920. Some say that 60 percent of the adult residents are college graduates. The following is a newspaper announcement of a civic meeting held during the period of this Study:

FOREST HILLS FOLK TO DECIDE IMPORTANT QUESTIONS AT AN
OLD-FASHIONED TOWN MEETING

Parks, Schools, Library and Other Issues to be Discussed

Extending an opportunity for every citizen to discuss borough activities, the Civic Club of Forest Hills, is sponsoring a "town meeting" to be held at 8 P.M. on Friday, October 11, in the auditorium of the Atlantic Avenue School.

This meeting is a direct outgrowth of the favorable reaction from a similar open forum held last May, when citizens and officials discussed mutual problems for betterment of the borough.

The meeting this month has no connection with the forthcoming election, and political issues will not be a part of the discussions. The subjects in order will be those of wide borough interest.

The second method by which some of these residential communities secure efficient public services is by the employment of borough managers, realizing from their own business experience that the administration of government, while it needs most of all the active interest and thought of the citizens, needs also expert personnel. Aspinwall, Avalon, Edgewood, Edgeworth, Osborne, and Sewickley have borough managers. Mt. Lebanon has the distinction of being the only township in Pennsylvania to have the manager form of government. The intelligent interest in all phases of community life shown by several of the managers with whom the field worker had opportunity to talk was indicative of their value to their communities. In five other boroughs another official performs some of the duties of a manager.

There is a rather wide difference in demands made for community programs of both official and voluntary nature. The organization of some of these communities began simply and they have remained comparatively simple. This has been possible partly because many of their residents have access to organization facilities in Pittsburgh, in addition to those at home.

After securing public utilities the emphasis was put upon the provision of good schools—private in a few of the more fashionable boroughs; public in the others. Because of the money and interest which supports them there is little difference between the public schools in some of these boroughs and the private schools in others. Thornburg and Roslyn Farms, for example, have attractive bungalow buildings in landscaped yards for

twenty-seven and sixty-five children, respectively—the entire elementary-school population of the boroughs. Anyone could mistake these for private progressive schools. The simplicity of public provisions in some of the smaller of these residential communities is indicated by the fact that a number of them, such as the two above mentioned, do not maintain high schools. The only provisions which some of the communities make for medical service, libraries, and recreation center in the schools and are, of course, chiefly limited to service for children. The fact that most families can provide these services individually is one explanation of the simplicity of their community programs.

There is in these communities also talent, experience, and leisure for the development of community programs of a voluntary nature. In some localities, where community needs offer no great challenge, the activities have been chiefly social and cultural. Community life in several of these places centers in a country club or in a private community club. In others, particularly the older and larger ones, in addition to social programs there are voluntary programs with a civic or philanthropic emphasis. Voluntary organizations support community nurses in Sewickley and in Oakmont. For about forty years the Sewickley Union Aid has carried on local relief work by means of an employed worker and board members. The Home and Hospital Club, Bellevue, the Playground Association in Wilkinsburg, and other organizations there and elsewhere have civic and philanthropic programs. Y.M.C.A.'s were started by local initiative and local gifts in Sewickley and in Bellevue, and a Y.W.C.A., in Wilkinsburg. Local groups, often women's clubs, started most of the libraries with gifts of books and volunteer service. Other libraries were endowed by a wealthy resident, such as those in Bellevue and in Edgewood.

An abundance of leadership and lack of pressing financial problems may have led in some places to too many separate local programs for the greatest economy and efficiency. Some tendencies toward more inclusive community programs are, however, evident. In the field of religious activity, this tendency and the homogeneity of the community are symbolized by the fact that there is a single community church in Edgewood, in Forest Hills, and in a number of other communities. Wilkinsburg, Dormont, and Aspinwall have coördinated the community services of their voluntary and official organizations through Community Councils, and Edgewood through a Youth Council.

There is a tendency also toward a wider variety of public services. Aspinwall, Wilkinsburg, Dormont, and Mt. Lebanon boroughs or schools participate in summer playground programs. There are borough or school appropriations to public libraries in some five of these communities.

Sewickley, Wilkinsburg, and Mt. Lebanon go somewhat farther than do the other communities in making public-health provisions (most of these communities have a part-time health officer, according to the custom of nearly all Allegheny County communities). Edgewood has a borough relief committee. In some of these communities Borough buildings are a sort of community center, and it was noticed that several borough managers, because of their central position in community affairs, performed certain functions of community coördination. Libraries are housed in borough buildings in Mt. Lebanon, Emsworth, and inadequately in Forest Hills. Public-health nurses and the Sewickley Union Aid have offices in the borough buildings in Sewickley.

Since some of these communities represent contiguous residential neighborhoods rather than separate communities, it seems as though boundary lines might be broken down in the interest of larger units for more widely-spread and efficient programs. Edgeworth and Osborne employ the same borough manager, each half-time, having Sewickley between them under another manager. The three boroughs know no boundary lines in social affairs. Sewickley is the high-school center and the local-trade center. The explanation of their separateness goes back to reasons for incorporating the residential communities and suggests that, fortunate as they are, these communities are beset with some problems.

The very attractiveness of these places brings new residents, and their coming is at first desirable but later, if they become so numerous as to lead to crowding, a disadvantage. Mt. Oliver, an independent borough surrounded by Pittsburgh, is now, according to the Traffic Survey, one of the ten most densely populated boroughs in the county; Wilkinsburg, which adjoins Pittsburgh on the east, is nearly as closely settled. It is not strange that some of the residents who arrive after these communities have been started do not share the ideals of their founders. The business districts which grow up to serve the larger populations bring in new elements. The domestic-service group in some of the older, more wealthy communities has grown into a substantial part of the population. There is also a "vogue" about residence areas which is a fickle factor in determining communities.

As communities become more crowded and more middle-class, residents with financial ability are inclined to seek homes in newer residential districts. The state provision for borough incorporation provides that real-estate owners in any thickly populated area of sufficient density (which is usually regarded as 300 inhabitants per square mile) can petition the County Court of Quarter Sessions for incorporation as a borough. The newest borough, Sewickley Heights, is the most extreme example

of this tendency. Centered in the Allegheny Country Club and settled as estates by wealthy Pittsburghers, who also divide their time among Newport, Palm Beach, and Europe, it incorporated in 1934 because "the community was about to be invaded by a lot development." The Court of Quarter Sessions record (from which the quotation in the previous sentence was taken) describes the borough as follows: "The proposed borough contains 85 properties, 2 cemeteries, 1 school property, 1 church property, the Allegheny Country Club, a road house, a gas station, 2 dairies, 30-odd large estates ranging from 23 to 336 acres. The rest of the property ranges from 1 to 20 acres. There are six farms."

The garage of the Country Club, the headquarters for the police and fire "departments," already set up as private services under the Sewickley Heights Protective Association before incorporation, is the business headquarters. According to a newspaper report of the first election a millionaire is mayor. It would have been expected that the owners of these estates would bring and would attract a serving class, but the servants who are not provided for on the estates are not allowed to live in the borough. This group of foreigners and Negroes has joined similar but smaller groups from Edgeworth, Osborne, and Sewickley itself in a section of Sewickley borough.

There is also a movement, naturally smaller in proportions, for employees of other industrial centers to develop smaller residential communities. As the list on page 79 shows, Wilksburg, Oakmont, and Forest Hills were only partially settled by Pittsburgh commuters. Wilksburg was the home of most of the men in the Westinghouse offices until a few of the higher officials moved farther out and incorporated Churchill borough, in 1934. There has been a tendency to separate the people in the higher-salary brackets from the lowest-paid laborers by the incorporation of residential communities, thus making pairs of communities, adjacent, but unlike—Munhall and Homestead, Oakmont and Verona, Cheswick and Springdale, and so forth. Oakmont was formerly the best residential ward of Verona. It became a dormitory community for Pittsburghers, as well as the home of the higher-paid employees of the local industry. What the separation means to Verona is indicated by the fact that Oakmont now has advantages which Verona cannot afford, some of which, such as library service, are available to Verona citizens only on a paying basis.

A few smaller boroughs represent much more modest residential communities. Chalfant, occupying only .14 square mile of the side of a hill across from East Pittsburgh and Turtle Creek, with 1,176 residents, 85 percent of whom are Europeans of the first or second generation, shows a satisfaction with its community of homes very similar to that found in

the more pretentious communities. They incorporated in order to provide more school supplies, and so forth, than the township could afford. They have "no church and no jail," but they have water and electricity. The man, who serves as police force and health officer said, "We have everything we need." Two clubs with names which had civic connotation were reported to be "really political clubs."

Whitaker is another separately incorporated residence borough for an industrial population, having an area of .31 square mile and a population of 2,072. It extends up a ravine between Homestead and Munhall. East McKeesport, outside Wilmerding, is a little larger and more middle-class. With the withdrawal of old industries Elizabeth and West Elizabeth have also become largely residential communities.

The tendency of even the best of these communities to change in the course of years has already been mentioned. Population changes are talked about in Wilkinsburg and Sewickley. "Twenty years ago, there were only one or two Italian families in the borough. The first Greek family came about ten years ago," a Wilkinsburg leader said in a Community Council meeting. The Negroes went to Sewickley as domestic servants, the Italians as gardeners—both of the groups employed by the home owners of adjacent boroughs as often or more often than by Sewickley residents. The 1930 census figures for these two boroughs follow:

	WILKINSBURG PERCENT	SEWICKLEY PERCENT
Native white native parentage	68.3	53.3
Native white foreign or mixed parentage	20.3	21.7
Foreign born white	9.4	12.2
Negro	1.8	12.7

Perhaps these changing communities escape some of the complacency which is always a danger in privileged groups. A young person in one of the carefully zoned boroughs wrote of her community: "It develops slowly in size, remains purely residential, hostile to newcomers, set in its ways, always mindful of tradition and aiming to encourage and maintain the physical beauty of its homes."

With the challenge of new needs these communities which combine resources of money and talent have been impelled to work out new programs. The various organizations in Wilkinsburg which formerly, according to one of the leaders, emphasized social and cultural programs for their own members, have now a noteworthy community emphasis. There are still very distinct groups in Sewickley⁴¹, but there is not the same

⁴¹ As evidenced by the holding of two Community Fund meetings the same evening during the 1934 campaign—one meeting at the "Edgeworth Club," the other at the borough hall.

complacency and there is a generous development of public programs—health, schools, library and so forth, to serve “Dixon Street,” as well as the rest of the community. It is perhaps due to interest and experience developed in their own communities that individual citizens of both Wilkinsburg and Sewickley are prominent in county-wide social programs. Some of these communities, notably Sewickley, have had prestige in the county because they have represented not merely wealth and social prominence but also the fine art of gentle living. If they can encourage and provide conditions for better living among all groups which make up their population, their contribution to Allegheny County will be as important in the future as it has been in the past.

THE TOWNSHIPS

Townships are not really communities; they are districts and administrative units. Allegheny County townships, more than most other townships, are aggregations of neighborhoods. In various combinations these neighborhoods represent in miniature the different types of communities already described for the county as a whole.

The decentralization of industry from Pittsburgh has not stopped with third-class cities and boroughs.⁴² Smaller plants have been located in the townships outside of McKees Rocks, Carnegie, Coraopolis, and Bridgeville, and they have started the separate industrial communities of Natrona, Glassmere, and Creighton in Harrison and East Deer townships in the upper Allegheny valley. There are also scattered, more remote one-industry centers of 200 to 1,000 population—Allison Park and Glenshaw to the north; Linhart, Universal, and North Bessemer in the eastern part of the county; a half dozen near the Allegheny County limits of the Monongahela valley to the southeast; Noblestown in the oil district, near the Washington County border.

The mining communities—one, two, or three in a township—are most numerous in the northeastern and the southern parts of the county. Residential neighborhoods not yet grown to the proportion of communities have developed where convenient transportation facilities from Pittsburgh have reached attractive spots not already given over to industry and where employees in the larger manufacturing communities have spread outside city or borough lines. Surrounding and separating these various unincorporated population centers is an agricultural belt, which has steadily receded as the other developments have spread.

The townships⁴³ comprise the 91 percent of Allegheny County area and the 31 percent of population (outside Pittsburgh) which has not been

⁴² For details of the different legal types of municipalities, see *infra*, pp. 109 ff.

⁴³ See list of townships on p. 108.

incorporated, although many township areas have been shrunken from their original size by a succession of subtractions of territory and population when boroughs were incorporated. Forty-four percent of the same area is in farm land which partially explains the surprising amount of open country and the sparseness of population at the outermost edges of the county. According to the 1934 Traffic Survey, Braddock and Stowe townships have a population density of 31 per net residential acre, while nine townships, mostly agricultural, have densities of only .13 to .32 per net residential acre.⁴⁴

Land devoted to farming has decreased since 1884 from 389,142 to 190,447⁴⁵ acres. The number of farms had by 1930 decreased in approximately the same proportion. Eight townships had less than ten farms each;⁴⁶ only six had more than 100.⁴⁷ The total farm population of the county was only 16,330.

The Reconnaissance Land Utilization Map of Pennsylvania, prepared by Pennsylvania State College, shows most of the land in Allegheny County classified as average farm land with a slightly larger portion below average than above. Mining operations have, in some places, damaged land for farming; strip mining takes off the surface soil; springs are occasionally lost when the supporting roofs of the mine break through; some streams are made acid. The indirect effects of mining and industry have accounted for more of the decrease in farming than have these direct effects, however. During prosperous years, there has been a greater attractiveness in the wages of factories and mines which has induced people to leave farms, and rising land values have encouraged owners to sell their farms to be used for other purposes. The number of farms has, on the other hand, increased by 546 between 1930 and 1935, due, apparently, to the fact that some unemployed families have attempted to turn to farming.

Only about 20 percent of the farms in the county are operated by tenants.⁴⁸ The Real Property Inventory⁴⁹ did not cover scattered rural dwellings to make possible a comparison of farm housing conditions with those in industrial and residential districts. A census made in January, 1935, by the Pennsylvania Department of Agriculture gives the following figures on some items similar to those in the Inventory:

⁴⁴ Pine, Findlay, Franklin, Ohio, Richland, Marshall, Sewickley, Sewickley Heights, and Moon townships.

⁴⁵ 1935 figures.

⁴⁶ Aleppo, Braddock, East Deer, Kilbuck, Neville, Crescent, South Versailles, and Stowe.

⁴⁷ Elizabeth, Indiana, Moon, Penn, Plum, and West Deer.

⁴⁸ One hundred and sixty-six more than in 1930.

⁴⁹ Cf. *infra*, p. 196 n.

	PERCENT
Farm homes having electricity	42
Farm homes having running water	43
Farm homes having radio	37
Farm homes having telephones	35
Farm homes having heating systems	27
Farm homes having bath rooms	24

Data furnished by the County Agricultural Agent showed 35.7 percent of the County's farms on hard surfaced roads; 58 percent on dirt roads.

The farm population is predominantly old native white stock (79 percent in Fawn and Franklin townships). Some of the residential neighborhoods from which people commute to work have similar population. The composition of mining communities is very different (as was pointed out in an earlier section); the manufacturing neighborhoods and the poorer residential neighborhoods more nearly resemble the mining communities in population, although they contain some "old" Americans also. In twenty-two townships more than half of the population is foreign-born or native-born of foreign or mixed parentage; eleven townships have more than 5 percent of Negro population; Snowden and Braddock have twelve and eighteen percent, respectively.

The difficulties involved in organizing these diverse and scattered neighborhoods into communities on township lines are readily apparent. Township governmental programs are on a minimum basis, and voluntary programs (usually also minimum) are organized by neighborhoods. The governmental programs in most of the townships, whether of the "first class" or "second class," are very meager.⁵⁰ The township code imposes only two duties on townships: the collection of township taxes and the maintenance of township highways and bridges (as distinct from those in the county and state systems of highways). Governmental programs in most of the second-class townships are limited to these functions. Programs in the first-class townships vary from this simplicity to a program such as that of Mt. Lebanon Township, which has a manager and more governmental provisions than some third-class cities.

Some housing conditions as bad as any in the county are to be found in the townships—sometimes the houses of the poorest laborers working in a nearby industry, sometimes those housing the last remnant of a stranded mining community. It was found during the study that in one such small group (still owned by a coal company) there were toilets that had not been cleaned for three years. The same houses had an irregular and very insufficient water supply. The company was partly excused by the fact that it had received very little rent; the houses had indeed proved something of a haven to some two dozen families—white and

⁵⁰ Cf. outlines of municipal government, *infra*, pp. 109-13.

colored—who had been the victims of unemployment and eviction in various other places, including Pittsburgh. Similar meagerness of regulation applies to the occasional commercial recreation—usually road houses. The median tax rate for local government, exclusive of schools, is 7.5 mills in the first-class and 4 mills in the second-class townships.

The schools recognize geographic neighborhoods. Only five townships have a single consolidated school. Townships are usually served by several elementary schools in the various neighborhoods. Thirty-six one-room schools have persisted in 13 townships.⁵¹ Thirty-five townships have no high schools;⁵² tuition to schools in the nearest boroughs is paid by the township school board for the children whose families can provide transportation or pay board. In a campaign to get a high school for West Deer Township (unsuccessful according to report because of counter-efforts of the Allegheny County Taxpayers' League), the following facts were published: total enrollment in eighth grades in all schools in the township was 207; enrollment from this township in ninth grades of neighboring high schools was 64. The promoters of the prospective high school claimed that 65 percent of the young people of high school age were unable to attend the outside schools. An official in one of the mining communities in this township named a township high school as the first social need of the community. It is true that the consolidated schools provide the major public programs in all but a few of the townships where they exist. What was said earlier in describing the importance of these schools to mining communities applies also to all the township areas. In many townships during the period of the study nursing service was provided only through the schools. It is also true that the townships in which there is the most school consolidation are to the largest extent township-wide communities.

It is recognized that schools, if they are adequate, impose a heavy tax burden on the townships. According to the data for 1934 tabulated by the Pittsburgh Real Estate Board sixteen townships had school tax rates of twenty mills or more. In the townships with mining communities the

⁵¹ Townships having one-teacher schools in use in 1934-35:

Aleppo	Forward	Jefferson	Patton	Snowden
Elizabeth	Franklin	Lincoln	Plum	
Fawn	Frazer	Ohio	Scott	

⁵² Townships having no high schools in 1935-36:

Aleppo	Forward	Kennedy	Ohio	S. Versailles
Baldwin	Franklin	Leet	Pine	Springdale
Braddock	Frazer	Lincoln	Plum	Upper St. Clair
Collier	Hampton	Marshall	Reserve	Versailles
Crescent	Harmar	McCandless	Richland	West Deer
Elizabeth	Indiana	Mifflin	Sewickley	Wilkins
Fawn	Jefferson	N. Versailles	Sewickley Heights	Kilbuck (no schools)

greater number of pupils come from these families who pay little in taxes. A similar situation exists wherever there is a large nonproperty-owning group—the poorest industrial residents and the stranded groups.

This matter of taxes adds another source of conflict between the groups in some townships. There are the usual arguments over equal distribution of public improvements. The differences in standards and in ability to pay represented by the old residents and the commuting group, and the resulting dissatisfaction about public expenditures have been prominent factors resulting in the incorporation of boroughs. That in places where acquaintance has been fostered and coöperation developed new groups have brought something besides increased land values to the rural communities was illustrated by a number of incidents. In several communities people who settled as commuters were giving the community the benefit of initiative and wider experience through participation in community programs.

Sygan, a small hamlet in South Fayette Township—one of the only two we found with European names—illustrates the contribution which new Americans could make more often if homogeneous groupings had been more generally possible. Sygan is a closely knit community. Its homes, which show European evidences of thrift, are located around the Grannish community hall. This hamlet sent a committee to talk with the township school board when the latter was planning to build a consolidated school at Morgan, a short distance away. After the discussion a spokesman for the committee said that it looked like a good thing for the community and that Sygan's ninety-five odd votes could be counted upon.

In comparison with the cities and the larger boroughs the townships show relatively little voluntary organization of civic or recreational nature. Parent-teacher associations and women's clubs are perhaps the most general and the most active organizations aside from the churches. The church survey, compiled by the Pittsburgh Council of Churches,⁵³ shows that 205 churches were located within the townships and in addition many were attended in nearby larger centers. It is not strange that some of the churches are weak. A number of rural churches, however, have a long and honorable history. The Lebanon Presbyterian Church, 150 years old, is said to be the oldest Protestant church west of the Alleghenies. Bethel Presbyterian Church is a century and a half old and is still one of the most active churches in the county. Several of these churches have celebrated their centennials.

What the process of borough incorporation has done to the townships which have suffered most can be shown by some examples. Six townships

⁵³ Cf. *supra*, p. 61.

now have an area of less than two square miles. Baldwin has been divided into two parcels. Fox Chapel left of O'Hara Township a broad jagged *U*; it left also, as these incorporations are inclined to do, a thickly settled, economically poor district, "a melting pot" which "nobody wanted." Bradford Woods Borough occupies the center of Richland Township. Sewickley Heights Township, in which wealthy Pittsburghers had built estates, had before 1934 a valuation of about \$4,500,000; the incorporation of the borough took out the \$4,000,000. The new borough would have taken one of the two schools attended by children of the service group in the borough, but fortunately for the township the judge granted the petition for incorporation upon the condition that the borough and township would continue to support a joint school district.⁵⁴ "We are reluctant," wrote the Judge, "to multiply municipal organizations within the Commonwealth as being an unwarranted increase and duplication of the cost of government and we regret the emasculation of the township."

Braddock Township shows in fullest degree the "emasculation" of which the judge spoke. It has had the following losses of territory, due to the creation of new boroughs: 1867 for Braddock borough; 1892 for Rankin; 1895 for East Pittsburgh; 1896 for North Braddock; 1898 for Swissvale; and 1920 for Forest Hills. The township still has an area of 1.22 square miles, and in 1930 it had a population of 1,794. The ten or twelve most well-to-do home owners adjoining Edgewood are already looking toward that borough with which they have more in common. There are some five farms, a golf course used by outside residents, a cemetery, and three residence neighborhoods, one of which is "Braddock Park," an allotment of small home owners, many of them Negroes who work in the steel mills, and another, "Tassey's Hollow." There is a township elementary school, for the support of which a tax rate more than twice as high as the school tax in Pittsburgh is necessary. There is a single church—colored. The Volunteer Firemen was the only community organization found.

Mt. Lebanon and Stowe townships⁵⁵ could have incorporated their thickly populated areas as boroughs—probably also as cities—since they have more than the minimum population required. Mt. Lebanon has remained a township because they "saw no advantage in incorporation," because they "could not have taken farm property into a borough," and because "the streets are county roads this way and are (in general) kept up by the county." The advantages of excellent schools, water, electricity,

⁵⁴ The State Council of Education has been recently exerting pressure against further divisions of school districts.

⁵⁵ Perhaps also Harrison Township.

health service, and library service are by this plan accessible to all—including those who live on the farm property and in the Mt. Lebanon half of a stranded mining village. The tax rate is two mills above the median for first-class townships, but not so high as the tax rates in many townships.⁵⁶ It is to be hoped that other townships can forestall in similar fashion the tendency toward division into too-small units.

COMMUNITY INDIVIDUALISM

The preceding sections have briefly described different types of communities in Allegheny County. An understanding of their interrelationships, including their relationship to Pittsburgh and the feasibility of regarding the county as a community unit, are equally important as background for this study. A point of view on these relationships in 1927 was contained in a report of the Commission to Study Municipal Consolidation in cities of the second class:

Where physical irregularities do not prevent, urban communities tend to grow together so as to present to the observer uninterrupted ranges of factories and homes. They preserve, no matter how large they become, a certain unity. Such is not the case with Pittsburgh. . . . A map of the Pittsburgh district shows industrial and residential developments stretching all over it, like the veins of some great body, but with extensive open spaces cutting off one community from another. . . . It is this fact of physical separation which gives extraordinary vitality to the independent local life of the boroughs and townships of Allegheny County. . . . On the other hand, the very physical features which make for the separate existence of the local units, create problems for them all which only the strongest coöperative effort can work out.

Not physical features alone but also economic and social differences have separated the communities and fostered a noticeable community individualism. Attitudes toward neighboring communities as described by residents in a few places are illuminating:

No sharp physical line indicates where X stops or its neighboring town, Y, starts, but to the residents of both towns this line is quite definitely known for there is an antagonistic feeling between the two populations. X is "high hat" and Y is "common."

A is in a valley where it is impossible to spread. It is cut off from B, C, and D by Chartiers Creek and a long hill. B and C are separated from A also by a great social barrier of higher income and a feeling of superiority. Geographically, A is closely connected with E but they have nothing in common. People of A feel superior.

The communities referred to in these quotations are both residential suburbs of Pittsburgh. When either physical or social separation is wide, communities almost cease to exist to one another. A resident in one of

⁵⁶ Mt. Lebanon's school tax rate is in the lowest third of the rates for all the townships.

the small population centers said in response to a remark about some other small centers, "Oh, they are over in the other valley," as though they were fifty instead of less than five miles distant and could be dismissed from consideration. A citizen of Verona said of the boundary line between that borough and Oakmont, "It is a psychological line of contempt between the boroughs." Anyone going through Edgewood as a transient receives more evidence of her generosity than those who live in the poorer communities nearby. In referring to conditions in one of the mill communities a former resident, a European-born laborer, said with a shrug: "Let them get away from there, I did."

Community individualism has been expressed in the large number of municipalities mentioned at the beginning of the chapter—a number duplicated with a few exceptions in school districts of corresponding size. Political autonomy has tended in turn to perpetuate contrasts between communities. A school superintendent in one of the more fortunate communities gave an example of the frequent instances of hardship caused by boundary lines. Children living only three or four blocks from the school in this borough nevertheless lived outside its school district and were compelled to ride eight miles to a township school. While regretting the hardship to individuals, the superintendent said that he was not willing to have his standards lowered to have others raised.

It is apparent that a system which perpetuates attitudes of extreme community isolation and individualism is unfavorable to the development of adequate social programs. Problems that can be adequately handled only on the basis of a larger area—sometimes a drainage area—are the responsibility of 126 separate governmental units within this county. A more concrete picture of these units is perhaps gained from the following examples: East of Pittsburgh, along the Monongahela and Turtle Creek valleys, seventeen municipalities are crowded into an area of seventeen square miles. Because of their number nearly all county communities are small in area. Only eight incorporated places have an area of more than two square miles:⁵⁷ twenty-five boroughs have less than one-half square mile.

Fortunately, where transportation permits and populations of adjoining communities are not too different voluntary organization unconsciously disregards political boundaries. "Church membership in Dormont and Mt. Lebanon overlaps, (the 'Mt. Lebanon Baptist Church' is situated in Dormont). So does membership of the College Club. Membership in the Rotary and Kiwanis, one of which meets in each town is

⁵⁷ McKeesport, 3.39; Clairton, 2.32; Munhall, 2.27; Wilkinsburg, 2.02; Greentree, 2.04; and the three newest boroughs: Fox Chapel, 7.02; Sewickley Heights, 4.71; and Churchill, 2.15.

interchangeable. The boundary line between the communities is political."

In very rare instances contrast between neighboring communities has inspired programs or projects in the disadvantaged community which are supported by the more favored. The Leetsdale Welfare House, largely financed and directed by a women's group of the Shields Presbyterian Church in Edgeworth, was the most conspicuous example found. Religious and philanthropic projects of the Bethel Presbyterian Church and women's clubs in its vicinity for the mining community of Coverdale and the now stranded community of Beadling are similar examples on a smaller scale.

There are also regions in the county where voluntary programs are beginning to create unofficial communities composed of a number of political subdivisions. An association organized in the Turtle Creek valley in 1923 became the Valley Planning Association in 1926. Industries and some of the borough councils have shared the expense of an executive secretary and a planning engineer to work on a flood-control and sewage-disposal survey. Attention has also been given to intermunicipality traffic routes.

In 1934 the Western Allegheny County Board of Trade was organized in Oakdale to develop closer coöperation among the two boroughs and four townships which its membership includes.⁵⁸

The communities which develop services—commercial, professional, or social, and especially those that furnish leadership—become centers of their surrounding areas. Newspapers, hospitals, high schools, recreation programs, as well as business efforts, are helping to build these larger communities. Such communities are emerging around McKeesport, in the Sewickley valley, the North Boroughs, the Tarentum and the Homestead (or perhaps more properly the Munhall) districts and, on some fronts, in other areas—Clairton and Carnegie represent former developments of this kind which resulted in the actual consolidation of older boroughs.⁵⁹ At present one hears advocated the uniting of nearby governmental units, chiefly in the Tarentum area, where there have been intercommunity programs of the Allegheny Valley Women's Club and the Y.M.C.A. and intercommunity coöperation in relief during the early depression. The *Valley Daily News* puts first in its "platform for valley progress," "municipal consolidation of the boroughs and townships of the Allegheny Valley." Even as unofficial communities these units of

⁵⁸ Among the permanent objectives of this organization are the following functions: highway improvement; grade-crossing elimination; extension of city water facilities throughout the area; reduction of real-estate taxes; and coöperation with the Tri-State Authority for flood control.

⁵⁹ It was reported by a citizen in Clairton that this consolidation had been justified by making possible their school system alone.

potential solidarity have great interest for social work planning, for they represent not only districts with some working experience and leadership in local programs but also possible organizational units for the administration of county-wide programs.

So far in this chapter Pittsburgh has received scant attention, except for its part in the industrial and residential development of the county. Its social and governmental relationships to county communities also need consideration.

In a more extensive but less intimate way, Pittsburgh, geographically central in the county, is also the center of a larger community. It is the recognized industrial, transportation, trade, political, administrative, and cultural capital of the county. Due to topography and the centering of transportation routes it is easier for residents of some of the surrounding communities to go to Pittsburgh than to nearby boroughs. They flock to Pittsburgh to work or to shop or, if they are young people, for education⁶⁰ and recreational activities. Leaders in various fields with headquarters in Pittsburgh, business and social connections in various parts of the county, and a habit of dealing with large units think of the county as one community. The unity is not, however, so apparent to most residents of outlying communities. It is true that many of these people buy recreation or education as they buy clothes in Pittsburgh, but they belong to organizations in their own or neighboring county communities. Perhaps the large number of county residents who have close contacts with Pittsburgh obscures the number who have not.⁶¹ This is especially true of the part of the population for whom transportation, dues, and admission prices are prohibitive—often the people whose communities furnish the least in the way of programs. An informant in a newspaper office in Coraopolis when asked about the local attitude toward a metropolitan government said, "Our people have a hard time believing that we are part of the city of Pittsburgh when we are so far away and a mountain between."

Some sixteen areas previously in the county have been annexed to the city of Pittsburgh since 1900. The city of Allegheny was added in 1907 because it was outvoted. Other areas have united voluntarily because

⁶⁰ The enrollment at the University of Pittsburgh in 1934-35 was reported to include more than 5,500 students from county communities.

⁶¹ The supervising principal of the South Fayette Township schools, at the request of the field worker, gathered the following information from the pupils in the junior and senior high schools at Morgan:

Total enrollment	496
Number going to Pittsburgh once a week	17
" " " " " " month	130
" " " " " " year	230
" " " " " " or twice	29
" who have never gone	3

they expected greater advantages than they could provide for themselves, but the long-continued resistance to annexation on the part of Mt. Oliver and Wilksburg is typical of a feeling that is common in county communities. They resist annexation because of fear of higher taxes, disproportionate service, and loss of community identity. For different reasons influential groups in the well-governed and in the poorly-governed communities in the county want to keep their present governmental independence.⁶²

A county-wide community has been slow to develop due to all the factors which separate communities. When Allegheny County was created, in 1788, only a loose administrative unit was provided for sparse population and widely-scattered communities. Its functions were conceived as chiefly legal. In line with a nation-wide tendency to expand the services of governmental units, many additional responsibilities have been added—chiefly as state legislatures have increased optional and mandatory functions of counties. Unfortunately the county governmental organization remains, like that of other Pennsylvania counties, with the exception of Philadelphia, and like most counties elsewhere, loosely organized, and its programs are loosely coordinated with one another and with those of the municipalities. The added functions—usually a result of state legislative action—sometimes have been made the responsibility of the county commissioners, again of courts or other county officials, and at other times of boards or individuals appointed by state agencies or of a combination of some of the above. There has been piecemeal rather than fundamental reorganization to adapt county government to a complex civilization and modern conditions.⁶³ It is still, in the words of F. P. Weaver and H. F. Alderfer⁶⁴ “an eighteenth century institution in a twentieth century world.”

⁶² The following quotation expressed a common attitude from the *Report to the Governor of the Commission to Study Municipal Consolidation in Cities of the Second Class*, 1927:

“Annexation would be offensive to a vast majority of the people at present outside the City. Whether warranted or not, they believe that under annexation, their own communities would not receive the development so essential to the well-being of their inhabitants, that a greater cost would be thrown upon their shoulders, and the center of government would be so remote that questions vitally affecting them would not receive the proper consideration, and the service they would enjoy could not in any way compare with what they now secure. Under their present form of control they can secure all the improvements they desire and are willing to pay for. They can get them as they wish, the kind they wish and where they wish, without consulting any who are not directly affected.”

⁶³ In addition to the three county commissioners, who are at the head of the county government in a limited sense only, there are in Allegheny County some forty other elective officials. Appointive powers are widely scattered among the county commissioners, the judges, the other elected officials, and a few state agencies and local boards.

⁶⁴ Pennsylvania State College, School of Agriculture and Experiment Station, Bulletin 297, p. 3. Mandatory and optional powers of counties are listed in this bulletin, pp. 9-15, in terms of mandatory and optional expenditures. See supplement, pp. 109-13, *infra*.

The following chart,⁶⁵ shows the present organization of county government in Allegheny County and, as the author says, indicates the extent of the dissipation of administrative authority.

Naturally [to quote Weaver and Alderfer] when a dozen or more officers act independently of each other, there can be no unity in county government except where a powerful political leader is able to command allegiance of the officers whom he was responsible for electing. Indeed it is the political party alone which has brought some unity in the county and action can usually be obtained only by influencing the party in power.⁶⁶

With the difficulties of size and heterogeneity of population, of topography and of complexity of organization to overcome, it is not strange that the county has become more important as a political and fiscal than as a governmental or social unit. That Allegheny County is a fiscal unit of large proportions is indicated by the fact reported by the statistician for the county commissioners that its budget for 1933, approximately \$20,685,000, exceeded the budgets of twenty-four states.

Not only is there lack of coördination among the various offices which make up county government but also there is little coördination between county and municipal governments. Some few of the public works projects of the county are undertaken jointly with townships, boroughs, and cities; but most functions are separate, and the county tax (10.88 for 1936, including the tax levied separately by the directors of the county poor district) is separate from, and in addition to, municipal tax rates.

Tax collection illustrates the dissipation of authority. Instead of being centralized, as it is in many states, on a county basis, it is an independent function of 247 taxing units—county, poor district, municipalities, and school districts. The organization of minor judicial functions is another example of decentralization. In the subdivisions of the county, including Pittsburgh, these functions are the prerogatives of justices of the peace—or, in cities, of aldermen. The jurisdiction of each is county wide. There were 243 justices of the peace and aldermen in the county at the time information was secured in 1935.

There have nevertheless been steps in the direction of coördinated county programs. In 1852 the county area outside Pittsburgh consolidated local poor districts into a single district for administration of public relief. The state legislature in 1911 set up a partial county school district. Other more recent programs have included both Pittsburgh and the rest of the county. This is true of the Mothers' Assistance Fund program, Blind and Old Age Pensions, the Juvenile Court, and the Emergency Relief programs.

⁶⁵ A composite, constructed from various sources, including *Civic Pittsburgh*, by J. C. Slippy, No. 8, 1935, p. 21.

⁶⁶ Pennsylvania State College, Bulletin 297, p. 4.

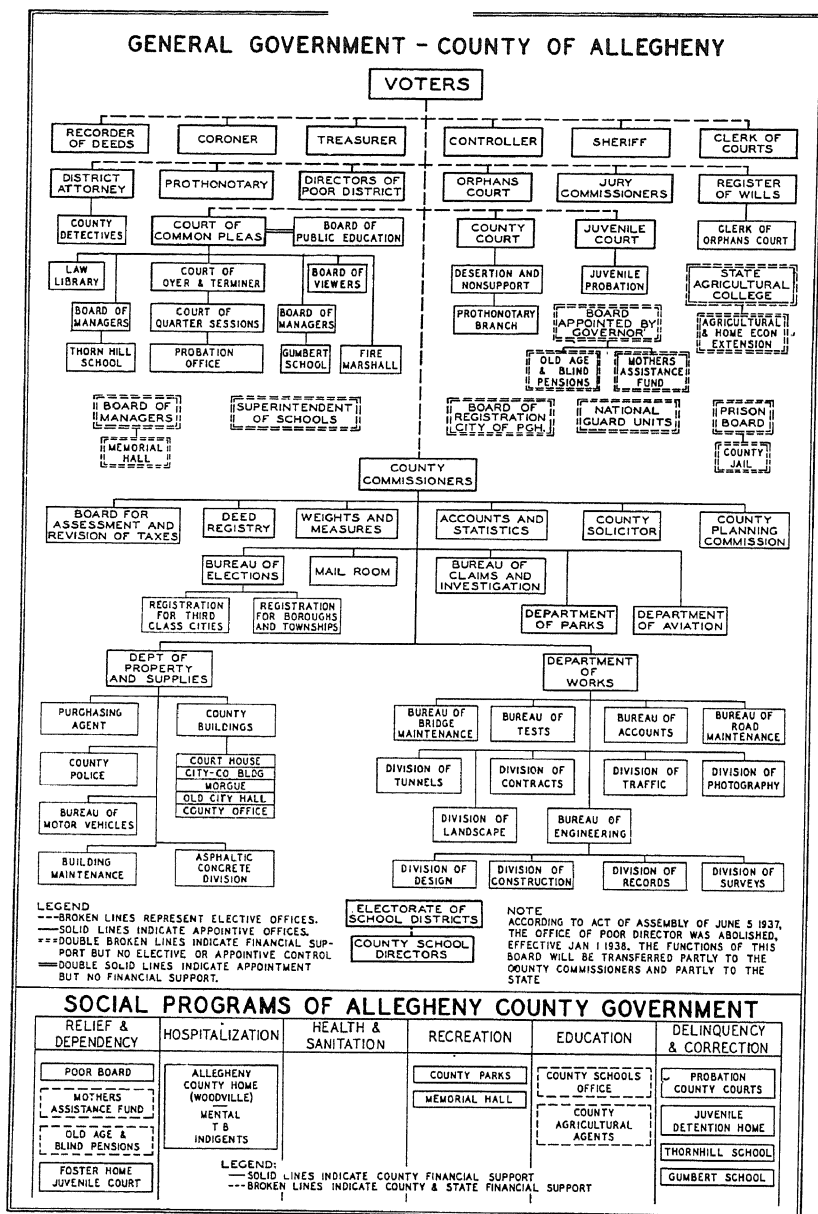


FIGURE 5

ORGANIZATION OF COUNTY GOVERNMENT IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY

There has also been a growing interest in governmental reorganization under a state charter, which would combine Pittsburgh and the county into a metropolitan unit. A charter prepared by the Metropolitan Plan Commission passed the legislature in 1929 and received in a special county election a majority vote but not the number of votes required. Two independent commissions were considering plans during the period of this study. One of them prepared a charter which was killed in the legislature in March, 1935.

The plan for a metropolitan unit is supported by financial interests in Pittsburgh which would profit by the larger population units. It also has considerable support among leaders in county municipalities.⁶⁷ A third group that has given support to the movement for a metropolitan unit, illustrated by that of the Civic Club of Allegheny County, comprises leaders who hope the charter will provide some of the improvements in county government which are increasingly recognized as needed. There is an increasing realization on the part of unofficial, if not of official, groups of the need for wider coöperation. During the depression residents of municipalities (especially the smaller ones) found that they could not separately have all the improvements they desire. They saw the relief problem outgrow local bounds. They are beginning to want services which are possible only on a coöperative basis.

The status of voluntary county organization and its difficulties are indicated by a few conspicuous examples: Some of these voluntary county-wide organizations are federations of local community groups, some of which started through leadership from Pittsburgh. The secretary of the Civic Club of Allegheny County reports that 87 percent of its membership resides in Pittsburgh. Thirty-five (out of 125) county communities are represented in the remaining 22 percent of the membership. The Allied Boards of Trade of Allegheny County has, according to its secretary, a membership of some forty-six trade and civic organizations. The secretary furnished a list of fifteen from the county, not all of which are affiliated with the central organization.

The Allegheny County League of Women Voters has some forty units in county communities, chiefly in the larger ones. There are three overlapping federations of women's clubs. The Congress of Clubs, organized in 1906, includes 108 clubs "in Allegheny County and western Pennsylvania." The Allegheny County Federation of Clubs (with about 50 clubs

⁶⁷ The strength of the support in county municipalities is perhaps made possible by the fact that a constitutional amendment passed in 1933 guarantees the present status and prerogatives of municipalities under a charter. The fact that the only active inter-municipality organization in the county with governmental program is the League of Boroughs, organized to secure such protection, is illustrative of their resistance to compulsory annexation.

in the county area) was organized in 1925 as a county unit for the State Federation. There is also a Chartiers Valley Federation. Local clubs belong to none, to one, or to two of these federations. A county council of parent-teacher associations was organized about 1920 and includes about forty-five associations, aside from Pittsburgh and Wilkinsburg, which have their own councils. The Pittsburgh Council of Churches invites coöperation of Allegheny County churches but is not widely representative of the 744 churches in the county area outside Pittsburgh. The Allegheny County Sabbath School Association has a county membership and program. The Community Fund is one of the most recent examples of voluntary county-wide organization and probably its most substantial expression.

In the field of social work it has been true, here as elsewhere, that calamities have overcome some of the individualism of communities and increased the realization of common interest and responsibility. The war, the 1927 coal strike, the depression, and the flood have increased the realization of common interest and common responsibility.

As in other regions, professional private social work programs started first in the large city, where dense population called attention to needs, and where resources centered. The early programs of private social agencies were limited to Pittsburgh with no thought of responsibility outside. The greater county consciousness which has been developing among social work leaders in Pittsburgh showed in the fact that the Community Fund was organized in 1928 on a county-wide basis—one of a minority of community funds to cover a county area. Insuring county participation and support was one reason for its inclusion, but there was also a desire to put service on a county basis. The implication of county-wide service of Community Fund agencies has not yet been fully translated into programs. Many of the agency executives and boards realize the inadequacy of county service and look forward to further extension. Its eighty-odd member agencies represent differing policies, plans, and programs.

About fifty of these agencies now divide their work between Pittsburgh and the county, with major service almost invariably in Pittsburgh. Some twenty more have programs only in Pittsburgh but serve also a few people who come from nearby communities for certain activities. A few agencies illustrate the status which one executive described by saying: "We have the philosophy, the demands, but not the resources for a county program." Ten agencies, at the time of the study, covered a local county area only.⁶⁸ In comparison with other large city programs the total amount of county service of several of the agencies, though insufficient,

⁶⁸ A social agency and a health agency outside the Community Fund, the Pittsburgh Y.W.C.A. and the Tuberculosis League, also have small county programs.

is now creditable. When one considers area, topography, and climate (remembering icy roads), it is not surprising that county work is not as intensive as that in Pittsburgh, especially in remote sections. From the point of view of the most disadvantaged communities it is unfortunate that distribution of service is not altogether on the basis of need.

County residents occasionally raise questions based on the insufficiency or partial inefficiency of county social work, but in general they have accepted the Community Fund idea for Pittsburgh and the county, as evidenced by the number of unit divisions which exceeded their quotas in the 1935 campaign. As might be expected, acceptance of the Fund idea is more general on the part of those most responsible for financing or administering programs in communities than it is among the rank and file of the county people. Most of the community leaders consulted expressed preference for extension and improvements in social services on a county-wide basis to a return to purely local responsibility.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

For Pittsburgh the school system may be regarded as a matter of technical concern only, important, but specific in its relevance. For the territories outside, small town, rural, and semirural, the school system represents a much larger and more intensive portion of the social background. For this reason a more detailed description is of significance here. Certain of the more technical aspects of the school system are considered in a later chapter.⁶⁹

Schools in the county are organized on the basis of (1) local districts, corresponding with a few exceptions to municipalities, (2) a county supervisory district, which includes 102 of the local districts but only about 55 percent of the total county enrollment outside Pittsburgh, and (3) a Catholic diocesan system, in which Allegheny County, including Pittsburgh, is one of nine counties covered. Autonomy in school affairs, except as the state prescribes duties and standards, is left with the local school district, even under the county system.

Through action of local school boards, any municipality with population of 5,000 or more may elect to remain outside the county district. There are in Allegheny County nineteen such independent districts as follows:

Bellevue	Duquesne
Braddock	East Pittsburgh
Carnegie	Homestead
Clairton	McKeesport
Crafton	McKees Rocks
Dormont	Mt. Lebanon

⁶⁹ Cf. *infra*, chap. viii.

Munhall
North Braddock
Oakmont
Rankin

Swissvale
Tarentum
Wilkinsburg

The county district includes fifty boroughs and fifty-two townships. No uniform differences between schools within and outside the county district were observable except that the county district shows greater variation—including thirty-six one-room schools and also the schools of some of most privileged residential boroughs. There is no county school board. School directors of the 102 local districts meet annually as a County School Directors' Association. They elect the county superintendent of schools, who serves for four years. He and the assistant superintendents are paid by the state. In spite of this partial and loose organization of the county district, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction at the time of this study said that Allegheny County had the best-organized county school system in Pennsylvania. The functions of the professional staff of the county office are professional leadership, stimulation, and supervision, rather than authority. This staff includes the county superintendent, five assistant superintendents with work divided partly on functional and partly on territorial basis, and supervisors in agriculture, nutrition, and homemaking. In addition, 68 of the 102 local districts employ supervising principals who perform much the same functions as the superintendents of the independent districts.

Consolidation of schools has been a slower process in Allegheny County than in some other parts of the country. Topography and the tendency to organize communities on local neighborhood basis have discouraged it. There had (in 1934) been no consolidation in 48 of the local districts. In most of the townships there is partial consolidation. Five—Braddock, Kennedy, Marshall, Neville, and Richland—have a single school for the township.

According to the 1933-34 school report for the diocese, there are 231 parish schools in the diocese, of which 87 are in Pittsburgh and 72 in other parts of Allegheny County. These 72 are distributed in all of the third-class cities, in 31 boroughs, and in 6 townships. The total enrollment in these county parish schools was 23,445 (in contrast to 42,855 in Pittsburgh). Since they are maintained by many different churches and religious communities, there is little opportunity for coördination or standardization. The letter introducing their 1933-34 report⁷⁰ says: "The chief factor in the maintenance of the parish school system is undoubtedly the zeal of the pastors and the teaching communities." Some of the teaching communities in the diocese have community supervisors. The report says:

Twenty full-time supervisors, resident in the diocese, supervise teaching procedure in 188 parish schools. The work is so distributed that no supervisor has more

⁷⁰ *Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Parish School, Diocese of Pittsburgh*, p. 10.

than 100 teachers under her supervision. Nine extra-diocesan supervisors or supervising principals pay occasional visits to 24 of the remaining schools of the diocesan system. We note here the very substantial contribution of the Board of Supervisors to the improvement of teaching procedure.

School attendance is compulsory in Pennsylvania between the ages of eight and sixteen, except that after fourteen those who have completed the sixth grade and secured work certificates are exempt. The 1933-34 report of the state superintendent shows 153,454 children of this age group in the county outside Pittsburgh and 151,531 enrolled. The percentage of attendance for the county was 95. No district among the districts listed separately (which included all except fourth-class districts) had a percentage lower than 92.

School attendance is enforced on a school district basis for both public and parochial schools. State law requires the appointment of an attendance officer or home and school visitor.⁷¹ Mt. Lebanon is the only county district to have employed the latter. A few other districts have attendance officers with similar conceptions of their work. In a few districts the school nurse assists on attendance work; in some, the school janitor or one of the borough policemen serves. The attendance problem varies with the type of community, the type of enforcement, and the quality of opportunity which the school offers. Economic distress and unfavorable home conditions have increased the attendance problem in some places during the depression, but there have also been counter influences. Superintendents in some places reported that relief at school and in homes and "more social workers" had made attendance better than usual.

School opportunities vary among the 121 school districts within the county in the same way that other programs vary. Financial ability, professional leadership, and citizen interest are factors which operate in different combinations in different communities. The larger industries of the county show a noteworthy interest in good schools and a corresponding willingness to help in their support.

About fifty school districts provide twelve years of school—all of the independent districts and thirty-one districts within the county system. Another group of fourteen districts in the county system have only junior or one- or two-year high schools. Five parish schools have high schools. Secondary education is available to all who can reach a high school, since school districts not maintaining them are required to pay tuition to other districts. Since, however, the distribution of high schools has been, for the most part, left to local initiative and ability, high school education is by no means equally available to all county children.⁷²

⁷¹ These represent Pennsylvania's plan for more socialized attendance service. State regulations require six semester hours of sociology or allied subjects in addition to training required for a teacher's certificate. No social work experience is required.

⁷² See *supra*, p. 89.

In the matter of special educational services the situation is worse, since there is no provision for tuition to vocational schools, to special classes for children who need them, or even to schools which provide medical and nursing service, school library, kindergarten, and other auxiliary provisions characteristic of the better schools. The extent and location of some of these provisions are shown below.

The last report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction showed eleven public kindergartens in the county with a total enrollment of 1,220, only slightly more than one-eighth of the kindergarten enrollment in Pittsburgh, even though the latter comprises less than half the total population in the county. A few privately-maintained kindergartens were found in public school buildings during the study.⁷³ Public kindergartens were reported for the following places:

Aspinwall	Ingram
Crafton	Mt. Lebanon
Dormont	Rankin
Edgewood	Sewickley
Edgeworth	Wilmerding
Wilkinsburg	

The same report showed some form of vocational education in fifteen school districts. The term includes vocational courses with one teacher and entire vocational schools with as many as seventeen teachers. Total enrollment in daytime vocational courses in the county is about half of Pittsburgh's total.

The report showed a total of 11 special classes for handicapped children in the county with a combined enrollment of 199, in comparison with 48 classes and 2,684 enrolled in Pittsburgh. The classes included in this report were distributed as follows:

HANDICAPPED PUPILS IN SPECIAL CLASSES
1933-34

PLACE	NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN CLASSES FOR		NUMBER OF CLASSES
	<i>Mentally retarded</i>	<i>Nutrition</i>	
McKeesport	57	...	3
Harrison Township	23	...	1
Sewickley	17	...	1
Stowe	8	...	1
Wilkinsburg	17	26	2
Wilmerding	4	...	1
Robinson Township	24	...	1
Springdale	23	...	1

⁷³ In Thornburg and Roslyn Farms, for example: a few children from outside communities, even as far away as Oakdale, attended the latter.

There were available local reports of the following additional special classes:

PLACE	KIND OF CLASS
Wilmerding	Class for mentally handicapped
Clairton	Class for mentally handicapped
Homestead	Fresh-air class
	Transition class
Wilkinsburg	had plans under way to start a sight-conservation class

It is obvious that these are not the only districts which have children in need of these special services. Superintendents in other places gave varying opinions about the need in their communities, depending upon the type of community and their own educational philosophies. Some said that they were badly needed, especially the classes for the mentally handicapped; a few, that they would like to join with another district in maintaining a class; one superintendent would like to be able to send the few children in his district needing special education to a class maintained in Pittsburgh or elsewhere. Since the state bears a generous proportion of the teaching cost in these special classes⁷⁴ their existence depends, not so much on financial ability as on having a district of practicable size for their administration and on a realization of their value on the part of parents, as well as of the schools.

There is a state provision for sharing special classes, sometimes even classes in home economics and manual training in the regular curriculum, with the parochial schools in the district. Parochial school children come to public schools in several districts for these classes, during or after regular school hours.

Other special services of interest were found in the incomplete survey which the present inquiry afforded. The most general types are medical, dental, and nursing services.⁷⁵

Medical service varies from regular service (usually on the part-time basis except during the annual examinations in some schools), down to very limited service on call. In a few districts only primary grades shared in the annual examination at the time of this study. The 1933-34 state report quoted above shows that 78 districts in Allegheny County participated in expenditures for "health, medical nurse and dental service" to a total extent of \$107,756. In the communities with a population of less than 5,000, physical examinations are provided under state auspices at intervals supposedly of two years, but in fact they were less frequent during the depression. Some local communities in this group provide supplementary

⁷⁴ State aid for schools is generous in Pennsylvania—some 15 percent of school costs in the state. It is given on a basis of class of districts (determined by population), minimum salaries, and true valuation of property per teacher.

⁷⁵ See also the report on Public Health Administration, *infra*, chap. xix.

service. The following school districts provide regular nursing service:⁷⁶

Aspinwall	Millvale
Bellevue	Neville Township
Bethel Township	North Fayette Township
Blawnox	Pitcairn
Bridgeville	Rankin
Castle Shannon	Ross Township
Clairton (2 nurses)	Sharpsburg
Coraopolis	Stowe Township
Duquesne	Swissvale
Forest Hills	Turtle Creek
Homestead	Upper St. Clair Township
McKeesport (2 nurses)	Wilksburg
Wilmerding	

Besides their strictly school-time services, some community-minded school systems have also an additional important part in community programs. There are occasional after-school and summer programs for children of school age, and there is coöperation on programs which also reach the adult community. Directed after-school play was found in Wilksburg and Bellevue. Several school districts—Munhall, Swissvale, Mt. Lebanon, Etna, and so forth, coöperate with the borough or private organizations in operating a summer playground or recreation program. Munhall keeps the school library open part time in the summer. Several districts help maintain public libraries. School social events play an important, if not extensive, part in the recreation of young people of high school age in some of these communities.

There is, of course, a difference in the community-mindedness of school staff in communities of all sizes. In some places political considerations probably weigh too heavily for the maximum of community service. A tendency toward long tenure of school staff was observed. In four communities, superintendents had held office for more than thirty years and in several more for more than twenty years. Nearness to a large city and the universities probably makes school positions in Allegheny County attractive and partially influences their quality. Long tenure gives community-minded school leaders an important place not only in their own field but in general community programs.

Many of the poorer districts have provision for but few extracurricular services. Fortunately, there are other opportunities for interested school staff to show their interest in the children and community. Case workers

⁷⁶ School nursing is provided in other municipalities under private auspices—local community nursing associations, Public Health Nursing Association of Pittsburgh, and so forth, see *infra*, chap. xix. Many school districts are, as will be shown elsewhere, practically without school nursing service except as a temporary W.P.A. project has recently assigned nurses—not all of them graduate nurses—to a number of these districts.

spoke of the understanding of family problems shown by superintendents in some of the smaller communities. Because of their realization of the meagerness of other programs in their communities, many superintendents, principals, and teachers go to unusual lengths in giving personal service, and refer children to social agencies, juvenile court, and so forth only as a last resort. Teachers were found coöperating with many of the programs of social agencies as Scout masters, club leaders, and so forth. Because of the importance of the programs sponsored by and centering in schools, the dearth of provisions for county young people when they leave school constitutes one of the most serious problems in these communities.

PITTSBURGH AND THE COUNTY

It may seem as if in the foregoing pages blinders had been deliberately put up lest any information about Pittsburgh or interest in its affairs might enter the panorama of Allegheny County. Also, with the exception of a few references which seemed an inescapable part of the interpretation of life in the smaller county communities, no reference has been made to that phase of social activity through which the community—local, county-wide, or even state—seeks to meet the deficits and inadequacies of the life of its people: social services, recreation, libraries, health administration, and hospitals. The first of these omissions has been accounted for elsewhere.

As to the deliberate social programs, which also constitute part, an important part, of communal life, these will be discussed for the entire county subject by subject as they emerge from the study in the pages that follow.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER II

INCORPORATED PLACES IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY

<i>Cities</i>	<i>Population, 1934</i>	<i>Boroughs</i>	<i>Population, 1934</i>
Pittsburgh	643,505	Bridgeville	4,313
McKeesport	53,162	Carnegie	12,595
Duquesne	20,171	Castle Shannon	4,008
Clairton	15,004	Chalfant	1,040
		Cheswick	1,105
		Churchill	400 (unofficial)
<i>Boroughs</i>		Coraopolis	10,324
Aspinwall	4,161	Crafton	7,133
Avalon	5,664	Dormont	13,279
Bellevue	9,899	Dravosburg	2,161
Ben Avon	2,424	East McKeesport	2,832
Ben Avon Heights	311	East Pittsburgh	5,608
Blawnox	1,941	Edgewood	4,760
Brackenridge	6,005	Edgeworth	1,803
Braddock	17,588	Elizabeth	2,513
Bradford Woods	376	Emsworth	2,387
Brentwood	5,988		

ALLEGHENY COUNTY

INCORPORATED PLACES IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY—*Continued*

<i>Boroughs</i>	<i>Population, 1934</i>	<i>Boroughs</i>	<i>Population, 1934</i>
Etna	7,245	Port Vue	3,389
Forest Hills	5,116	Rankin	7,296
Fox Chapel	1,293 (unofficial)	Roslyn Farms	384
Glassport	8,162	Sewickley	5,558
Glenfield	866	Sewickley Heights	619 (unofficial)
Greentree	1,572	Sharpsburg	8,256
Haysville	178	Springdale	4,498
Heidelberg	2,177	Swissvale	16,108
Homestead	18,488	Tarentum	9,246
Ingram	3,956	Thornburg	306
Leetsdale	2,143	Trafford	159
Liberty	906	Turtle Creek	10,419
McDonald	879	Verona	4,325
McKees Rocks	15,670	Versailles	2,386
Millvale	7,079	Wall	2,085
Mt. Oliver	6,987	West Elizabeth	1,125
Munhall	13,343	West Homestead	3,507
North Braddock	15,824	West View	7,086
Oakdale	1,586	Whitaker	2,006
Oakmont	6,046	Wilkinsburg	28,450
Osborne	528	Wilmerding	5,823
Pitcairn	5,832		

TOWNSHIPS IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY

FIRST CLASS

<i>Townships</i>	<i>Population, 1930</i>	<i>Townships</i>	<i>Population, 1930</i>
Baldwin	6,371	North Versailles	5,668
Braddock	1,794	O'Hara	5,127
Collier	6,091	Penn	13,337
Crescent	1,107	Reserve	3,108
East Deer	3,928	Ross	8,581
Elizabeth	7,479	Scott	6,203
Harrison	12,387	Shaler	9,573
Jefferson	4,138	South Fayette	9,147
Leet	1,272	South Versailles	336
Mifflin	8,167	Springdale	1,565
Mt. Lebanon	13,403	Stowe	13,368
Neville	1,532	Wilkins	4,127

SECOND CLASS

Aleppo	419	Moon	2,900
Bethel	5,482	North Fayette	3,510
Fawn	912	Ohio	500
Findlay	2,775	Patton	4,687
Forward	3,626	Pine	937
Franklin	1,031	Plum	6,339
Frazier	1,639	Richland	1,805
Hampton	3,333	Robinson	3,970
Harmar	2,703	Sewickley	314
Indiana	3,131	Sewickley Heights	982
Kennedy	1,311	Snowden	4,396
Kilbuck	1,651	Upper St. Clair	1,947
Lincoln	678	Versailles	3,955
Marshall	1,265	West Deer	6,461
McCandless	2,653		

MANDATORY AND OPTIONAL POWERS OF POLITICAL SUBDIVISIONS OF THE COUNTY

Summarized from the section on local government in the *Preliminary Report of the Pennsylvania State Planning Board*, 1934, pp. 554 ff.

Townships and Boroughs

Mandatory Functions

Townships of both classes and boroughs have the same mandatory functions

1. Maintenance of the minimum governmental organization specified in the township code
2. Collection of township taxes
3. Maintenance of township highways and bridges. (The dirt and cinder roads belong to the township system.)

In addition, the following mandatory functions are performed at county expense by officials elected in each township: administration of justice by justices of the peace and maintenance of law and order by constables.

Optional Functions

Second Class Townships

Provision for:

- Fire protection
- Garbage and trash removal and prevention of nuisances
- Insurance—fire, workmen's compensation, etc.
- Water and sewer systems
- Parks and playgrounds
- Erection and maintenance of public buildings
- Traffic regulation

(Three minor powers are omitted.)

"Supervisors may also provide street lights, water and sidewalks for residents of any part of a township upon petition of the residents, in which case, the expense is borne by the beneficiaries."

First Class Townships

Any of the functions of second class townships and the following additional functions:

- Regulation and inspections of buildings
- Inspection of milk supply
- Regulation of the use of inflammable and explosive articles
- Smoke regulation
- Provision of motor ambulances
- Regulation of amusements
- Registration of real estate
- Regulations for the public safety
- Creation of fire, water and sewer districts
- Fire prevention regulations
- Health protection
- Sewage disposal
- Creation of shade tree commissions
- Creation of zoning and planning boards

In addition the commissioners have broad powers to enact ordinances and resolutions and enforce them.

Boroughs

Any of the functions of townships of either class and the following:

- Manufacture and supply of electricity
- Operation of gas wells for municipal purposes
- Establishments of airports
- Regulation of weights and measures
- Annual appropriations up to \$1,000 for municipal music, and up to \$500 for municipal burial ground maintenance.

Third Class Cities

There is little difference between the mandatory functions of townships, boroughs and cities. Some functions which are optional for sparsely populated units are mandatory for cities.

ORGANIZATION OF POLITICAL SUBDIVISIONS

Minimum and optional organization of these governmental units is shown in the accompanying charts. Commissioners of first-class townships and borough councils are given a broad grant of power to create such additional offices and departments as they see fit, including the position of township or borough manager, to whom any of the nonlegislative and nonjudicial functions of the local governmental units may be delegated.

Third-class cities operate under a commission form of government. Council is composed of a mayor, who is president of the council and head of the Department of Public Affairs, and four other councilmen, heads of the departments of Accounts and Finance, Public Safety, Streets and Public Improvements, and Parks and Public Property. Except for city treasurer and city comptroller, who are also elected, other city officials are appointed by the council or by the individual members as department heads. Governmental functions are allotted to different departments in different cities.⁷⁷

EXPENDITURES

*Mandatory Expenditures*⁷⁸

Support of county inmates in state penal and correctional institutions
 Support of prisoners in the county jail
 Payment of road damages for state and county highways
 Payment of costs of the District Court within the county
 Provision of rooms for Judge, women jurors, and juvenile offenders
 Payment of premium on county officer's bonds
 Payment of expenses of certain county officers to state conventions
 Payment of expenses of Commissioners in pursuit of duty
 Payment for soldier and soldier's widow burials
 Provide markers for veterans' graves and compilation of war records
 Payment to G. A. R. for Memorial Day observances
 Provide flags to decorate soldiers' graves on Memorial Day
 To appropriate for annual convention of School Directors in county
 Payment of office expenses, rent, and stenographer of County Superintendent of Schools
 Registration of births and deaths
 Payment of cost for general and municipal primaries and elections in county
 Payment of cost of assessment of property for county purposes and registration of voters
 Refunded and returned taxes on unseated and seated lands

*Optional Expenditures*⁷⁹

Provide and maintain National Guard Armories
 Maintain a unit of the National Guard
 Appropriate for rifle-clubs in time of war
 Purchase burial lots for deceased service men

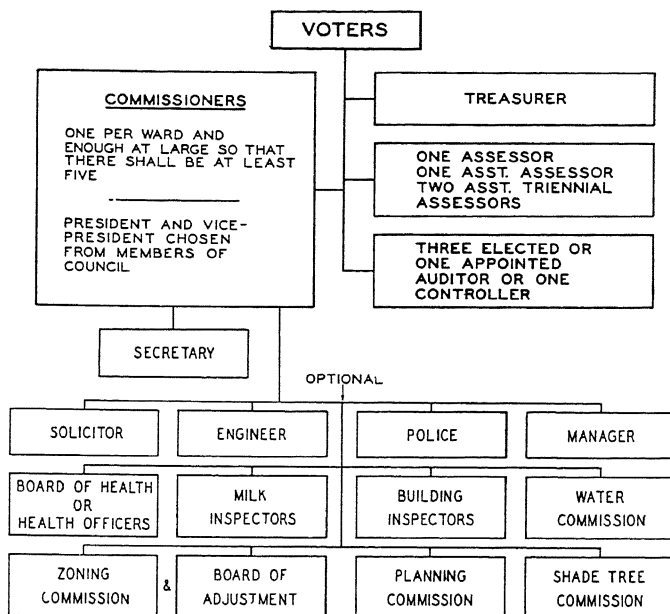
⁷⁷ Information and quotation from the *Duquesne Times*: A state-wide committee which has been preparing budget forms for these cities found a total of forty-three functions performed by one or more cities in the state but "in no two cities are all of the functions allocated to the same departments."

⁷⁸ Pennsylvania State College Bulletin No. 297, by Weaver and Alderfer, p. 9.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10 and 12.

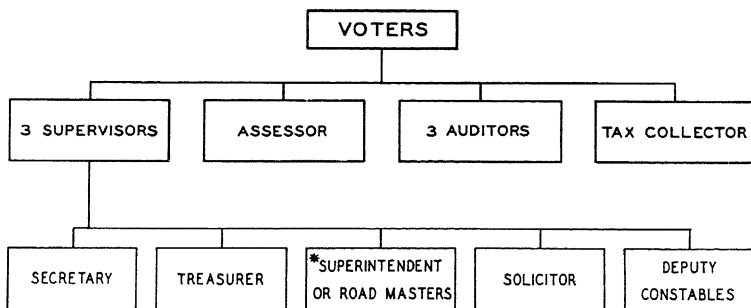
ORGANIZATION CHART - TOWNSHIPS OF THE FIRST CLASS

PENNSYLVANIA



ORGANIZATION CHART - TOWNSHIPS OF THE SECOND CLASS

PENNSYLVANIA



*POSITION NOT INCOMPATIBLE WITH POST OF SUPERVISOR, AND FREQUENTLY HELD BY SUPERVISORS



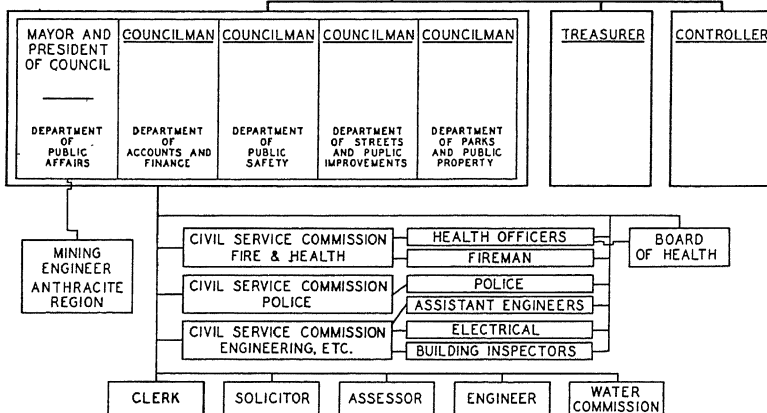
FIGURE 6

ORGANIZATION OF TOWNSHIPS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND
CLASSES IN PENNSYLVANIA
As charted by the State Planning Board

ORGANIZATION CHART – CITIES OF THE THIRD CLASS

PENNSYLVANIA

VOTERS



ORGANIZATION CHART – BOROUGHS

PENNSYLVANIA

VOTERS

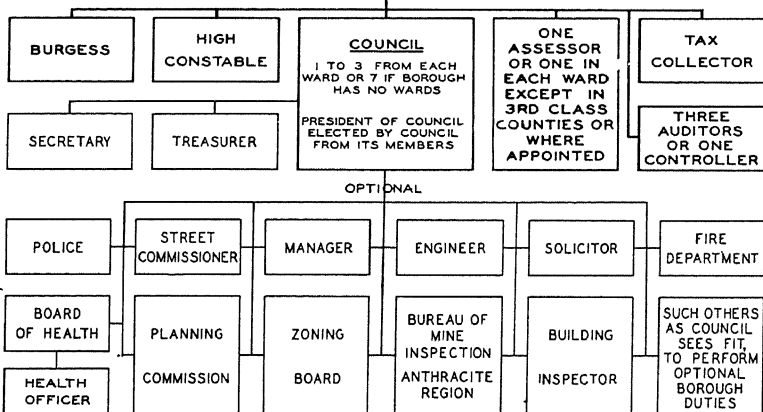


FIGURE 7

ORGANIZATION OF CITIES OF THE THIRD CLASS AND

BOROUGHS IN PENNSYLVANIA

As charted by the State Planning Board

Appropriate to veterans' organizations for Memorial Day
 Appropriate for county war history
 Appropriate to Historical Society
 Appropriate to support local hospitals
 Appropriate to Society maintaining tuberculosis sanitarium
 Appropriate to Societies for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
 Appropriate to agricultural extension work
 Appropriate to agricultural or horticultural societies
 Appropriate for suppression of animal and plant diseases
 Appropriate for health and sanitation
 Prevent and control floods
 Drill gas wells and lay gas lines
 Contract with railroad companies to change railroad lines
 Aid in construction of canals and waterways
 Make additional appropriations over original to law library
 Provide digest of laws and decisions for use of Justices of the Peace
 Offer additional rewards than authorized by law for criminals
 Employ watchmen and employees for county buildings
 Furnish rooms for veterans' organizations
 Erect jails, in fourth class counties
 Provide ornamental illumination on street abutting county building
 Appropriate for comfort stations in county seat
 Construct monuments and memorials, or assist with same
 Maintain memorial hall and public monuments
 Operate and maintain public auditoriums, libraries, memorial buildings and monuments
 Maintain children's home given to county
 Maintain county hospital for tuberculosis, and hospital for women with nervous diseases
 Incur indebtedness to establish tuberculosis hospital
 Acquire and maintain parks, playgrounds, gymnasiums, public baths, swimming pools, and indoor recreational centers
 Repair county bridges and roads
 Employ county road caretakers
 Levy taxes and incur indebtedness for purposes legally approved
 Appropriate money to local subdivisions for air navigation facilities
 Provide office expenses and stenographer for state judges in county
 Provide office expenses for district attorneys in fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth class counties
 Construct sidewalks and erect lights in second class townships
 Furnish office equipment and supplies for all county offices
 Fix compensation of county engineer

Besides these there are other optional expenditures of the county commissioners, especially for the construction of public buildings, bridges, highways, and other public works in which other groups have a part in initiating, approving, inspecting, or spending. The following various agencies have powers that vary with the various projects:⁸⁰ citizens as petitioners, Board of Viewers, Grand Jury, judge or judges of Court of Common Pleas or Quarter Sessions, voters of the county, Directors of the Poor, County Controller, various state administrative departments.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

CHAPTER III

THE CHANCES FOR A LIVING IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY

Limits of direct access to the economic system.—Meaning of unemployment.—Unemployment in April, 1930.—Irregularity of employment and irregularity of business activity.—Seasonal fluctuations.—Average unemployment in Allegheny County, 1920-29.—Income and need.

FOOD, CLOTHING, and shelter are the basic necessities of life. These take precedence over cultural aspirations and spiritual growth. Upon them is centered the primary effort of the individual. In some of the primitive communities, both of this day and of the distant past beyond the perspective of history, the provision of these primary needs was the concern not of the individual person or family alone but of the whole tribe or village. The common task of providing for the whole community has often overshadowed not only the individual's responsibility and planning but even that of the family—in our use of that term—as a basic social unit. In Western civilization today, however, that is not the system of social life. With us the individual carries the first responsibility for obtaining the food, the clothing, and the shelter that he needs. Beyond this, he has the responsibility of procuring them for the family of which he is the head or a member. The community recognizes a common obligation only in regulating and guaranteeing the processes of gaining a livelihood under conditions of congregate life and comes to the aid of the individual and family only when these processes are menaced or when individuals are unable to shoulder their obligations. The greater the chances, therefore, for the individual to provide the necessities for himself and his family, the less there is of such a community obligation, at least for the prime necessities of life. The extent and nature of these community obligations at any given time and the common burden that they imply depend partly upon the capacities of the individuals and, to a greater extent, on their chances for earning a livelihood, as represented in the economic structure of the community and the type of culture and civilization under which it exists.

Obviously the individual must fit in somehow with the pattern of economic life as the first requisite for having any such chance. He must

fit in, moreover, in the particular pattern determined by time, place, and conditions, in this case those of industrial Pittsburgh in the fourth decade of the twentieth century. Opportunity to earn a living is the first step. The amount of his income—assuming the opportunity—is the next factor of importance, and it is immediately conditioned by the further factor of his basic needs. Does he have only himself to provide for on his income? If not, how many depend upon him for a livelihood, to what extent, and what are their needs? The chances of making a living turn then into the more complex formula: the chances for obtaining an income commensurate with his own needs, plus those of his dependents, under conditions of life obtaining in the place where he lives and supports his family. Failing this chance of making a living, he may himself face dependence upon the community and destitution for his family. What are the chances in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County?

LIMITS OF DIRECT ACCESS TO THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM¹

In large part our economic system is operated on a commercial basis. On this basis the ability of anyone to get goods and services depends on his having purchasing power, that is, money (in the broad sense) or something having recognized money value. Under the commercial criterion the system works for those who have money, regardless of how they get the money; and it does not work for those who do not have money, no matter how much they want what the commercial system has to offer. If one does not have direct access to the economic system, that is, money provided by ordinary commercial methods, or is not attached to one who does have direct access, his survival depends on non-commercial distribution of purchasing power.

There is general familiarity with the following ways of getting money:

- To receive it for work
- To receive it as a gift
- To receive it as an inheritance
- To receive it as hire for the use of something owned

¹ The following material, constituting the bulk of this chapter, is a somewhat abridged version of the study entitled *Economic Backgrounds of the Relief Problem in Allegheny County*, by Dr. J. P. Watson, Assistant Director of the Bureau of Business Research, of the University of Pittsburgh. This study was undertaken in accordance with the generous offer by the Director of the Bureau, Dr. Ralph J. Watkins, that they accept responsibility for the contribution to our general study of the economic phases of the social background of Allegheny County. This offer coincided with the desire of the Bureau, felt for some time, of effecting a synthesis of its many specialized economic studies bearing on the Pittsburgh District. It is the plan of the Bureau to publish at some future time, through its own regular channels, a more complete synthesis along these lines. The present contribution by Dr. Watson for the Bureau may be considered a forerunner or advance quotation of that more complete statement which the Bureau of Business Research is preparing for publication.

To receive it in exchange for something owned
 To take it by theft or by other illegitimate methods

Two or more of these classifications in a receipt of money income may, of course, overlap; each may be called one thing when in fact it is another. The wages of a mechanic having to furnish his own tools and equipment must cover hire of his property used in the service. The salary of the proprietor's son may be mainly a gift. A wage or a salary may represent blackmail or bribery. If it is collected under claim of due performance when there has not been fair service, it equals or closely approximates theft—though it is commonly given the more polite name of “graft.” What is called a gift may be advance inheritance; it may be blackmail or bribery. So-called return on investment (hire for the use of money owned) may represent an actual division of profits; it may represent a delusive dividend from the capital of the owner or an astute partitioning of income or of capital belonging to others. Receipts in exchange for something owned, such as securities, goods, land, buildings, or livestock, may be in part mere theft arising from sale under gross misrepresentation. What looks like receipts in exchange for property, on the other hand, may represent mainly a delayed realization of wages, as in the sale of wheat by the farmer or in the C.O.D. delivery of a finished piece of furniture by the cabinetmaker.

The number of persons or families receiving a little in the form of gifts, inheritances, or return on capital may be large. But that little has only slight bearing on the question at hand. The significant question is whether any substantial part of the working people could carry themselves long without paid employment.

It is estimated by The Brookings Institution that 80 percent of all normally gainfully employed persons in the United States in 1930 were in the wage and salary group.² Approximately 8 percent of the grand total were farmers not on a wage or salary basis. Exclusive of these farmers about 87 percent of the gainfully employed were on a salary or wage basis—a rough average of conditions in industrial communities. From the same source comes the statement that “There are no appreciable savings among families with incomes about \$800 or about \$1,300. Even in the \$1,800 and \$2,700 income groups, savings are not large. . . .”³ In 1929 nearly two-thirds of the non-farming families had incomes of less than \$2,500, and nearly three-fourths had incomes of less than \$3,000.⁴ Meanwhile, it appears that 86.7 percent of all savings in that year were made by families having incomes of more than \$3,000; and it appears also that of 21,546,000

² Maurice Leven, Harold G. Moulton, and Clark Warburton, *America's Capacity to Consume*, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., 1934, p. 31.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

families having incomes of less than \$3,000, there were 5,899,000 families, or about 27 of every hundred, which not only did not have savings but also actually incurred deficits—deficits which were equal to the savings of all other families in income classes up to \$3,000 per year.⁵

Comparable facts for Allegheny County are not available. But the general significance cannot be lost: industrial workers are almost wholly in those groups which incur deficits or at best have small savings. Most of them must work or want. To be sure, some may both work and want, because of low rates of pay. It may be remarked, however, that in terms of the logic of competition low wages mean lack of jobs. It can, of course, be said that low wages represent labor surplus. But unless society expects to rid itself of the need attributable to labor surplus by executing the surplus laborers or permitting them to starve, it must conceive the remedy in terms of organizing work for them—and it cannot avoid construing surplus labor as lack of work.

It may be, furthermore, that even with fairly stable work at fairly high wages the workers' access to the economic system will be inadequate, because of a large number of dependents. Society sternly holds to the tradition that a man should support his normal family dependents. But there is nothing whatever in our primary criteria of access to the economic system that adjusts the worker's opportunity to work or his rate of pay in accordance with the number of his dependents. Nor is it possible to conceive of any such adjustments in a competitive wage system. Relief to supplement the income of large families, therefore, is always likely to be necessary. But opportunity for the family to stand on its own legs, that is, to have reasonably full employment for the breadwinner, is the major factor setting limits on the necessity of supplementary income for large families.

Most work for pay goes on in connection with what we call business activity. Irregularity in business activity is well known. Those accustomed to the examination of the irregularities are familiar with seasonal changes, boom and depression changes, long-time trend changes, and occasional changes that seem to reduce to no standard classification and are called "random" changes. Irregularity of business activity in the district of which Allegheny County is the center will be discussed below. Recognition of grave irregularity is necessary here, for business irregularity is in broad terms merely another way of saying irregularity of opportunity to make a living.

In the long-run view the objective of the industrial or commercial employer necessarily is to make profits. People are hired when the employer thinks it is good business to hire them; they are dropped from employment when he thinks it is good business to drop them. There is no obligation to

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

hire any specific person, nor is there any obligation to hire any specific portion of the employable persons. On the contrary, there is a compelling obligation not to hire any except those who are worth something to the business at prevailing business levels. This is the rule of business, and whoever violates it does so at his peril. Since business activity is highly irregular, industrial and commercial employment is highly irregular.

Thus, to a very large part of the employable population, there is, within the working life—and, to many, within any year—a great irregularity in the opportunity to earn a living. But elemental human requirements do not cease when business is bad. Consequently, even to very competent workmen, need, like prosperity, is always “just around the corner.” And the wolf lives at the door of the less competent workman.

It is not uncommon to hear it implied, if not bluntly stated, that the industrial workers’ unemployment is traceable to shiftlessness. In such representation much is made of the sturdy frontier farmer who, with very little money, wrested from the earth a living for himself and his family. Also, the aggressive independent craftsman of early days is recalled, turning out, through fair weather or foul, the shoes, harness, furniture, implements, utensils, or other products that brought him a livelihood. As commonly presented, these mutually independent giants of the earth are unadulterated myth. That early farmer was the craftsman’s market; and that early craftsman was the farmer’s market. They were working for each other in a scheme of division of labor.

These two pictures, however, have meaning which we cannot afford to lose: each represents a man somewhat independent in planning his work to meet his requirements, in making use of the abilities of employable members of his family, in speeding up his efforts in the face of expanding requirements, and in bringing out products which were his own. To a very large extent modern industrialization has blotted out the independent craftsman and has massed his descendants and a large part of the descendants of the farmer in great industrial centers. There they have been placed on jobs, the operation of which they do not determine and the product of which they do not own. No matter how sturdy and independent in spirit they are, their welfare hinges on continued work at money wages, which, in turn, generally hinges on decisions not their own.

Data on the activities of the State Employment Office and thirteen private employment agencies show convincingly that in Pittsburgh the ratio of the number of jobs to the number of applications for jobs was falling drastically long before 1929.⁶ It was the opportunity to work, not the willingness to work, that dried up—and that was in “good” times.

⁶ Josephine McLaughlin, “Activities of Selected Employment Agencies in Pittsburgh,” *Pittsburgh Business Review*, February, 1931, pp. 15-16.

The tendency of jobs to dry up in the roaring Twenties probably is related to a very significant special feature of the uncertainty of industrial employment. In the long view, industries tend to start slowly, gather momentum, grow rapidly for a period, level off to slow growth or no growth at all, and then perhaps decline. Major technological changes may speed the growth of one industry or one process and depress or eliminate another. New industries or major improvements in old ones seem to be requisite to sustained growth.⁷ The bituminous coal section of western Pennsylvania has experienced the generally depressing effect of improved economy of combustion and of competing sources of energy, as well as the inroads of competitive fields on former markets for Pennsylvania coal. These inroads were notably sharp as the by-product coking process, utilizing various coals at many points near the markets, largely displaced the beehive coking process, located mostly in the Connellsville district.⁸ The iron and steel industry in the district, after a period of enormous growth, has tended more and more to level off in the face of rising production elsewhere.⁹

In view of the various irregularities in work opportunity it is certain that the direct access of employable persons to the economic source of goods and services will at times be closed and at many times be restricted.

Most people who are not commercially employable have no direct access to the economic system. It is, of course, impossible to make clear a distinction between employables and unemployables. A two-year old child, a paralytic, or a complete imbecile would be recognized as unemployable. On the other hand, many of those not employed might be employed with complete propriety under proper guidance, inducement, or compulsion.

But it must be agreed that some people are never employable, because of physical or mental incapacity. Every person is unemployable during part of his life, that is, in early youth, in periods of disability from sickness or injury, in periods of family crisis, and in late old age. Because of the disabling effect of disease or injury any employable person may become unemployable. Because of a complex of physiological reasons, customary

⁷ Forthcoming study of comparative industrial trends by Glen E. McLaughlin, Bureau of Business Research, University of Pittsburgh. An advance segment of this study was published in the *Pittsburgh Business Review*, in May, 1935, under the title, "Growth of Population and of Manufacturing Employment in Pittsburgh Industrial Area in Comparison with Growth in Other Industrial Areas."

⁸ Theodore A. Veenstra and Wilbert G. Fritz, *Regional Shifts in the Bituminous Coal Industry*, Bureau of Business Research, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1935, pp. 2-5 and 145-46.

⁹ Glenn E. McLaughlin, "The Growth and Distribution of the Iron Industry in the United States," and "The Growth and Distribution of the Steel Industry in the United States," *Pittsburgh Business Review*, February, 1931, p. 12, and May, 1931, p. 12.

family division of labor, and reasons lying in ancient tradition regarding the proper place for women the larger portion of the women are not available for commercial employment. Therefore, within the framework of existing custom and method a very considerable part of the population is not employable.

Actual employment and unemployment will be considered later in some detail, but a general view is needed here to make clear the extent to which, in practice, the population is unemployable. In 1930 the number of persons 10 years of age or more who usually had as much as one day of gainful employment per week comprised about 39 percent of the population. This percentage includes all sorts of gainful employment, part-time or otherwise, of children, of the aged, of women having "pin-money" jobs, of casual workers ambling from pillar to post, and of partially disabled persons doing what they could to make ends meet. Obviously, therefore, it includes a very substantial number of persons who had only a small part of what could be called a gainful "job" in any thoroughgoing sense. If each fractional job of one day or more per week be counted as work, 61 percent of the persons did not have gainful work. With allowance for those wholly unemployed and with fractional gainful jobs reduced to their equivalent of full jobs, it appears likely that the average number of man-days of work per day was about one-third as great as the number of people. This ratio would mean that on the average, at employment levels like those of April, 1930, a full-time job or its equivalent had to support the worker and two additional persons not gainfully employed. The actual number of dependents per worker, of course, varied widely; and an income that is reasonably adequate for two is clearly not adequate for five or six.¹⁰

Women engaged as homemakers are not classed in the census as gainful workers unless they are housekeepers on a paid basis. The exclusion, of course, does not mean that homemakers not on a paid basis are not engaged in useful work. But the distinction is very important in an industrialized community, for most housewives do not directly earn money. No matter how diligently, how skillfully, they run the household and no matter how indispensable the service, usually there must still be a breadwinner with employment on a money basis. Meanwhile, although urbanization and industrialization have brought modifications in family life, living still goes on mainly in terms of family groups. Therefore, it seems likely that within the calculable future most homemakers will remain commercially unemployable.

The composition of the unemployable group is always changing. Chil-

¹⁰ Farther along in this chapter consideration will be given to this fundamentally important relation between wage income, size of family, and extent of employment. See *infra*, pp. 148 ff.

dren enter by birth, and others come in because of disablement by injury, disease, mental collapse, or advanced age. On the other hand, people leave the unemployable group by becoming employable and employed, and others are removed by death. Changes in social policy, such as a revision of policy regarding child labor or regarding employment of women, may enlarge or diminish the number. Sweeping alterations in industrial character and in productive processes may alter greatly the kinds of work opportunity, affording opportunity for some who did not fit into the work formerly available, and making misfits of some who were formerly of strategic industrial importance.

A very significant part of the unemployables have no normal family attachment to employables; and some employables dodge their normal family responsibility, leaving their dependents with no actual attachment. Orphan children, deserted children, deserted wives with small children, widows with small children, unattached aged people, and physically or mentally handicapped people without family attachment are numerous. Only a small part of these could have funded income or consumable funds to carry them.

In the family tradition, of course, the larger part of the unemployables share the access of the breadwinners. But, as we have noted before, the breadwinner's earnings may be low or his family load may be heavy. Therefore, for many of those who are at least nominally employables and for unemployables attached to employables, there is a considerable probability that the access to the necessities of life will be sorely limited. In short, the relief problem is to a very great extent a result of unemployment.

MEANING OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Discussions of unemployment are often confused on two major points. First, although it is recognized that unemployment relates to the lack of work of an employable person, there is no clear distinction between employables and unemployables. Second, there is lack of clear definition of how much work employment means, and, therefore, of what unemployment means.

No simple distinction between employables and unemployables is possible. We have observed that being employable is determined in part by personal attributes, in part by economic opportunity, and in part by social tradition and policy. The character of economic opportunity may be widely diversified or severely limited; the amount of economic opportunity may be growing, merely holding its own, or declining. Under determined social policy there may be severe limits or no limits at all on the employment of children and women. And under the family tradition

most women during the larger part of their adult life are not employable in the commercial sense. How extensively those handicapped by disabilities need work and try to maintain employable status is affected by the extent of established provision for the aid of the handicapped.

For some purposes, we might properly attempt to take an inventory of all labor-power, a record of the extent to which the useful labor force is used, and an evaluation of the effectiveness with which the total labor force is used. But the purpose of this study must be served by an appraisal of employment and unemployment within the existent economic setting. The norm for that appraisal lies in the economic record, not in an ideal economic possibility. Therefore, we shall call employables (a) those who have worked and are working or seeking work, including those generally qualified but temporarily prevented by disease or injury from working or seeking work, and (b) those who have not worked but who are qualified to enter employment and would normally be expected to work if there were opportunity. So far as gainful employment is concerned, all others are unemployables.

It can be seen at once that this definition of unemployables includes many who have strength and ability to work but for one reason or another are not normally part of the employable group. The larger part of the housewives are unemployable in this sense, although many of them work much harder than some of those called employed. Some people of strength and intelligence ample for working find work unnecessary because some set of circumstances has provided wealth sufficient to render their own work unnecessary.

Every employable person is likely to be unable to work at times, that is, to have occasional periods of unemployability. Fortunately, most illnesses and most injuries result in only temporary disability; but, generally, the flow of the worker's purchasing power is stopped during these periods of idleness and the idleness is unemployment.

Some jobs are regularly part-time jobs. The holder of a part-time job may be regularly unemployed part of the time or he may splice together two or more part-time jobs so as to have something like full-time work. To some extent, persons holding part-time jobs do not want work the rest of the time. A student, for example, may be glad to have work on Saturdays only, or two or three hours of work every day. But this sort of part-time work is a fringe phenomenon, not a dominant characteristic of the labor market. The determinant type of part-time employment is lack of work for persons who would work more if there were opportunity; and the term "part-time" in subsequent pages will mean less than full-time work for an employable person.

Because of our concern with limitation in the opportunity to earn a liv-

ing, we shall be interested both in the number of persons without work and in the lack of work on the part of those who are at least nominally employed. The distribution of available work and the distribution of idleness are of key significance. Some have full-time work, some have jobs providing work part of the time, and some at any given time are wholly without job connections. Therefore, within the possibility afforded by scant data the attempt will be made to indicate the probable total loss of time by employables and to suggest rough approximations of the distribution of employment and of unemployment.

There was a census of employment and unemployment in 1930. Let us first examine that record with care. Then by the use of available indexes of employment we shall be able to reach useful estimates for the "good" levels of 1929 and for the bottom levels of the depression.¹¹

In Table 2 is a monthly index of the number of workers employed in Allegheny County, 1929-36. Each index number is a percentage of the average monthly level of 1929. For each one hundred having more or less work in the average month of 1929, there were 106 in October, 1929. The number in October was the highest number reached. Comparably, there were 63 in March, 1933. The extremes of 106 and 63, however, are only the extremes in number having some work. The 63 in March, 1933, each had far less work than each of the 106 had in October, 1929, and wage rates were much lower. In the Pittsburgh district the average pay envelope of those having some work in March, 1933, was about 55 percent of the average pay envelope of those having some work in October, 1929.¹² Clearly it is essential to consider the probable amount of work as well as numbers sharing in the available work, for the likelihood of need exists not merely among those having no work at all, but also among those having some work, but not enough. Inasmuch as there are no regular censuses of unemployment, estimates must be made from an acceptable census figure by use of indexes showing change. The census data of 1930, therefore, must be considered with care.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN APRIL, 1930

When the population census is taken every tenth year, a count is made of all persons who ordinarily have employment in a gainful occupation. No complete record is taken at any other time. The latest figures of this sort are from the census of 1930. Gainful occupations, for purposes of that

¹¹ In view of the complexity and technical specialization involved in these calculations Dr. Watson has considerably compressed this part of his manuscript for use in the present volume.

¹² For the district the comparable indexes of the Bureau of Business Research, University of Pittsburgh, were as follows: October, 1929, numbers 105.5 and payrolls 110.2; March, 1933, numbers 63 and payrolls 36.8.

census, included all sorts of work for money or its equivalent, whether for profits, fees, and commissions, or for salaries or wages. A person was considered gainfully employed if he usually did such work a day or more a week. A woman engaged as a homemaker was not classed as gainfully employed unless she was also working on a paid basis at some job other than the care of her home.¹³

TABLE 2

INDEX OF AVERAGE NUMBERS ON PAYROLLS IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY, 1929-36^a

(Monthly average in 1929 = 100)

MONTH	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
January	94.2	95.4	86.1	72.9	65.5	71.3	73.3	76.2
February	94.1	95.9	85.3	72.4	64.9	74.3	75.8	77.1
March	95.6	96.3	86.4	71.6	63.0	76.4	76.3	78.9
April	97.9	98.9	86.6	70.4	64.2	77.3	76.9	85.0
May	99.5	100.0	85.6	68.7	66.4	79.9	76.7	84.7
June	101.0	98.4	82.0	66.7	70.1	78.7	76.2	85.7
July	100.3	95.5	79.6	63.6	70.5	75.4	74.6	86.5
August	101.2	93.5	80.3	62.6	74.7	75.5	75.1	86.5
September	103.2	93.8	80.6	66.2	75.7	75.7	77.7	89.4
October	106.1	94.4	79.4	66.7	76.2	75.6	80.9	90.4
November	104.4	92.6	77.6	68.0	75.2	75.8	80.4	88.7
December	102.3	92.1	78.7	68.3	74.8	77.9	82.3	91.6
Average	100.0	95.6	82.4	68.2	70.1	76.2	77.2	85.1

^a The employment indexes regularly published in the *Pittsburgh Business Review* are for an eleven-county district, heavily weighted, of course, by Allegheny County. For this table, an all-firms index has been computed for Allegheny County, the several industry groups being assigned weights in accordance with their importance in the county.

In April, 1930, there were in Allegheny County 537,097 residents aged 10 years or more who normally were gainfully employed, that is, usually having gainful work a day or more a week (Table 3, page 125). This number was somewhat more than 48 percent of all persons aged 10 years or more; it was slightly more than 39 percent of the total population. Males constituted 78.4 percent of the gainful workers; females, 21.6 percent.¹⁴ The exclusion of housewives not working for money explains most of the disparity between these two percentages.

In considering the data on the number of gainful workers unemployed it is essential to note in advance the meaning of the figures. The census term "at work" had a meaning which must be assumed to have caused the inclusion in the employed classification of a number somewhat larger, probably significantly larger, than that of persons actually at work on an average day representative of the period of enumeration. Aside from the

¹³ Fifteenth Census of United States, 1930, *Population*, Vol. V., pp. 3 and 29.

¹⁴ Pittsburgh data indicate that the number of children among the gainful workers in the county was relatively small, only a small fraction of one percent of those in the city being less than 16 years old, only 3.6 percent being less than 18 years old.

inclusion of some who, though idle, had actual or presumptive continuance of pay, the definition appears to have led to the inclusion of all persons who regularly worked only on part of the days of the week and who had worked on their respective latest regular work days—not merely those who worked on the preceding day. Moreover, a shopkeeper or other self-employed person—business or professional—was “at work” if he spent any part of his latest regular work day at his place of business, even though he may not have made any sales nor have done any work for which he was paid.¹⁵

TABLE 3

ALLEGHENY COUNTY RESIDENTS AGED 10 YEARS OR MORE NORMALLY GAINFULLY EMPLOYED, APRIL 1, 1930, BY INDUSTRY GROUP^a

INDUSTRY GROUP	TOTAL		
	NUMBER	MALE	FEMALE
Total population	1,374,410	694,816	679,594
Population aged 10 years or more	1,109,331	560,439	548,892
Normally gainfully employed, total	537,097	421,298	115,799
Agriculture ^b	6,620	6,412	208
Extraction of minerals	15,010	14,867	143
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	241,785	218,957	22,828
Transportation and communication	56,330	49,478	6,852
Trade	97,635	70,614	27,021
Public service not elsewhere classified	13,522	12,330	1,192
Professional and semiprofessional service	39,221	19,376	19,845
Domestic and personal service	53,350	18,143	35,207
Industry not specified	13,624	11,121	2,503

^a Adapted from the Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, *Population*, Vol. III, Pt. 2, p. 709.

^b Includes 33 male and 2 female classified in “forestry and fishing.”

It must be remembered also that a young person who might normally have been expected to be employed, but who had not found work, was not a “gainful worker” in census terms and therefore was not represented in the number classed as unemployed, this term being applicable to “gainful workers” only. Records of employment agencies in Pittsburgh strongly suggest that the number of jobs failed to keep pace with the number of applications for some years prior to 1929; and the experience of the Junior Employment Service, conducted in connection with the city school system, showed specifically the increasing failure of the younger group to find placement in industrial or commercial jobs.¹⁶ Therefore, in considering the available data on the number unemployed in April, 1930, it is essen-

¹⁵ Refer to instructions to enumerators in Fifteenth Census of the United States, *Unemployment*, Vol. II, pp. 604-8.

¹⁶ Josephine McLaughlin, “Activities of Selected Employment Agencies in Pittsburgh,” *Pittsburgh Business Review*, February, 1931, p. 15; and data on Junior Employment Service in unpublished manuscript from which the article cited was abstracted.

tial to realize that the number so classified in the census was almost certainly too low.¹⁷

The enumeration probably was finished wholly or mainly by April 15.¹⁸ Statistically it might be supposed to center at some time between April 1 and April 15; but for reasons already given the number classified as unemployed appears likely by definition to have been too low for the median date of enumeration. Employment in the county rose from March to April and from April to May in 1930 (Table 2, p. 124). The unemployment data appear to have been more nearly right for a somewhat higher level of employment and will be taken as if they were of the middle of April. This small shift, however, probably does not compensate wholly for the understatement of the number unemployed. The estimated number in the unemployed classification for Allegheny County at the middle of April is 55,511 (Table 4, p. 127).¹⁹ In this total, which is believed to be too small, were more than one-tenth of the gainful workers. Those in the employed classification, then, are estimated to have numbered 481,586. Rounding of estimates is deferred.

On the basis of Pittsburgh data and of total state data on length of idleness of the unemployed it is estimated that 17,061 of those unemployed on the fifteenth of April had worked a day or more in the month ended by the middle of April, 1930. Therefore, the estimated total participating in available work in that month is 498,647 (481,586 plus 17,061). With allowance for the upward change in the employment index, it is estimated that 504,331 participated at least to some extent in the available work in the calendar month of April, 1930. The estimated number having no work at all in that month is 38,450.

The estimated total number sharing in the available work in April should not be affected by the probable duplication of part-time workers in the mid-month figure; and the resultant estimate of those having no work in April should be correspondingly free from the understatement in the mid-month figure on number unemployed. We shall proceed, therefore, from these base figures for April, 1930: number having some work in the month, 504,300; number not having any work in the month, 32,800.

By use of available indexes of employment and of payrolls in the dis-

¹⁷ Robert R. Nathan, formerly Consultant on Unemployment Statistics, President's Committee on Economic Security, concluded that for the county as a whole the number classed as unemployed was too low. See "Estimates of Unemployment in the United States, 1929-1935," *International Labor Review*, January, 1936, p. 49. The Brookings Institution agreed with Mr. Nathan regarding the understatement of unemployment. Edwin G. Nourse and Associates, *America's Capacity to Produce*, pp. 492-95.

¹⁸ Information by letter from the Bureau of the Census.

¹⁹ Explanation of these estimates is omitted here. It is given in full in *Economic Backgrounds of the Relief Problem in Allegheny County*, Monograph No. 5, by Dr. J. P. Watson, to be published soon by the Bureau of Business Research.

trict, estimates of approximate time worked and of time lost are possible.²⁰ It is estimated that those having some work in April, 1930, averaged about 88 percent of full time, that is, lost about 12 percent of working time. For all employables the estimated loss of time exceeded 17 percent of full time (Table 5, p. 128).

TABLE 4
UNEMPLOYED GAINFUL WORKERS, PENNSYLVANIA AND ALLEGHENY COUNTY,
APRIL, 1930^a

CLASS	PENNSYLVANIA	ALLEGHENY COUNTY
All gainful workers	3,722,428	537,097
Unemployed		
Total, including unclassified ^b	392,086	55,511
Class A: Persons out of a job, able to work, and looking for a job	207,691	33,555
Class B: Persons having jobs but on a lay-off without pay, excluding those sick or voluntarily idle	117,801	11,543
Class C: Persons out of a job and unable to work	13,056	1,864
Class D: Persons having jobs, but idle on account of sickness or disability	28,347	4,934
Class E: Persons out of a job and not looking for work	5,391	699
Class F: Persons having jobs, but voluntarily idle without pay	6,720	804
Class G: Persons having jobs and drawing pay, though not at work (on vacation, etc.)	4,816	942
Unclassified ^b	8,264	1,170

^a Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930 *Population*, Vol. III, Pt. 2, p. 709, and *Unemployment*, Vol. I, pp. 837 and 874. Data for classes C-G inclusive, were not published but were supplied directly by the Bureau of the Census.

^b Class "h" of the rejected cases, shown for the state on page 878 of *Unemployment* Vol. I, cited above. The county portion is estimated on the basis of the ratio of classified unemployed in the county to classified unemployed in the state. This group consisted of persons shown on the population schedule as unemployed, but for whom data necessary for classification were not given.

EXTREMES IN NUMBERS UNEMPLOYED

The index shown in Table 2 was at its highest level in October, 1929, and at its lowest level in August, 1932. Without a direct record of the number of employables in the county in each of those months, the extremes in numbers unemployed cannot be shown with accuracy. Approximations, however, are possible.

First, we have estimated that 504,300 shared in the available work in April, 1930. At that time, the index of numbers employed was 98.0; in October, 1929, the same index was 106.1. From the change in this index it

²⁰ Explained in second footnote to Table 5, p. 128, *infra*. For explanation of details in arriving at the figure 32,800 and other estimates cf. full report by J. P. Watson, *op. cit.*

TABLE 5

ESTIMATED EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY FOR
SELECTED MONTHS

	APRIL, 1930	AVERAGE MONTH, 1929	PEAK: OCTOBER, 1929	LOW: MARCH, 1933
Number of employables ^a	537,100	536,200	541,000	527,100
Number having some work	504,300	509,900	541,000	321,200
Number having no work	32,800	26,300	7,200	205,800
Percent having no work	6.1	4.9	1.3	39.1
Daily average of man-days worked ^b	445,300	472,200	508,500	188,500
Daily average of man-days lost				
(a) By those having some work	59,000	37,700	32,500	132,700
(b) By all employables	91,800	64,000	32,500	338,600
Percent of full time lost by those having some work ^b	11.7	7.4	6.0	41.3
Percent of full time lost by all em- ployables	17.1	11.9	6.0	64.2

^a April, 1930, census figure was 537,097. October, 1929, same as estimated number sharing in the work; for, with draft on outside source indicated by the excess of this number over the number of gainful workers in April, 1930, it is assumed that practically all actual gainful workers had at least some work. Average month of 1929 is derived from monthly estimates as follows: January, 1929, by straight-line interpolation between census figure of 473,918 for January, 1920, (furnished by the Bureau of the Census) and the census figure of 537,097 for April, 1930; February-September, inclusive, by straight-line interpolation between this estimate for January, 1929 (529,906) and the estimate given above for October, 1929; November and December, by straight-line interpolation between estimate for October, 1929, and census figure for April, 1930. March, 1933, on the basis of the Pennsylvania unemployment survey of February, 1934, employables being taken as 39.08 percent of the population indicated by that survey (this was the 1930 ratio of employables to population), and the indicated decline being assumed to have taken place by March, 1933.

^b Index of approximate change in working time per person on payrolls computed as follows: (Index of man-hours of wage earners in manufacturing) times (ratio of index of total payrolls to manufacturing payrolls) divided by (index of average number on payrolls of all firms). Adjusted to the basis of standard month, by allowance for Sundays and holidays, this index is believed to represent approximate change in average daily portion of man-day per person on payroll. Assumptions: that change in effective average earnings per hour or per day was about the same for manufacturing wage earners as for salaried workers in manufacturing and about the same for all manufacturing workers as for all nonmanufacturing workers. By interpretation of the index at the peak as a representation of about 96 percent of full time, allowance being made for turnover and for absenteeism due to sickness and injury, the index was translated into one showing approximate change in percent of full-time worker.

is estimated that about 541,000 shared in the available work in October, 1929. This number, it will be noted, exceeds the number of gainful workers in April, 1930, by 3,900. The excess is not unreasonable. It might be explained by possible commuting or temporary transfer from neighboring counties, possible temporary employment of new employables who did

not in 1930 report as gainful workers, and possible dearth of new entries into the employable group in comparison with exits due to disability or to death. It is assumed, in view of this excess, that practically all resident gainful workers had at least some work.²¹

On the other hand, it is estimated that in March, 1933, there were about 205,800 who had no work (Table 5, p. 128). To pass in less than three years from a condition of practically full employment to a condition in which nearly 40 percent of the workers were wholly without work—that represents, it must be confessed, a violent exposure to extremes. But that does not tell the whole story. It is estimated that the 61 percent who did have some work were idle on the average more than 41 percent of their time.

The peak figure for 1929 suggests that practically all gainful workers had some work in that month. But in terms of the average monthly condition it is estimated that nearly 5 percent had no work. Those who did have some work are estimated to have been idle on the average over 7 percent of their time. All employables being considered, the average loss of time is estimated to have been nearly 12 percent of full time, that is, to have run close to one-eighth of full working time. Yet the general business index of the Pittsburgh district in 1929 averaged 16.7 percent above normal.²²

Average unemployment, discussed in preceding sections, must be thought of as the average of many degrees of unemployment. Differences among broad industrial classes with respect to unemployment in Pittsburgh in April, 1930, are illustrated in Table 6, p. 130, *infra*. Classes A and B unemployed (defined in Table 4, p. 127, *supra*), including the larger part of the unemployed, constituted 9.4 percent of all gainful workers in Pittsburgh. Those two classes of unemployed among workers attached to trade constituted 5.5 percent of all gainful workers attached to trade; in manufacturing, the comparable percentage was 11.0—twice as great as that of trade; in the building industry, 21.3—nearly twice that of manufacturing and nearly four times that of trade. Within the manufacturing group, the iron and steel industry showed 14.6 percent, whereas for other manufacturing the percentage was 8.4. The large group for whom industry was not specified probably included a large proportion of casual workers and unskilled workers who drift from industry to industry. Classes A and B unemployed in that group were relatively more than three times as numerous as they were in the total.

²¹ Data on period of idleness indicate that a few thousand of those classed as gainful workers in April, 1930, were not employed in October, 1929. If one could get no work at the peak and had had none since, his employability is doubtful. We have not tried to eliminate their number, however, treating it as an offset to the omission of new employables in April, 1930.

²² See reference to this index in footnote to Table 7, p. 141, *infra*.

Perhaps one of the most fruitful causes of misunderstanding about unemployment has been due to forgetfulness of the simple mathematical fact that the average condition is only a central point of reference with respect to numerous better conditions and numerous worse conditions. It may be accepted as obvious that even when average unemployment is low there is likely to be acute unemployment in some grades and industrial classes of workers.

TABLE 6
DIFFERENCES IN UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG INDUSTRY GROUPS, IN PITTSBURGH
APRIL, 1930^a

INDUSTRY	TOTAL GAINFUL WORKERS	UNEMPLOYED, CLASSES A AND B COMBINED ^b	
		<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent of gainful workers</i>
All industrial groups	278,648	26,192	9.4
Agriculture and forestry	961	105	10.9
Extraction of minerals	1,200	267	22.2
Building industry	20,666	4,401	21.3
Manufacturing industries	88,146	9,740	11.0
Iron and steel group	37,093	5,428	14.6
Manufacturing except iron and steel	51,053	4,312	8.4
Transportation and communication	31,006	2,821	9.1
Trade	61,066	3,365	5.5
Public service not otherwise classified	8,696	375	4.3
Professional service	22,567	646	2.9
Domestic and personal service	36,172	2,125	5.9
Industry not specified	8,168	2,347	28.7

^a Numbers from Fifteenth Census of the United States; 1930, *Unemployment*, Vol. I, p. 869.

^b Caution: these are not totals unemployed, Classes C-G not being available for Pittsburgh.

IRREGULARITY OF EMPLOYMENT AND IRREGULARITY OF BUSINESS ACTIVITY

The employment conditions at the extraordinarily high levels of 1929 and at the extraordinarily low level of March, 1933, as shown in Table 5, p. 128, reflect the best conditions and the worst conditions known. There was significant lack of employment at the average level of 1929, there having been an appearance of relatively full employment only at or near the highest point of activity. Now, because such peak levels are a rarity, relatively full employment is a rarity. On the other hand, the depth of depression manifest in the 1933 level was the worst known. Over the long period, somewhere between the best conditions and the worst conditions is an average or normal condition. In the absence of comprehensive long-time records of employment and unemployment it becomes

necessary to deal with the indirect indications of employment. These are contained in the characteristics of business activity in the district, as reflections of like irregularities in the opportunity to work.

There is wide familiarity with these everyday facts: (a) Industries and localities grow, level off to the state of holding their own, or decline, and the rate of growth or the rate of decline may change a great deal. (b) Whatever be the stage of growth or of decline, the levels of activity may shift quickly in what are called boom periods or in depression periods. (c) Some changes of considerable significance are expected at fairly regular times because of seasonal influences. (d) Significant shifts in the levels of activity come sometimes because of great fires, floods, earthquakes, or other violent shocks not in any immediate way related to growth or decline, to boom, to depression, or to seasonal influences.

The raw data reflecting changes, of course, do not automatically reveal the kinds of change reflected; and the cautious statistician makes no pretense of being able to say exactly how much of a stated shift in business levels is of this or that class. He has to deal with average patterns as frames of reference. Sometimes the variations are so irregular that classification of change is impossible. But there are so many records with so much consistency of pattern that approximations may be made with confidence. In the following sections changes of the pattern types will be illustrated. Random changes, an example of which was the severe jolt felt in this district in March, 1936, as a result of the flood, are merely noted here. They are not subject to general treatment.

The "trend of business activity" means the long-time average tendency of growth, of sustained levels, or of decline (Figure 8, p. 132). Because of change in efficiency it is assumed that the trend of the amount of gainful work is not an exact parallel of the trend of business activity; and because of the change in average working hours it is recognized that the trend of numbers employed is not an exact parallel of the trend in amount of work. Shortening of average working time, as a quantitative offset to increased efficiency, presumably has caused the trend in numbers employed and the trend in volume of business activity to be more nearly parallel than they would have been with increased efficiency but without reduction of hours.

The Pittsburgh district had a period of very rapid industrial growth in the latter part of the last century, and the growth has continued; but the rate of growth has slowed down to such an extent that the district has the appearance of practical maturity. The district has been known as a production district. For several decades the growth in production was much faster than the growth in population. In the later years the trend of production and the trend of population have become more and more

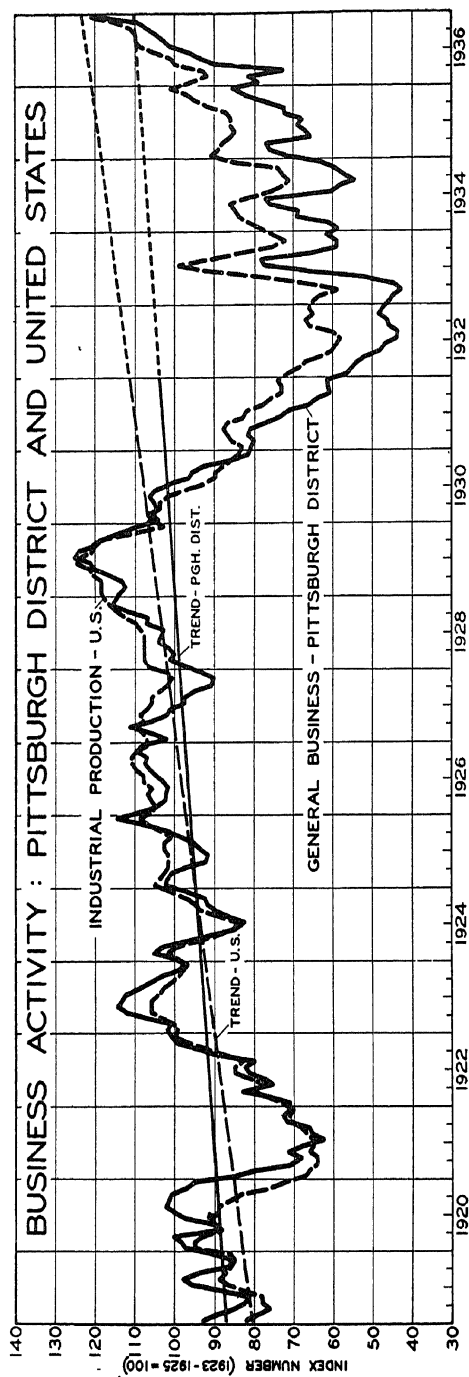


FIGURE 8

INDEXES OF BUSINESS ACTIVITY: PITTSBURGH DISTRICT AND THE UNITED STATES, 1919-36

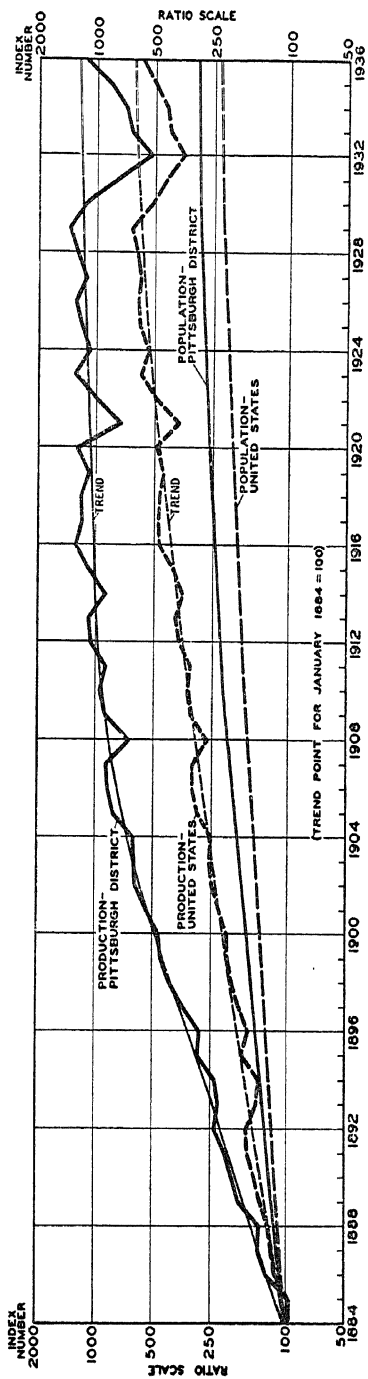


FIGURE 9

TREND OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION AND OF POPULATION: PITTSBURGH DISTRICT AND THE UNITED STATES, 1884-1935

nearly parallel (Figure 9).²³ With recognized growth of efficiency in production, a parallel between the trend of production and the trend of population would mean a decline in work per capita in the productive industries. Except as working hours were reduced, the result would be a decline in the number of jobs relative to the number of people.

It is a common assertion that expansion of "service" industries and occupations has taken up the slack resulting from retardation of opportunity in the productive industries. An outstanding instance of a growing service industry has been the expansion of employment at garages and filling stations. But the decennial census of gainful occupations indicates, for the country as a whole, that the proportion of persons aged 10 or more reporting gainful occupations declined from 1910 to 1920 and also from 1920 to 1930. The same thing was true for Pennsylvania and for Pittsburgh. Similar information for Allegheny County is not available, but no doubt the same general tendency held for the county.

If it could be shown that the purchasing power earned by the principal breadwinners had increased sufficiently to lessen the number of workers

²³ In this paragraph and in subsequent ones on trends the material not otherwise noted is abstracted from numerous articles published in the *Pittsburgh Business Review*, some directly presenting trend analyses, the others containing materials relevant to the discussion. Because of the large measure of staff cooperation in all studies of the Bureau of Business Research, it is needless to burden the discussion with the numerous references that would be required in a meticulous acknowledgment of each author's contribution. The following articles are drawn upon, most of them specifically, but some merely in terms of the general perspective:

Bureau of Business Research, University of Pittsburgh, "Department Store Sales in Pittsburgh, 1919-1933," December, 1933, p. 17.

Fritz, Wilbert G., "The Trend of Business in the Pittsburgh District," December, 1932, p. 13; "The Trend of Trade and Shipments in the Pittsburgh District," February, 1933, p. 18; "Fifty Years of Business Activity in the Pittsburgh District," October, 1933, p. 16; "Monthly Production of Pig Iron in the Pittsburgh District, 1884-1933," November, 1933, p. 17; and "Long-Time Trend of Production in the Pittsburgh District," November, 1934, p. 17.

Fritz, Wilbert G., and Theodore A. Veenstra, "Bituminous Coal Resources and Production in Pennsylvania," December, 1935, p. 22.

Keyes, Scott, "Fluctuations in Land Development in Allegheny County," March, 1935, p. 17.

McLaughlin, Glenn E., "Growth and Distribution of the Iron Industry in the United States, February, 1931, p. 12; "Growth and Distribution of the Steel Industry in the United States," May, 1931, p. 12; and "Growth of Population and of Manufacturing Employment in the Pittsburgh Industrial Area in Comparison with Growth in Other Industrial Areas," May, 1935, p. 19.

Montague, E. N., "Industrial Electric Power Consumption in Western Pennsylvania," July, 1931, p. 14; "The Pig Iron Industry in Allegheny County, 1872-1931," February, 1933, p. 14; and "The Pig Iron Industry in the Western Pennsylvania and Shenango Valley Districts," April, 1933, p. 14.

Veenstra, Theodore A., "Real Estate Finance in Allegheny County—The Statistical Position," October, 1932, p. 13.

Watson, J. P., "Assessed City Valuation of Taxable Real Estate in Pittsburgh," July, 1934, p. 17.

per family required to maintain accepted standards, one might explain the drop in the proportion of the population gainfully occupied in terms of voluntary withdrawal from, or voluntary abstention from, employment. But one finds in the census records that, although there was a decline in the employment of children, there was an increase in the employment of women. Furthermore, we have seen that the records of employment agencies in Pittsburgh indicated a declining ratio of the number of available jobs to the number of applications for several years before 1929.²⁴ Surely, then, not all of the decline in the proportion of the population having gainful occupations was the result of voluntary withdrawal or abstention, if any of it was. To some extent, at least, it must have been a net retardation in the growth of the average opportunity to become and to continue to be a gainful worker. Aside from the probable general tendency toward lessening of opportunity, a major point of hardship for workers lay in the shifts that took place within the scope of the total field of employment.

The key importance of employment in manufacturing and mechanical industries in Allegheny County is well recognized, both because of its great volume and because of the degree of dependence of other activities on these industries. In the county the average number of wage earners employed in manufacturing industries was materially smaller in 1929 than in 1919. In the four-county Pittsburgh Industrial Area (so designated by the Bureau of the Census) the largest average number of wage earners was that in 1923,²⁵ inspite of the fact that the building peak of the twenties came later—about 1925. The number employed in the whole manufacturing and mechanical group in 1929 was roughly 9 percent less than that in 1923.²⁵

With respect to various manufacturing groups, the trends are mixed (Figure 10, p. 136). Production of electrical equipment rose sharply in the post-War period. In the foods group, production of bakery products and of confectionery and ice cream showed marked growth; the canning and preserving industry gained very substantially; and meat packing appeared to level out. The glass industry sustained a substantial gain, as did printing and publishing. But iron and steel production is of outstanding importance. The growth in iron and steel production slowed down very much; pig iron production, still more, because of increasing use of scrap metal. The index of total iron and steel production in the district, not adjusted for trend, was only a little higher in 1929 than in 1916 (Figure 10, p. 136).

²⁴ Page 118, *supra*.

²⁵ See "Growth of Population and of Manufacturing Employment in the Pittsburgh Industrial Area in Comparison with Growth in Other Industrial Areas," *Pittsburgh Business Review*, May, 1935, pp. 27-28.

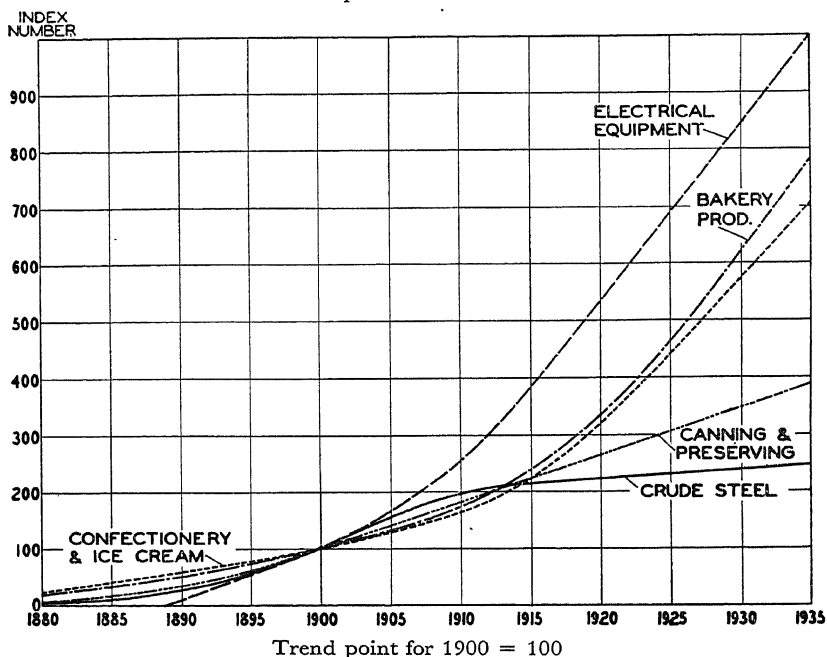
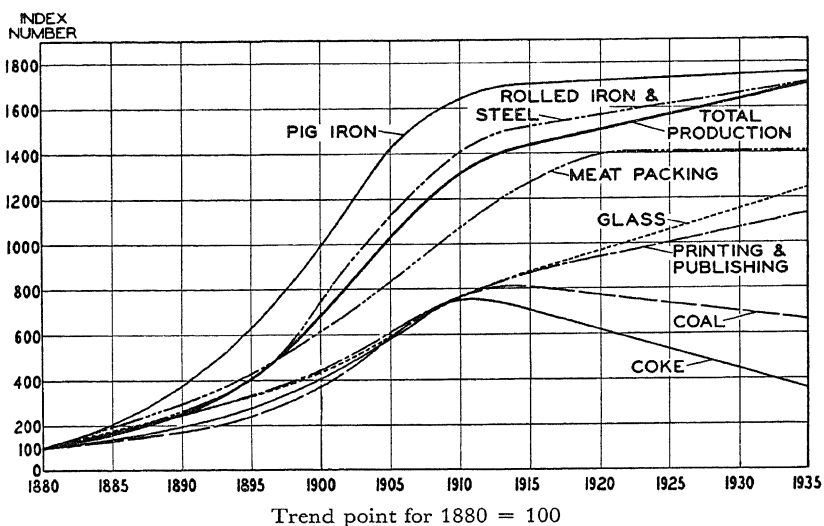


FIGURE 10
PRODUCTION TRENDS IN THE PITTSBURGH DISTRICT
1880-1933

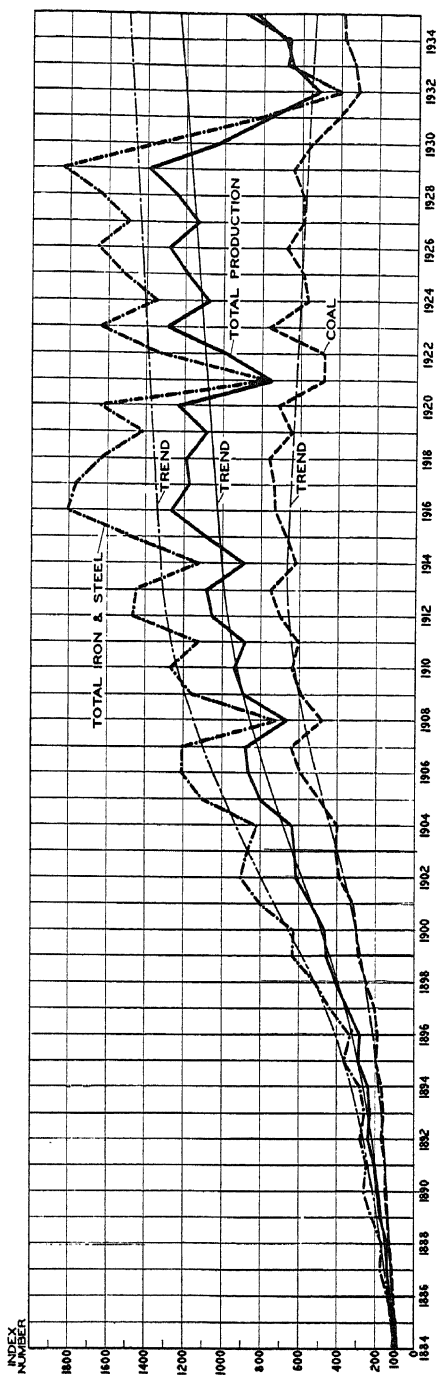


FIGURE 11

INDEXES OF TOTAL PRODUCTION, PRODUCTION OF FINISHED ROLLED IRON AND STEEL, AND
PRODUCTION OF COAL IN THE PITTSBURGH DISTRICT, 1884-1933

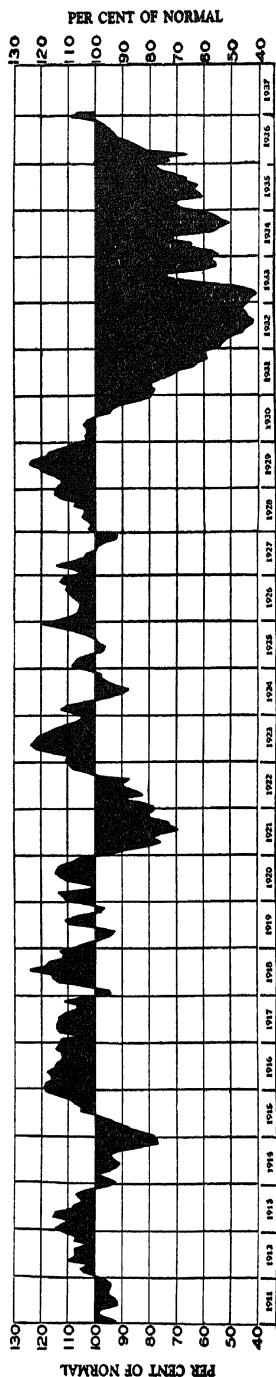
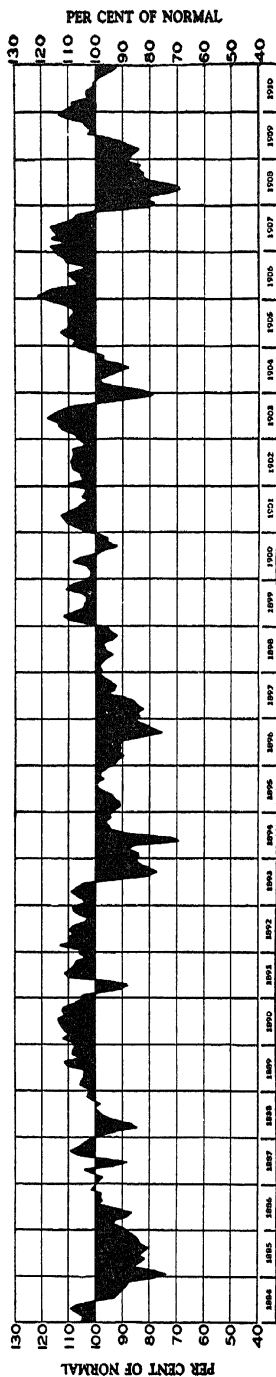


FIGURE 12
INDEX OF BUSINESS ACTIVITY IN THE PITTSBURGH DISTRICT, 1884-1935

In coal production, the district peak was reached in 1918 (Figure 10). The Pennsylvania coal fields were subject, along with other fields, to the effect of increasing efficiency of combustion and the increased use of competitive fuels. In addition the Pennsylvania fields have at times suffered severely from the inroads of competitive fields in their former markets. A significant part of this shift came as a result of the decentralization of the coke industry with the growth of the by-product coking process. Part of it was related to differences in labor conditions; part, to the advantage of competitive fields in transportation costs.

The annual index of total production in the district, not adjusted for trend, stood in 1923 and 1926 at almost the same level as in 1916, and in 1929 the level was not vastly above that of 1916 (Figure 11, p. 137). This index is based on manufacturing and mining combined.

Because of the sustained rise in population, against a falling off of wage earners in manufacturing and in mining, one faces the question regarding the over-all trend of employment. Direct records on all types of employment are not available. We have noted that there was a decline in the proportion of persons aged 10 or more engaged in gainful occupations. There was, however, an increase in total. Against retardation in productive industries, there were gains in the service industries and occupations; but this gain was not enough to prevent a drop in the proportion of the population reported as gainful workers.

In summary, then, the changes in trends have been such as result in a significant change in the relative importance of various industry groups in the districts, some growing fast, some settling toward a level, some declining. In total, however, the employment trend has not kept pace with the growth of population.

Even if the net effect had been a sustained rate of growth, there would have been hardships; for only part of the workers displaced in a retarded industry could be readily absorbed in an expanding industry. The fact that the printing and publishing group was expanding, for example, was little comfort to a displaced miner. In view of the availability of new employables, not absorbed by general expansion, training *de novo* would in many instances have been simpler than retraining workers displaced in other industries. All in all, then, the several retardations and declines in industrial trends could have meant only that every few years another group of workers suffer the shock of displacement. For many of the older workers it probably has meant practically permanent displacement. For others it has meant a trek to other places, or remaining to share in declining work, or the often difficult process of vocational revamping.

It will be noted that the general business index shown in Figure 8, p. 132, swings in wide fluctuations about the long-time trend shown in the

same graph. Similarly wide fluctuations appear in the production indexes shown in Figure 9.

Those wide oscillations are commonly thought of as the ups and downs of boom and depression. The actual readings of the index numbers in those charts, however, are affected by both trend and cycle and cannot be used to measure directly the swings of boom and depression.

The index shown in Figure 9, p. 133, has been adjusted so that the change attributable to normal growth is eliminated. Likewise, the monthly figures have been adjusted so that the changes attributable to normal seasonal changes are eliminated. The fluctuations in the adjusted index represent the swings of the business cycle, that is, the ups and downs of boom and depression.

Clearly no easy and compact statement on cyclical fluctuations of business activity in this district can be made. But Figure 9, itself, stands as a long visual record of instability due to the succession of boom and depression. Since it is recognized that a boom in business means a boom in employment and that a depression in business means a depression in employment, one may read the chart as a rough picture of change in the amount of employment (not, however, of numbers sharing in the work, because of wide variation in the extent of part-time employment).

In the interpretation of this cyclical irregularity in its bearing on employment, a point of crucial importance must be emphasized. The peak of a boom period can be reached only by the use of labor not used at lower levels, and the availability of labor sufficient to reach the occasional very high peaks suggests that full use of labor does not take place even in the lesser booms, certainly not at normal business levels. Whether we can attain peaks higher than the highest reached heretofore is in the realm of prophesy; but at least, in view of the absolute necessity of more labor in any swell of activity, it may be deduced that only in the peaks of major booms is fairly full use of available labor at all likely. To be sure, a single industry or a single region may draw labor from other industries or from other areas which are experiencing a less brisk demand for labor. It seems likely that Allegheny County drew outside labor at the peak in 1929. Nevertheless, for the whole year 1929, in spite of the record high average level, the average employment condition was one of very significant under-employment.

Trend fitting for the index underlying Figure 9, p. 133, was done for the forty-eight-year period 1884-1931.²⁶ Of those forty-eight years, twenty-one averaged below normal, and twenty-seven above normal. If the normal level be taken as the dividing line between boom conditions and depression conditions, twenty-one years on the average were depres-

²⁶ Not strictly one fitting, but two joined in 1919.

TABLE 7
CYCLICAL HIGH POINTS AND LOW POINTS OF BUSINESS ACTIVITY
IN THE PITTSBURGH DISTRICT

DATE	INDEX ^a	RISE AS PERCENT OF NORMAL	DROP AS PERCENT OF NORMAL
	BOTTOMS AND PEAKS (Normal = 100)		
January, 1885	73.7		
November, 1886	101.4	27.7	
February, 1887	97.4		4.0
April, 1887	104.1	6.7	
June, 1887	89.3		14.8
September, 1887	109.3	20.0	
March, 1888	84.9		24.4
August, 1888	100.2	15.3	
September, 1888	98.2		2.0
July, 1890	114.0	15.8	
April, 1891	87.6		26.4
February, 1892	113.2	25.6	
May, 1894	69.5		43.7
March, 1899	111.9	42.4	
September, 1900	91.8		20.1
June, 1903	117.7	25.9	
December, 1903	78.7		39.0
January, 1906	121.3	42.6	
May, 1908	68.5		52.8
December, 1909	113.6	45.1	
June, 1911	91.8		21.8
April, 1913	115.5	23.7	
November, 1914	76.8		38.7
January, 1916	119.1	42.3	
January, 1918	94.1		25.0
July, 1918	124.1	30.0	
May, 1919	92.7		31.4
August, 1919	111.6	18.9	
November, 1919	96.7		14.9
August, 1920	114.6	17.9	
July, 1921	69.0		45.6
May, 1923	123.5	54.5	
July, 1924	87.4		36.1
January, 1925	108.2	20.8	
June, 1925	96.1		12.1
December, 1925	119.3	23.2	
November, 1927	91.7		27.6
July, 1929	124.5	32.8	
March, 1933	40.5		84.0

^a The monthly index, adjusted for trend and seasonal variation, was computed by the Bureau of Business Research, University of Pittsburgh. For the period 1919-35, the index appears in the *Pittsburgh Business Review*, Annual Statistical Supplement, February, 1936. For the earlier period, refer to Wilbert G. Fritz, "Fifty Years of Business Activity in the Pittsburgh District," *Pittsburgh Business Review*, October, 1933.

sion years, and twenty-seven years on the average were boom years. The depression areas, being shorter on the average, extend farther below normal than the boom areas extend above normal. Of the 576 monthly index numbers for the period, 248 were below normal, 1 exactly normal, and 327 above normal.

Full amplitude of swings may be read between the low point of January, 1885, and the low point of March, 1933. In that period the index rose from below-normal levels to above-normal levels 19 times and fell from above-normal levels to below-normal levels 19 times. The successive bottoms and peaks are shown in Figure 12, p. 138. The extent of each rise from bottom to peak and of each drop from peak to bottom is shown in terms of percentage of normal. The median rise from bottom to peak and of each drop from peak to bottom is shown in terms of percentage of normal. The median rise from bottom to peak was equivalent to 25.6 percent of normal. The median drop from peak to bottom was equivalent to 26.4 percent of normal. The 19 rises ranged from 6.7 percent of normal to 54.5 percent of normal. The 19 drops ranged from 2 percent of normal to 84 percent of normal. The arithmetical mean of the 19 rises was 28 percent of normal; the arithmetical mean of the 19 drops was 29.7 percent of normal.

In choosing only the rises that extended from levels below normal to levels above normal and the drops from levels above normal to levels below normal, we are including only the smaller part of the ups and downs. One may see readily, by reference to Figure 12, p. 138, that there are scores of fluctuations wholly within the areas above normal and scores wholly within the areas below normal. For example, all months in 1920 were above normal, but the index rose from 110 to 113, fell to 101, rose to 115, and fell to 106 within the year. All months of 1926 were above normal, but there was a decline in the first five months, a rise in the next four months, a drop in October, a rise in November, and a drop in December.

The exact relationship between employment and business activity cannot be determined. Since reasonably adequate employment indexes for the district are available only for the extraordinary period since the beginning of 1929, no attempt has been made to determine the correlation. The essential parallelism, however, is a common-sense datum. Since a tremendous boom-depression variation in business activity is obvious, a similarly tremendous boom-depression instability in the opportunity to work is likewise obvious.

SEASONAL FLUCTUATIONS

Upsets of employment by changing trends and by the swings of boom and depression have been discussed in preceding sections. If, however, a

worker were engaged in an industry of rising trend and comparatively free from cyclical instability, he might still be subject to a severe annual upset of employment by seasonal swings.

In Table 8, p. 144, there are given for each of a number of seasonal indexes for the Pittsburgh district (*a*) the seasonally high monthly level, (*b*) the seasonally low monthly level, and (*c*) the difference between the high and the low in terms of percentage of the average monthly level. The indexes are designated for 1929, because shifting seasonality would make some of the indexes differ for other years.

Only one of the indexes, that of man-hours of manufacturing wage earners, is directly an index of seasonality in employment. In considering the others, which are indexes of seasonal change in business volume, one should keep in mind two important facts bearing on the relation between business volume and employment for the same group. First, there is more or less "overhead" labor required for "going concern" operations; consequently, amount of employment should vary somewhat less than business volume varies. Second, there is at least some possibility of shifting from seasonally low industries to seasonally high industries, with the result that seasonal instability for the individual may vary less than opportunity in his usual occupation. In spite of these factors of limitation on fluctuation of employment, it seems obvious that if the high month is 20, 40, or 60 percent, or more, above the low month, there must be a tremendous variation in the amount of work, and there must be, also, a tremendous slack of employment in many industry groups most of the year, even in boom times. And it should be noted that weekly figures or daily figures would show wider variation than do the monthly figures.

The index of seasonal fluctuations in man-hours is a direct index of seasonality in the amount of work of wage earners in manufacturing. The indexes being on the basis of a standard month (one-twelfth of the working days in the year), the difference may be considered as difference in the monthly averages of daily man-hours. In the high month the rate of activity for this group averaged nearly 15 percent above the average rate in the low month. This range, moreover, relates to all manufacturing combined. In some industries the range probably is less; but in some, it is undoubtedly much more.

In the preceding section we considered those cyclical swings from levels above normal to levels below normal and vice versa, thereby choosing generally the wider cyclical swings. Among those generally larger swings chosen for the purpose the median rise was equivalent to 25.6 percent of normal, and the median drop was equivalent to 26.4 percent of normal. If all the smaller cyclical fluctuations in the period had been considered, the median would no doubt have been much smaller. In

terms of seasonality alone there can be no doubt that large numbers of workers are subject every year to irregularity of work as great as that represented in many of the lesser business cycles.

TABLE 8

RANGES OF SEASONAL FLUCTUATIONS IN THE PITTSBURGH DISTRICT, 1929^a
(Seasonal indexes: average month = 100)

ITEM	SEASONAL HIGH		SEASONAL LOW		SEASONAL RANGE: PERCENT OF MONTHLY AVERAGE
	Month	Index	Month	Index	
Pig iron production	March	108.9	July	90.7	18.2
Rate of steel operations	March	109.0	December	85.4	23.6
Rail shipments of iron and steel	May	111.2	December	84.5	26.7
Total iron and steel production ^b	April	108.3	December	88.7	19.6
Man-hours, manufacturing wage earners	May	105.4	December	90.6	14.8
Plate glass production	April	107.6	December	84.3	23.3
Slaughter house activity	January	118.6	August	87.9	30.7
Rail shipments of miscellaneous products	September	118.0	December	78.0	40.0
Rail shipments of coke	February	108.4	August	93.0	15.4
Total manufacturing ^b	April	106.0	December	89.3	16.7
Total coal production	October	110.0	June	91.3	18.7
Total production ^b	October	103.5	December	92.3	11.2
Total shipments ^b	September	109.5	December	87.6	21.9
Retail trade	December	141.8	January	82.1	59.7
Wholesale trade	May	108.5	February	85.0	23.5
New motor car registrations	May	155.6	January	51.8	103.8
Produce receipts	October	134.7	February	70.4	64.3
Total trade ^b	December	118.6	January	78.7	39.9
General business activity ^b	May	106.3	January	94.0	12.3

^a The seasonal indexes of which high points and low points are given have not been published. They were computed by the Bureau of Business Research, University of Pittsburgh, the computations being made under the direction of Wilbert G. Fritz. These indexes are designated for 1929 because in some of them there is shifting seasonality.

^b Weighted averages of component indexes.

AVERAGE UNEMPLOYMENT IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY, 1920-29

Lack of comprehensive records for a long period makes it impossible to give an exact statement of average or "normal" unemployment. The intent here is to reach by the use of other data some suggestive approximation of average unemployment, that is, unemployment at normal levels of business.

In March, 1933, when the average number on payrolls in the district was at the lowest, combined payrolls aggregated 36.8 percent of the 1929

average, man-hours worked by wage earners in manufacturing amounted to 36.2 percent of the 1929 average, and the index of general business activity in the district, adjusted for seasonal variation (but not adjusted for trend), stood at 36.3 percent of the 1929 average. After allowance for the seasonal adjustment of the index of general business activity and for some possible differences in trend, it remains true that the drop in the business index from the average level of 1929 to the level of March, 1933, was very much the same as that of the payrolls index and that of the index of man-hours in manufacturing.

TABLE 9

ANNUAL INDEXES OF THE AVERAGE VOLUME OF BUSINESS ACTIVITY PER GAINFUL WORKER IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY, 1920-29

	1	2	3	4	5
	INDEX OF NUMBER OF GAINFUL WORKERS IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY ^a (1929 av. = 100)	INDEX OF GENERAL BUSINESS ACTIVITY NOT ADJUSTED FOR TREND ^b (1929 av. = 100)	INDEX OF AVERAGE VOLUME OF BUSINESS ACTIVITY PER GAINFUL WORKER ^c (1929 av. = 100)	LEVEL OF BUSINESS ACTIVITY ^d (normal = 100)	INDEX OF ESTIMATED VOLUME OF BUSINESS PER WORKER AT NORMAL LEVELS OF BUSINESS ^e (actual, 1929 = 100)
YEAR					
1920	88.9	82.9	93.3	109.6	85.1
1921	90.1	60.4	67.0	78.7	85.1
1922	91.3	71.8	78.6	92.1	85.3
1923	92.6	90.6	97.8	114.7	85.3
1924	93.8	79.4	84.6	99.2	85.3
1925	95.0	85.0	89.5	104.7	85.5
1926	96.3	89.8	93.3	109.1	85.5
1927	97.5	84.6	86.8	101.4	85.6
1928	98.8	90.0	91.1	106.4	85.6
1929	100.0	100.0	100.0	116.7	85.7

^a Gainful workers taken as 100 in 1929, assumed to have numbered the same as at the census of April, 1930. Refer to p. 124. Number shown by the census of 1920 taken as of January 1, 1920 (date of 1920 census). Estimates for mid-year points 1920-28 by straight-line interpolation.

^b As shown in Figure 8, p. 132, the 1923-25 average of this index equals 100, and the 1929 average is 117.6. Shifted for use here to the base 1929 = 100.

^c Quotient resulting from the division of each annual business index by the corresponding index of the number of gainful workers.

^d Index of general business activity adjusted for trend. Trend point for the year equals 100, trend being based on the period 1919-31.

^e Quotient resulting from the division of the respective index numbers in col. 3 by the corresponding percentages in col. 4. Slight irregularity is introduced by rounding in the first decimal place. The numbers represent a straight line the slight upward slope of which is the difference between the trend of total business activity and the trend of the total number of gainful workers.

Basing calculations on the average for the six-year period, 1930-35, we find that this average was a shade under 59 percent of the 1929 average. The corresponding figure of the payrolls index was a shade under 61 percent of the 1929 average. The like average of the man-hours index was a little more than 58 percent of the 1929 average. In other words, on this basis also, in the period 1929-35, in spite of temporary divergencies, the index of business activity showed about the same average change as did the direct measure of change in the amount of payrolls and the direct measure of change in man-hours worked by manufacturing wage earners.

In view of that general parallelism the index of business activity will be used as the basis for a rough estimate of the average opportunity at normal levels of business activity in the twenties.

In Table 9, p. 145, there are given for each of the years 1920-29: (1) an index of the annual average number of all gainful workers, and (2) the index of general business activity (not adjusted for trend), the 1929 figure for each being taken as 100. Division of the respective annual figures of the latter index by the corresponding annual figures of the former gives (3) the index of average volume of business per gainful worker, all gainful workers, including the unemployed, being considered.

For the ten-year period, 1920-29, the arithmetic mean of the estimated average business volume per gainful worker is 88.2 percent of the average in 1929. For those ten years the average of the annual levels of business—column 4 in Table 9, p. 145, was approximately 3.3 percent above the long-time normal. On the basis of these data it is estimated that at the normal level of business activity the average volume of business per gainful worker was 85.4 percent of the corresponding 1929 average.

If we assume, for the moment, that the average opportunity to work remained for the period in about the same relationship with average volume of business, then we may say that in the years 1920-29 the normal level of business activity afforded opportunity for the average worker to have about 85.4 percent as much work as the average worker in 1929 had. We have also estimated that the average utilization of labor in the county in 1929 was probably about 88 percent of full time (derived from Table 5, p. 128). These two ratios suggest that at the normal level of business in the ten-year period 1920-29, employment averaged about 75 percent of full time, all gainful workers being considered, and that there was, consequently, at normal levels of business, an average unemployment equal to 25 percent of full time.

Exactly how near this ratio is to the true ratio, it is impossible to say. The two major factors of uncertainty in the link between average annual business volume per gainful worker and annual average working oppor-

tunity per gainful worker are increase of efficiency and shortening of normal working hours.

To whatever extent there was an increase in efficiency in that period, all activities considered, the trend increase in the total amount of gainful work was less than the trend increase in volume of business done. On the other hand, decreases in normal working hours tended to raise the trend in number of jobs (man-days) in relation to the trend in the amount of work and, therefore, to prevent a retardation in the number of jobs equal to the retardation in the total amount of work. The slight trend increase shown by the figures in the last column of Table 9, p. 145, indicates merely that there was a slightly greater trend increase in the total volume of business than in the total number of gainful workers. If the proportion of workers actually employed at normal levels was about the same throughout the period, this slight upward trend means that there was a slight increase in the average volume of business per worker actually employed at normal business levels and, therefore, that the decrease in normal hours was not a complete quantitative offset to the increase in efficiency. If, on the other hand, the proportion of gainful workers employed at normal levels declined in that period, this increase per gainful worker, all gainful workers considered, connotes a larger increase in the annual volume of business per worker actually employed. If, finally, the proportion of gainful workers employed at normal levels increased in the period, the increase per worker actually employed was less than that shown in the last column of Table 9; and only a moderate increase in the proportion of workers employed would mean that the annual volume per worker actually employed really declined.

Granted that it is impossible to show exactly the effect of increase in efficiency and decline in working hours, nevertheless these things at least may be said: First, the two factors, whatever their respective influences, are opposite in effect, so far as concerns number of jobs available, and they tend to neutralize each other. Second, although there are some spectacular gains in efficiency and numerous moderate gains, the net gain, all types of activities considered, is very slow; and the shortening of hours also is a slow process. The net divergence, then, between trend in volume of business and trend in number of jobs could hardly have been very great in the ten-year period considered.

Therefore, the estimate that the average level of unemployment in the twenties, that is, unemployment at normal business levels, was about 25 percent of full time appears to be sufficiently probable to serve as a working approximation. To quibble over the exact ratio is futile.

There is no satisfactory information on the total number of persons who had some work and the number who had no work in the district

prior to 1929. It is distinctly observable in the indexes for the period after 1929 that the number of persons having some work did not drop nearly so much as did the amount of work. That is, part-time work became very general. Data for a large number of workers in manufacturing in the district reveal the same kind of spread in the lesser slumps of 1924 and 1927.²⁷ As the amount of work declines from peak levels, part of the workers become wholly unemployed and many others are employed for shorter and shorter periods. Just what distribution of available work is reached at normal levels cannot be shown from available data. If as many as one-fourth have full-time work at normal levels, then we deduce from the 23 percent average unemployment for all that the average unemployment of the other three-fourths is about 31 percent. If a third have full work, the other two-thirds average about 35 percent unemployment. If half are fully employed, the others average 46 percent unemployment.

Whatever the exact percentage of unemployment and whatever the exact distribution of work at average business levels, this much cannot be controverted: business activity frequently climbs to peaks far above average levels. This climb would be quite impossible without an excess manpower unused except in these great climbs above the average. Therefore, it is obvious that unemployment is extensive when business levels are at or near normal, and, of course, much more extensive at levels below normal. Indeed, anything like full employment is the exception, not the rule.

Now perhaps business instability and the consequent chronic underemployment are unavoidable. At any rate, though much has been said about stabilization, little has been done about it. Meanwhile, in a condition of extensive normal unemployment, with occasional golden opportunities followed by the drying up of work with devastating suddenness, the high probability of need, and thus the background of the relief problem, may be seen in full.

INCOME AND NEED

Although employment is the primary condition of earning a living, at least two other factors occupy almost as strategic positions in the economic balance of the worker. These are the size of his earnings when he has any and the extent of his obligations. Does he earn enough during the periods of actual employment to provide a reasonable average income over the year? How many others besides himself depend upon the worker for support? The answer to these questions is the content of the daily struggle,

²⁷ E. N. Montague, "Fluctuations in Manufacturing Employment in the Pittsburgh District and in the Nation—January, 1923 to April, 1932," *Pittsburgh Business Review*, May, 1932, chart on p. 16.

of the life-long planning of the wage earner and his family. To others, as well as to himself and his dependents, the answers usually appear only when the picture is distorted—by lack of work, or impossibly low wages, or excessive size of family; sometimes the distortion is temporary, but it may be permanent and catastrophic—as it is when the wage earner suffers some major incapacitation because of accident or disease. The individual answers then become known to the helping neighbor or to the relative who takes a hand in supporting the family. They have become known in this way to thousands of families who were obliged to share a dwelling with other families during the long siege of the depression. They are the particular knowledge of social agencies and appear in many case records in which there is struck a balance between the assets and liabilities of the family seeking help. The true pictures differ in every case, and they cannot be “averaged.” But from the standpoint of the chances of making a living and for purposes of estimating how much of a social deficit is created by the inevitable incidence of poverty when unemployment plus low wage plus excessive dependents create liabilities beyond possible assets, an “average” picture must, nevertheless, be attempted. Unfortunately, here as for many other phases of the economic background, information of direct significance is scarce, and what exists does not combine well, leaving much for the statistician to guess and to worry about and forcing him, because of a scientific conscientiousness, to understate rather than truly to estimate.

The more satisfactory census data on earnings in Allegheny County are only for manufacturing workers, and these are only for wage earners. The purpose here is to view earnings per worker in manufacturing in Allegheny County in 1929.

The quarterly averages of weekly earnings of wage earners in manufacturing in the United States in 1929 ranged from \$28.06 to \$28.70; most of the other quarterly averages after 1921 had been between \$25 and \$28.²⁸

The “average” number of wage earners in manufacturing in Allegheny County was 155,374, in 1929, and the total wages amounted to \$243,281,167 for the year, an average of \$20,273,431 per month.²⁹ In obtaining the monthly numbers of wage earners on which the average given is based the Bureau of the Census asked in general that the reporting firm give for each month the number on the pay roll for the week which included

²⁸ National Industrial Conference Board, *Wages in the United States, 1914–1930*, p. 52. By way of comparison, the average weekly earnings of factory employees, both office and shop, in New York State, in 1929, averaged \$29.99; and the annual averages of these weekly figures in the years 1923–28 ranged from \$27.24 to \$29.44. (Standard Trade and Securities, *Basic Statistics*, Vol. LXXX, No. 29, sec. 4, June 5, 1936, p. D-55.

²⁹ Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, *Manufactures*, 1929, Vol. III, p. 442.

the 15th day of the month.³⁰ Allowance being made for turnover, it is probable that the average of the monthly totals on pay rolls was close to 160,000.³¹ In the average month, then, the average earnings probably were about \$127.

If a worker had maintained a similar quota of time throughout the year, his earnings would have been about \$1,524. But, although we have estimated that practically all workers shared in the work in the peak month of 1929, the average monthly number sharing in the work appears to have been about 95 percent of the total (Table 5, p. 128). With further allowance for an excess of total over average because of death and disability, it seems certain that the average must have been materially below \$1,500. In view of the influence of especially high rates for highly skilled and semitechnical occupations the average probably was above the median. That is, probably substantially more than half the manufacturing wage earners received materially less than \$1,500.

More than 60 percent of the families in Pittsburgh having one or more gainful workers in 1930 (including the idle), had only one gainful worker each, and 5 percent had none. There is no evident reason to suppose that the ratios would be greatly different for manufacturing communities in the county. It is not difficult, therefore, to visualize something like 35 or 40 percent of the families dependent on manufacturing having incomes less than \$1,500.³²

Meanwhile, according to the Brookings Institution, "At 1929 prices, a family income of \$2,000 may perhaps be regarded as sufficient to supply only basic necessities."³³

The statement, of course, is a broad national average. The average family in Allegheny County was larger than the average for the country;³⁴ and it would be generally conceded that the cost of living in a large

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 591.

³¹ If as an average condition for the year accessions were about evenly divided between the first half of the month and the second half, the total sharing in the work for the month would exceed the number sharing during the first half of the month by about half the accessions. For the manufacturing industry in the United States the average of the monthly accession rates computed by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1929 was 4.35 percent of the average number on pay rolls. *Monthly Labor Review*, June, 1930, p. 115. Because of the great influence of the relatively unstable heavy industries, the accession rate in Allegheny County probably was somewhat greater than the average for the United States.

³² For all non-farming families in the United States in 1929, the Brookings Institution estimated that 34.5 percent had less than \$1,500 of total income each. Maurice Leven, Harold G. Moulton, and Clark Warburton, *America's Capacity to Consume*, p. 231.

³³ Leven, Moulton, and Warburton, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

³⁴ For the county the computed median was 3.7; for the United States the computed median was 3.4 and the arithmetic mean was 3.8. Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, *Population*, Vol. VI, pp. 16,1136. From Table 9, p. 145, above, it appears that the arithmetic mean for the county was more than 4.

industrial urban area, such as Allegheny County, is higher than the average cost of living for the country.

In terms of the standard set by the Brookings Institution, therefore, it seems necessary to conclude that a very large portion—possibly half or more—of the families were below the standard of “basic necessities.”³⁵ If even approximately such conditions held when average business levels were 17 percent above normal, it follows that the long-time average in normal conditions is materially worse.

The standard cited may be questioned by some, and it is no doubt true that the staff of the Brookings Institution were thinking not of bare survival but of minimum-comfort level. In an industrial nation whose hopes are so tightly pinned to mass production, mass consumption is a necessary concept, and a bare survival level is the utmost contradiction.

At any rate, to judge from statistics of national income,³⁶ the standard cited would have required the use of only about 75 percent of the produced income to provide bare necessities for families, when about 97.5 percent of the people were in those families. It is not easy, therefore, to get excited about the standard being unreasonably high.

Now to follow the rough use of averages and allowing for variation even in the family group, we may visualize about half the manufacturing group as being necessarily in a worse condition than the average. If the average, that is, the “middle” family, was barely if at all above the border line, about half the families started the depression in a pinch. Furthermore, since the 1929 level of business was far above normal, the pinched condition must characterize more than half the families of manufacturing wage earners even when business is at normal levels.

Now it may be that the situation in 1929 at the peak of prosperity and employment is more nearly typical of future expectations than is any other time and that conditions during the depression are farthest removed from the normal or average. If, however, a pinched condition must characterize more than half the families of manufacturing wage earners (and by analogy very probably that ratio of all wage earners), when business is above normal levels, what would their condition be at other times! We have a plethora of statistical data, national and local, to show the extent to which pay rolls lag behind employment. These are published regularly for the Pittsburgh area by the Bureau of Business Research

³⁵ In the Brookings estimates 53.4 percent of the non-farming families received less than \$2,000 each of total income. Leven, Moulton, and Warburton, *loc. cit.*

³⁶ The Brookings estimate of national income from production was \$80,882,000,000 for 1929. *Op. cit.*, p. 161. There were in 1930, 29,904,663 private families in the United States, including 119,812,185 persons, out of a total population of 122,775,046. At \$2,000 per family the aggregate for “bare existence” of families as defined would have been less than 60 billion dollars.

of the University of Pittsburgh in its periodical publication. A considerable portion of this discrepancy is accounted for by part-time employment, another portion by lower wage rate. At any rate, the actual average wage of near \$30 per week upon which the foregoing estimates were based was but a memory in 1932 to 1934. For April, 1932, the figure reported is less than \$15 weekly; for metal trades in general in July, 1932, \$11.50; for bituminous coal from \$27 in October, 1929, the weekly earnings had dropped to \$10 in July, 1932, and \$13 in October, 1932. By October, 1934, the average in the manufacturing field had come back to nearly \$18 per week, and bituminous earnings (no doubt helped by the N.R.A.) to between \$20 and \$21. Neither figure is yet within a third of the 1929 rate of earnings and would leave far more than half the manufacturing wage earners not merely in a pinched position but verging on distress. The mass relief measures of the Federal government and of state governments were the answer.

Earlier, it was noted that the number of persons in the county reported as having gainful occupations in April, 1930, was equal to a little more than 39 percent or two-fifths of the population. Thus, the average number of persons to be supported per gainful worker (including the gainful worker himself) is a little more than two and one-half. Since a substantial number of gainful workers are unattached individuals, the average number of family persons per gainful worker in a family would be larger than this average.

TABLE 10

NUMBER OF FAMILIES ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF PERSONS PER FAMILY,
ALLEGHENY COUNTY, APRIL 1, 1930^a

NUMBER OF PERSONS PER FAMILY	NUMBER OF FAMILIES	PERCENT OF FAMILIES	NUMBER OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES
All families	312,202	100.0	1,268,547 ^b
1	15,441	4.9	15,441
2	64,200	20.6	128,400
3	65,611	21.0	196,833
4	58,324	18.7	233,296
5	41,649	13.3	208,245
6	27,626	8.9	165,756
7	16,863	5.4	118,041
8	10,382	3.3	83,056
9	5,914	1.9	53,226
10	3,276	1.1	32,760
11	1,628	0.5	17,908
12 or more	1,288	0.4	15,585 ^b

^a Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, *Population*, Vol. VI, p. 1136.

^b For families of 12 or more each an average of 12.1 per family was assumed, for it appears unlikely that the number having 13 or more per family is large enough to have an important effect on the average.

A distribution of families in the county according to size of family is shown in the table on page 152. There are more families of three persons each than of any other size. The number having two each is not very different from the number having three, and the number having four is roughly nine-tenths as large as the number having three each. But more than one-third of all families have five or more persons each, and well over one-fifth have six or more each.

The number of gainful workers in families of various sizes cannot be determined from any available data. A distribution of number of families according to the number of gainful workers per family, not by size of family, is shown for Pittsburgh in Table 11. That is, we have a classification of families by the number of gainful workers they contain, and separately we have the classification of families by size. How many families of any given size have one, two, or more workers we do not know. What follows, therefore, is a feat of estimation and only approximately true. It tends, however, to understate rather than to give alarmist interpretation. Although age distribution and family size for the whole county differ somewhat from that for the city, the percentages in Table 11 will serve as rough indications for the county.

TABLE 11

NUMBER OF FAMILIES ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF GAINFUL WORKERS PER FAMILY,
PITTSBURGH, APRIL 1, 1930^a

NUMBER OF GAINFUL WORKERS PER FAMILY	NUMBER OF FAMILIES	PERCENT OF FAMILIES	NUMBER OF GAINFUL WORKERS IN FAMILIES
All families	155,079	100.0	229,839 ^b
None	7,786	5.0	None
1	93,612	60.4	93,612
2	32,799	21.1	65,598
3	13,625	8.8	40,875
4 or more	7,257	4.7	29,754 ^b

^a Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, *Population*, Vol. VI, p. 1129.

^b For the group having 4 or more per family, an average of 4.1 workers per family was assumed on the ground that a few family groups had five or more, but that the number could hardly be large enough to have an important effect on the average for the group.

First, it will be noted that 5 percent of the families in the city had no gainful workers. A similar ratio for the county would indicate about 15,600 families in the county without gainful workers in April, 1930.³⁷ No accurate description of this group is possible. Part, no doubt, were in the one-person per family classification; of these, one may reasonably

³⁷ This number is in addition to the large number whose workers were unemployed.

suppose that some were living on independent means and some by some sort of relief. But mere neighborhood observation and report leads one to understand that a substantial number of these families were of two or more persons without either earnings or adequate independent means—aged couples, families whose breadwinner had become disabled by illness or injury, and widows with small children.

Second, let us see what probable load of dependent persons must be supported in the remaining families that do have a gainful worker. Assuming that the percentages reported for Pittsburgh (Table 11) hold for the county as a whole, we have 60.4 percent of the families depending upon one gainful worker each. Suppose that families without gainful workers were proportionately distributed among all sizes, that is, 5 percent of each size group, and that this proportion were deducted from each size group of the families in Allegheny County (Table 10, p. 152). Of the remaining families some would depend on one earner, some on more. Taking the most conservative view of it by counting the smallest families first, we find that, according to Table 10, it would take all the families consisting of one, two, or three persons and one-third of those of four persons each to make up the 60.4 percent of families depending on a single gainfully employed person. This group would include 65,611 families of three persons and about 20,000 families (one-third of the group) of the four-person class. In other words, in a total of more than 85,000 families, in each of which three or four persons would be supported by only one worker, must earn enough wages to support three to four people, distinctly above the over-all average of two and one-half persons to be supported per gainful worker previously given.

Actually, the number of workers who had sole responsibility for a family each and who had more than the average load was undoubtedly much larger than the number indicated in that lightest possible arrangement of load. Probably a much larger portion than 5 percent of the one-person "families" would be in the group without gainful workers—lone aged persons, lone persons incapacitated, lone beggars in their hovels. For this reason the one-worker families must have bracketed further into the larger size-groups. It is certain that there is normally a substantial number of two-person families having both members working and of three-person and four-person families having two or three members each working. By these circumstances alone it appears likely that our one-worker families would necessarily reach into the five-person group. And it is perfectly well recognized that many of them are of six, seven, or more persons.

Moreover, it must be understood that a one-worker family, as classified under census definition, may in fact have a worker with very low earnings

and may have only a part-time worker,³⁸ and the family with this very restricted earning possibility may be quite a large one. Somewhat more than one-third of the families in Pittsburgh had two or more workers per family. Only 13.5 percent had three or more. Less than one out of twenty had four or more. Among the families having two or more, as well as those having only one, there is likelihood that some are low-paid workers or part-time workers.

The "average" size of family is difficult to discuss, for families are made up of entire persons, whereas averages yield fractions. It is helpful, however, to view the averages for a moment. The theoretical median size of family in Allegheny County in April, 1930, as computed by the Bureau of the Census was approximately 3.7 persons.³⁹ Actually, in the distribution from smallest to largest, the "middle" family is in the four-person group. The arithmetical mean size of family was slightly more than four persons per family.⁴⁰ The number of persons in four-person families is considerably larger than the number in any other size group.

The average family, then, may be thought of as one having four persons. From the all-families totals shown in Table 11 it will be observed that in Pittsburgh the average number of gainful workers was about 1.5 per family. Among the average-size families, a small percentage would be without gainful workers, and a small percentage would have three or four persons each; but most would have one or two, the probability of one being somewhat greater than the probability of two.

From consideration of the average one may derive a useful general point of reference. But, after all, only 18.7 percent of the families are in the group of average size. Families smaller than the average constituted 46.5 percent of all families; larger families, 34.8 percent (Table 10, p. 152). But even such percentages must be used guardedly, for the families larger than the average include more than twice as many people as the families smaller than the average.

Now in the best times some large families and some small ones have a high ratio of worker support; some large ones and some smaller ones have none at all. The average load may be usefully considered only if at the same time one envisions on one hand large numbers with ample

³⁸ The census definition of a gainful worker is explained elsewhere. Cf. *Supra*, p. 124

³⁹ Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, *Population*, Vol. VI, p. 1136.

⁴⁰ Impossible of exact computation, because non-family persons—lodgers with families and residents in hotels, clubs, rooming-houses, institutions, and other non-family type quarters—are not segregated in the census data for the county. In this computation, the estimated number of persons in families, shown in Table 10 is used. The difference between that number of persons and the total county population can be accounted for approximately by allowance for lodgers and institutional population estimated on the basis of Pittsburgh data.

support, and on the other large numbers with meager support or no support at all.⁴¹

It must be clear to the most reluctant observer of these figures that poverty is rampant in the industrial environs of Pittsburgh even in what we have called normal times: that poverty by whatever name we choose to designate the frequent occurrence of economic distress in the working population is the chief social problem of life; that it necessarily confronts the community, not only in the direct need for assistance, but also in distressing conditions of housing and health, in precarious morale, in subversive social attitudes. How extensive poverty is under ordinary circumstances, how much of a drain it is upon the community in its aspect either of helpful neighbor, family, relative, or friend or of organized relief, we have no way of knowing.

Elsewhere we have estimated the probable relief load for which Allegheny County might prepare itself in the future.⁴² In such an estimate the results of all causes of failing income would be included: death, illness, accidents, physical handicaps, age or superannuation, and personality failings. All such estimates are, of course, necessarily speculative. The task of social work includes, however, not only the appropriate quantitative provision of relief but also an administrative planning designed to meet these needs wherever they may occur. In the past the poor of the city of Pittsburgh have had an advantage over the other inhabitants of Allegheny County. Any judgment of the distribution of economic distress over the county based upon that of services rendered by the social agencies would have been misleading. For the first time, an equitable provision of services in accordance with needs took place under the operation of the government-aided emergency relief under the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board. The distribution of its case load over city and county is the first and only existing gauge of the distribution of economic distress. It has absorbed the effects of the diverse major factors that influence the extent of poverty: racial and ethnic disadvantages, stagnant economic localities, and the effect of varying degrees of prosperity of the major industries reflected in the communities surrounding the plants. Thus, steel communities may have a different ratio of poor or have them at different times from coal-mining communities, glass, electric, railroad shop or suburban dormitory communities. The map (Figure 13) on p. 157 and table (see Appendix D) on which it is based give this distribution over the county, and it may be regarded as an indication of the way in which economic distress tends to befall the worker in response to the uncertainties of his employment.

⁴¹ The text adapted from Dr. Watson's manuscript ends here.

⁴² Cf. chap. xv on the Agency Structure for Economic Relief.

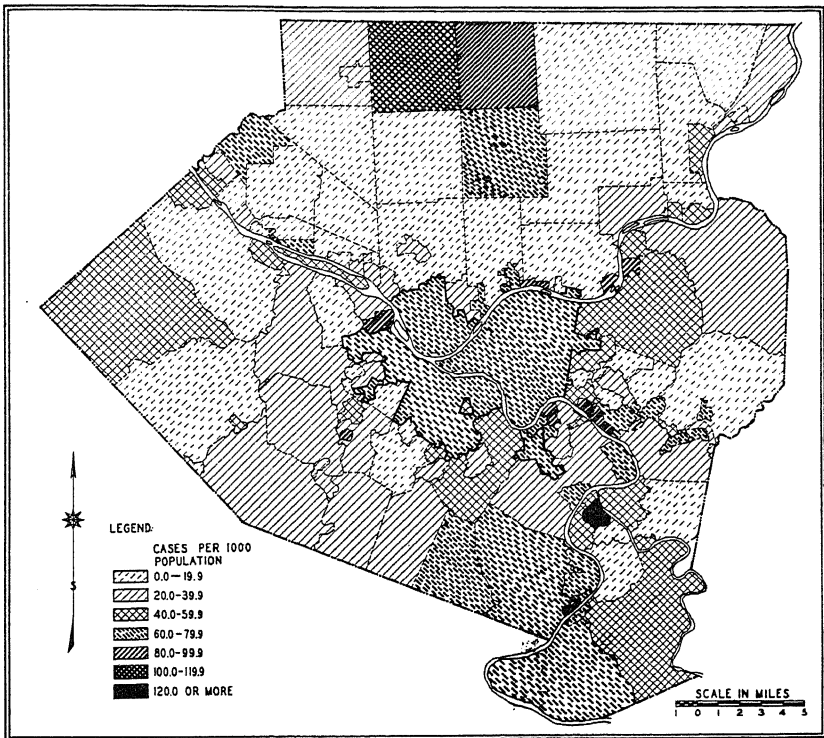


FIGURE 13

ALLEGHENY COUNTY RELIEF BOARD CASES PER 1,000 POPULATION BY LOCAL GOVERNMENT UNITS, ALLEGHENY COUNTY, MARCH, 1935

If such a map as this were studied in close conjunction with similar graphs presenting the distribution of the population by race and ethnic origin, one would find a parallel concentration of relief cases with heavy percentages of Negro and foreign-born populations—as representing those most readily subjected to loss of employment and lowering of wages, while they equally enjoy the benefits of emergency aid. There is not a completely parallel distribution, however, of relief cases—that is, those in economic distress—and of the incidence of unemployment. Considerable statistical material is available to indicate that part-time employment is a concealed form of unemployment often representing almost as serious conditions as full unemployment. The mere fact of being on a pay roll may not spell economic self-maintenance, and a considerable portion of the partially employed may be little better off than if they were wholly unemployed. Thus the number of cases receiving relief from the A.C.E.R.B.

in Pittsburgh is considerably larger than those receiving assistance in the rest of the county.⁴³ This would seem illogical in the light of the almost equal percentage of employables working thirty hours or more a week reported for Pittsburgh and the rest of the county, namely, 49.5 percent and 47.7 percent, respectively.⁴⁴

But a much larger portion was totally unemployed in Pittsburgh, 36.5 percent as against 27.9 percent in the rest of the county. In other words, about 9 percent more of the workers in the county outside Pittsburgh had some employment than did those in Pittsburgh. Compare also the findings relative to the portion of families receiving "emergency relief" who are not strictly unemployment cases in the sense of having no employed gainful worker at all, but rather relief cases because of the absence of sufficient employment. In November, 1934, close to one-fifth of the families on the relief rolls of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board contained one or more employed persons. In July, 1935 the percentage was still 14.7 percent varying from locality to locality as Table 12, p. 158 indicates.

The principal factor in the geographical distribution of poverty over the county is of course the condition of the particular industry in which the

TABLE 12

PERCENT OF TOTAL FAMILIES ON RELIEF ROLLS OF A.C.E.R.B. CONTAINING EMPLOYED PERSONS IN CITY, COUNTY, AND COUNTY DISTRICTS IN NOVEMBER, 1934, AND IN JUNE, 1935

	NOVEMBER, 1934, STUDY ^a	JUNE, 1935, STUDY ^b
City and county	19.7	14.7
City	15.8	10.9
County	24.9	19.6
Allegheny Valley	31.7	...
Braddock	25.6	22.1
Chartiers	21.3	21.6
Clairton	30.0	...
Duquesne	64.1	38.6
East County	18.9	...
McKeesport	25.7	28.4
McKees Rocks	14.1	...
Monongahela	19.9	...
North County	19.7	...
Ohio Valley	25.5	...
Valley	11.2	15.9

^a A.C.E.R.B., *Employment Study*, Nov. 1934, p. 6.

^b Preliminary report, June, 1935; includes unearned income as well as earned; 3,372 families, or 28.6 percent of those studied had unearned income only.

⁴³ 40,375 for Pittsburgh in 1935 and 24,120 for the rest of the county in that year.

⁴⁴ From the Unemployment Survey of Allegheny County, made in February, 1934, by the Pennsylvania State Emergency Relief Board.

inhabitants of a community are engaged. The vicissitudes of the several industries have greater impact on small relatively simple plant communities than on cities presenting greater diversity of employment. Extreme variations of activity are shown in this respect in Allegheny County, as may be seen in Table 13, drawn from the Unemployment Survey of February, 1934.

It is in the field of manufacturing and mineral extraction that the greatest local concentration exists; and it is in the manufacture of iron and steel, accounting for two-thirds of all manufacturing in the county, that full-time employment was lowest. It is the iron and steel communities, therefore, that should show the largest percentages of families without full-time employment. The survey of February, 1934, shows seventeen communities in which enforced idleness (unemployed plus part-time employed) occurs in 60 percent or more of the wage-earning population. Eleven of these communities are classifiable as steel-manufacturing communities, three depend on electrical manufacturing, two are closely related to these (airbrake and switch and signal), and there is one glass and miscellaneous community (See Table 14).

TABLE 13

UNEMPLOYED PERSONS CLASSIFIED BY THE INDUSTRY OF THEIR USUAL EMPLOYMENT
(Unemployment Survey, February, 1934)

INDUSTRY	EMPLOYABLE PERSONS	UNEMPLOYED AS PERCENT OF TOTAL EMPLOYABLE IN SPECIFIED INDUSTRIES
All industries (exclusive of agriculture, forestry, and fishing)	544,357	32.4
Temporary government agency	20,185	1.6
Education	13,033	8.7
Government	20,316	19.5
Mineral extraction	17,383	20.9
Public utility	45,260	25.5
Trade	104,898	25.5
Manufacturing	154,013	28.1
Miscellaneous	140,348	46.9
Construction and contracting	28,921	68.1

There is much else that goes into the definition and content of poverty besides the amount of employment, the wage rate, and the size of family to be supported. If employment and wages, assuming that no illness or accident, or death interrupts their flow, measure the income, the load to be carried is only partially defined by the constitution of the family. The cost of commodities is an essential part of the total picture: the cost of food, clothing, shelter; the cost of transportation, recreation, church activities, and social amenities; the cost of education and self-advance-

TABLE 14

PERCENT OF WORKERS AT FULL- AND PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYED IN SELECTED AREAS IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY WHERE COMBINED PERCENT OF PART-TIME EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED WAS 60 PERCENT OR MORE OF THE TOTAL IN FEBRUARY, 1934

(In ascending order of full-time employment)

COMMUNITY	PREDOMINATING INDUSTRY	TOTAL	EMPLOYMENT STATUS			
			Full-time ^a	Part-time ^a	Unem- ployed	Unemployed and part-time
Chalfant	Electrical manu- facturing	100.0	14.5	65.3	20.2	(85.5)
Rankin	Steel	100.0	20.3	32.1	47.6	(79.7)
Duquesne	Steel	100.0	23.5	47.6	28.9	(76.5)
North Braddock	Steel	100.0	25.0	38.5	36.5	(75.0)
Homestead	Steel	100.0	25.4	40.3	34.3	(74.6)
Braddock	Steel	100.0	27.5	28.7	43.8	(72.5)
East Pittsburgh	Electrical manu- facturing	100.0	28.0	38.2	33.8	(72.0)
Whitaker	Steel	100.0	30.0	45.4	24.6	(70.0)
Turtle Creek	Electrical manu- facturing	100.0	30.7	37.3	32.0	(69.3)
West Homestead	Steel	100.0	33.7	30.0	36.3	(66.3)
McKeesport	Steel	100.0	33.8	36.8	29.4	(66.2)
Wilmerding	Westinghouse Air Brake	100.0	34.5	33.3	32.2	(65.5)
Munhall	Steel	100.0	34.7	39.9	25.4	(65.3)
Versailles	Steel	100.0	35.0	42.4	22.6	(65.0)
Glassport	Glass and miscel- laneous	100.0	37.9	35.6	26.5	(62.1)
East McKeesport	Steel	100.0	38.9	33.6	27.5	(61.1)
Swissvale	Union Switch and Signal	100.0	40.5	31.7	27.8	(59.5)

^a In this connection the definition of "full-time" and "part-time" employment is not the same as that used in Dr. Watson's calculations, but this does not affect the significance of these inferences.

ment. It is with a deep sense of regret that the estimate of these factors as constituting a component of the wage earner's life and as a determining factor in the genesis of poverty had to be omitted from the present study. We have, however, sufficient information to indicate that no great advantages in the relative cost of these commodities exist in Allegheny County to justify the expectation of a balancing factor against the uncertainties of employment and their sequelae. Nor does the provision of some of these commodities through public or philanthropic channels promise more in Allegheny County than it promises in other comparable communities. For example, medical care is, as we shall see, insufficiently available; recreational facilities are under par; the character of purchasable rental is poor; and opportunities for cultural self-expression are at least not notable.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL LEGISLATION AND LABOR ORGANIZATION

Social legislation and labor organization as means of advancing economic security of wage-earner.—Workmen's compensation.—Other legislation for economic security.—History of labor organization.—The United Mine Workers.—Labor organization in the steel industry.—Labor organization in other industries.

WHATEVER ELSE may make for a satisfying life, for the advancement of culture, and for the attainment of civic ideals, no single factor compares in importance with the chances of making a living, an adequate living, with reasonable security and safety for life and limb. Therefore, economists and statesmen alike have recognized the paramount importance of insuring an adequate wage income and conditions of labor that meet the demands of safety, security, and decency. Many diverse forces have coöperated to bring about progress in these fields. Increase of efficiency, the enlightened self-interest (and here and there the benevolent human interest) of employers, the indirect benefits of invention, and the general upward trend of prosperity have been among these forces. But the strongest, and in the long run most effective, of these influences have been the policies of organized labor and the enactment of social legislation in response to diverse pressures. To these two forces primarily may be attributed the improvement in the economic self-maintenance and social security of the worker. In the light of the discouraging evidence concerning the chances of making a living that we have seen in the preceding chapter, some, at least, of the accepted types of desirable social legislation and the status of labor organization demand a brief exposition.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION¹

Earliest in chronological sequence and perhaps foremost in importance for a community whose livelihood rests on heavy industries, is legislative provision for the protection of the wage earner against loss of income from industrial injury or death. Quite apart from pain, mutilation, and death of the worker and the effect of these on members of his family industrial accidents have been among the chief causes of loss of income, temporary

¹ In the following pages, material has been drawn from several reports prepared by Dorothy R. Bucklin of the study staff.

or permanent, and a powerful factor, therefore, in the creation of poverty. The fatalism natural to man is more pronounced in those who live a hazardous life, whether in war, agriculture, fishing, or industry, and it has stood in the way of studying methods of prevention of such disasters. The cheapness of human life, the competitive search for low costs of production, the ignorance, foolhardiness, and fatalism of the worker have conspired to make industrial accidents one of the greatest hazards in times of peace; the assumption of their inevitability and the recognition of the human factors involved have tended to establish them as acts of God; and the development of law as the guardian of property has tended for a long time to keep industry free from responsibility for their occurrence or for their consequences. Among these consequences we must for the present consider only the effects upon the economic independence of the worker.

The Pittsburgh Survey, of 1907-8, recognized the great importance of industrial accidents in the life of the worker and devoted a considerable amount of time and labor to evaluating their consequences and the methods obtaining for dealing with them.² No parallel inquiry was possible within the scope of the present study. It is important, however, even within these limitations to see whether in this field, almost exclusively under the control of law and industry, any progress has taken place in the quarter century since the Pittsburgh Survey.

The Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry was created in 1913, replacing the former Department of Factory Inspection. The new department was entrusted with the administration of the workmen's compensation law, as well as with the promotion of safety programs and methods. In both directions and with the coöperation of many of the most important plants and industries—especially steel and coal—notable gains have been made in the state and in Allegheny County. The very existence of the department, the actual reduction of accidents through safety devices and through the indirect effect of the workmen's compensation law, and the enactment of the law itself, in 1915, set aside the period since the Pittsburgh Survey as a new era in the workers' industrial life and in the economic security of his family. Compared with the irresponsible days of common-law litigation and the inevitable exploitation of the worker which accompanied it, this new era represents a tremendous advance. If there is still much to be done before present-day standards are met, one must recognize, nevertheless, the long distance that has been traveled in a quarter of a century.

Recommendations for further improvements in compensation legislation were submitted in 1934 by the Governor's Committee on Workmen's

² Crystal Eastman, *Work Accidents and the Law*, "The Pittsburgh Survey," Charities Publication Committee, New York, 1910.

Compensation appointed for that purpose. In the report of the committee Pennsylvania practice is compared with some practices current elsewhere. This comparison suggests the following deficiencies of the existing law:

The Pennsylvania law requires the employer to furnish surgical and medical service for a period of 30 days only at a cost not to exceed \$100. He must also supply hospital treatment, services, and supplies for 30 days, but the cost of these is not limited. In contrast to these provisions, New York, Illinois, and Connecticut, among other states, have no limit either on the amount of money or on length of care; Ohio limits expenditures to \$200, giving the commission power to increase the amount; New Jersey has no time limit, but limits funds to \$100; Massachusetts has no monetary limit, but limits the period of time to two weeks, giving the board power to extend the limit; and West Virginia allows \$800, giving the commission power to add \$600, and it establishes no time limit.

Pennsylvania ranks below these states, and among the forty-five states of the Union having compensation laws in 1933 it ranked 43d with respect to this feature of the law. The Governor's Committee recommended that the treatment period be extended to six months and that the \$100 limitation be removed.³ Pennsylvania meets the standard with respect to the "waiting period" by providing for seven days.

Compensation for total disability is provided at too low a maximum (\$15 per week). Payments are made for 500 weeks only and are limited to \$6,500. Special provision for minors is limited to those illegally employed, to whom double compensation must be paid by the employer. Fourteen states, including New York, West Virginia, Illinois, and Ohio, impose no limit on total amount, and nineteen, including the same group, contain no time limit such as that of the Pennsylvania law.

Corresponding deficiencies, as compared with other industrial states, are pointed out by the committee with respect to other aspects of this all-important type of social legislation.

Payments for partial and temporary disability come short of proposed standard provisions in the same way as do those for total disability;⁴ there is no "second injury" fund;⁵ allowances for funeral expenses are below standard; the basis of calculating compensation for surviving dependents is meager by comparison; the traditional exceptions from eligibility of certain occupations, such as domestic service, casual work, and so forth, is retained; occupational diseases are excluded, as are injuries received while violating safety laws or regulations.

³ *Pennsylvania Labor and Industry*, November, 1934, p. 10.

⁴ *Pennsylvania Labor and Industry*, Workmen's Compensation Supplement, November, 1934, p. 8.

⁵ *Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry Special Bulletin*, No. 39, p. 97.

Perhaps most serious of all is the fact, still common to too many states, that damage actions by law are permitted. This is a vestige of precompensation days that contains the threat for any injured employee of the loss of all benefits intended by the compensation law. Violations of the law by employers failing to obtain insurance are prosecuted, and self-insurers are under supervision; but some technical difficulties with the latter group are still reported by the committee as unsatisfactorily met; improvements proposed by the committee in procedure and administrative set-up suggest that in this respect, also, the commendable advance made in the past quarter century still leaves much to be accomplished.

Revision of the Pennsylvania Workmen's Compensation Law has been urged for a number of years, with no great success. Sound enough by the standards of its day, its provisions now rank low in comparison with more progressive states.

A "solid foundation for legislative action" on the Workman's Compensation Law has been laid in three reports: one by the Governor's Committee on Workmen's Compensation, in 1933, already referred to, and the other two by an Advisory Committee on Workmen's Compensation, appointed by the governor in December, 1933. The first report contains a digest of materials gathered at hearings and through briefs and complaints, supplemented by a sample study of 1,637 cases from eleven of the largest industrial counties. Accompanying the analysis of each major problem are specific recommendations for changes in the law or in administrative procedure designed to solve that particular problem. The two reports from the Advisory Committee present (1) a detailed analysis of self-insurance with recommendations for changes in law or administration to insure efficient supervision of employers who underwrite their own compensation insurance and (2) information obtained by personal interview from injured workers and the families of those killed in industry, covering "7,000 typical compensation cases showing clearly what the public, workers, employers, and insurers reasonably may expect from the existing compensation system."⁶

A large group of wage earners in Allegheny County are receiving benefits more liberal than those required by law. The Westinghouse interests, which have 12,000 employees in the Pittsburgh district, provide medical care for the duration of the disability and furnish all apparatus necessary for the rehabilitation of injured employees, including retraining for other

⁶ *Pennsylvania Labor and Industry*, Vol. XXI, No. 4, November, 1934, Workmen's Compensation Supplement, pp. 1-14, 27. Attention should be directed also to a report of occupational disease compensation, not now provided in Pennsylvania, made at the request of the governor, in 1933. A bill providing compensation for occupational diseases passed the House but was killed in the Senate in the 1935 session of the General Assembly.

jobs. This firm also pays compensation for the first week if the worker is incapacitated for more than thirty days.⁷ The Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation pays the total hospital bill for an injured employee, regardless of the amount or of the length of the period of care.⁸

OTHER LEGISLATION FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY

Workmen's compensation has had an independent history in this country, uncomplicated by entanglement with other forms of social insurance. Since the enactment of the first law in the United States, by the state of New York, in 1911, the validity of workmen's compensation as a type of social policy in an industrial civilization has never been seriously questioned. There has been considerable opposition to the full pursuance of its logical implications, with the expense involved, and few laws yet operate to carry out the complete philosophy which underlies it. It is difficult to say whether the opposition is caused by the threatened cost—though this is the chief argument—or by the fact that acceptance of the logic behind workmen's compensation implies acceptance of the whole gamut of social insurance and a far-reaching social philosophy. According to such a philosophy the status of the wage earner is inseparable from the system of modern industrial civilization; wage earners and their families constitute the mass of the population; their livelihood and that of their families depend on wages; wages are subject to fluctuation from a variety of causes—some purely financial, others related to methods of production, supply and demand of capital and labor, variations in the market, seasonal influences, and unemployment, cyclical, technological, and so forth; wages are subject to reduction or even to discontinuance from causes independent of outside economic forces, such as illness of worker, accident, superannuation, old age, desertion, incarceration; the needs of those dependent on wages do not fluctuate in the same way, and they must be met without regard to wage fluctuations or discontinuance; all factors affecting the certainty of wage income are part and parcel of our form of social organization; the particular incidence of loss of wage income, whether directly produced by one or another factor or by a combination of factors, occurs in statistically predictable amounts and can be most adequately dealt with on actuarial principles rather than on the theory of individual responsibility and the method of *laissez faire*; the particular ways by which the mass occurrence of loss of income to the wage earner as a social phenomenon may be systematically handled are those of social insurance, pensions, and public relief. Of these three methods in so far as they do not overlap and

⁷ Telephone interview with Dr. T. Lyle Hazlett, medical director, Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, February, 1936.

⁸ Interview with I. H. Burnett, vice-president, Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation, November 5, 1935.

interlock, social insurance for economic security and pension systems, because of the psychological values associated with them, represent the preferred methods of providing economic security to the wage earner.

Aside from workmen's compensation, however, which is so unmistakably associated with production, no form of social insurance or pension has enjoyed a universal theoretical acceptance until relatively recent years, and the public mind still finds it difficult to see the inner kinship among all these forms of social provision as arising from the underlying need for economic security to the worker in an industrial civilization. Each form of social pension and insurance appears therefore to require separate action and interpretation—a group of distinct, narrow paths—instead of one broad avenue giving access to that better life which goes with economic security.

It is unnecessary here to enter into a discussion of the character and relative advantages of insurance and pension systems. The former, in general, is based on the assumption that premiums or regular periodical payments contributed by those subject to risk provide the bulk of the funds to be used in supplying substitute income for suspended wages and is intimately associated with pay rolls, wages, employer, and employee as such; the latter is made less dependent upon such regular payments, becomes more the general responsibility of the state, payable from its general income, and is less associated with, or entirely independent of, pay rolls and employer-employee relationships. Outstanding examples of the former are unemployment and health insurance; of the latter, mothers' assistance and old-age pensions.

In the state of Pennsylvania there is no unemployment insurance conducted either independently or in coöperation with the Federal Social Security Act.⁹ The same political and economic interests that have been persistently opposed to social insurance have succeeded in preventing the passage of suitable legislation to this end. Labor itself, in its organized expression, had until very recently maintained what now must seem an unintelligent opposition toward and lack of sympathy with this form of social insurance. Indeed, in its preoccupation with wages, hours, and the paramount importance of collective bargaining, labor has paid little attention to the entire subject of social insurance. The depression has had a paradoxical effect on proposals for unemployment insurance legislation. On one hand, it brought out, as nothing before had, the seriousness of unemployment and its far-reaching effect, both upon the individual wage earner and his family and upon the entire economic and political structure of the country; it placed the subjects of unemployment and of unemploy-

⁹ A bill under consideration in the state legislature in December, 1936, assembled in special session to provide unemployment insurance in coöperation with the Federal Security Bill has since been enacted.

ment insurance in the focus of social concern. On the other hand, it also demonstrated that this form of social insurance alone, as represented by all the orthodox forms of proposed legislation, including the model bill of the American Association for Labor Legislation, would be incapable of meeting the entire economic deficit experienced by the unemployed, whether in ordinary times or in periods of extreme depression. Unemployment insurance has nevertheless been embraced in the program of the social provisions of the Roosevelt administration by inclusion in the Social Security Act.

Possibly of greater importance, or at least comparable with unemployment as a cause of wage loss, is the burden of illness upon the wage earner. In the present reference "illness" pertains only to illnesses of the wage earner himself, not to illnesses of members of his family, no matter how serious a drain the latter may be upon his resources. Illness involves two types of economic burden: loss of income in wages and cost of medical care. The whole subject might perhaps be dismissed by saying that despite the indisputable seriousness of the situation neither is there in existence nor is there likelihood that there will soon be enacted a health insurance law anywhere in the United States under either Federal or state sponsorship. Considerable attention was given the subject in this country before the World War, but relentless opposition on the part of powerful commercial interests defeated the few concrete attempts that brought this form of insurance into the arena of public discussion. However, at no time have either advocates or opponents of health insurance concentrated on or even seriously included in their plans or discussions, insurance against loss of income due to illness as they have done in the case of unemployment insurance. Only provision of medical care or of its cost have been involved. The rest has been left to public relief, private charity, or the particular policies of individual employers—generous to the limit in some instances, callous or financially impotent in others. In so far, therefore, as the subject has entered the field of economic security it has appeared, with the exception of the Lundeen Bills, only as the equivalent of the cost of medical care, at best only part of the problem.

Even as such, however, it has had little attention. Opposition has come, in this case, not from capital and employer, but principally from the medical profession. In this respect Pennsylvania (or Allegheny County) does not differ from the country as a whole. Whatever progress may be made toward the establishment of health insurance in this community, it is not likely to come as an isolated phenomenon but as part of a larger movement,¹⁰ inevitable in the end, of translating the progress of medicine

¹⁰ The resolution passed by the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1935, authorizing the governor to appoint a commission on the care of the sick, and so forth, and including the subject of health insurance may be regarded as but a part of that general movement.

into prevention of disease, advancement of health, public-health administration, and medical service as a social function rather than merely as a commodity bought and sold in the open market. However, this aspect of health insurance belongs more in the field of medical care and public health than in that of economic security, for it offers no wage substitute for the worker. Actual medical service is provided inadequately and unevenly, as described elsewhere in this report,¹¹ but it is provided somehow, by individual practitioner, clinic, hospital, and city and county physicians. The wage substitute remains, however, a part of the problem of poor relief or public assistance, until a larger public conscience and greater political skill than we now possess draws provision against incapacitating illness within the system of security provision.

The pension system is represented in Pennsylvania by three types of provision, which are discussed in some detail later.¹² Mothers' Assistance, the earliest of the group, has been in existence for some twenty-three years, and despite its niggardly administration (both in the total and in the rates allowed) has fully justified the hopes of its promoters as a component of economic security to the worker's family. Pensions for the aged and for the blind have been in operation only a short time and represent, so far, more a declaration of social policy than an established service. A state commission recently appointed by the governor is including the entire subject matter of the pensions under its study of public relief.¹³

In somewhat less direct ways, perhaps, other legislative modes of improving the conditions of life and labor are also relevant to the hope of a better life for the masses. There has been some interest shown, but there has been no striking achievement even in the most commonly discussed of these proposals for social legislation. Thus, for example, maximum hours for women, minimum wages for women and children, limitation of court injunctions in labor disputes, outlawing of company-paid deputy sheriffs, regulation of industrial home work are among the unsuccessful legislative attempts of the recent past in Pennsylvania, while, on the other hand, substantial progress is marked by legislation enacted against the coal and iron private police system and by the passage of a creditable child-labor law.

The most important legislative attempt, however, one which would indirectly have brought in its wake many important social laws, was entirely unsuccessful: a call for a convention to revise the state constitution was voted by the legislature, but defeated by the electorate in November, 1935, by a vote of nearly four to three. On the face of it this judgment by *vox*

¹¹ Cf. chap. xviii.

¹² Cf. chap. xiv.

¹³ Pennsylvania Committee on Public Assistance and Relief, *A Modern Public Assistance Program for Pennsylvania*, First General Report, December, 1936.

populi should constitute a full justification for the defeat of the proposal. The practical control of the voting body by dominant public opinion through the instrumentality of political party and the many channels of publicity is too well known, however, to permit of a naïve acceptance of this vote as the reasoned judgment of the citizen. Some idea of the issues that might have been affected by the approval of a constitutional convention may be gained from a few of the suggested changes for revision submitted by an advisory committee appointed by the governor. These included: (1) Power to enact laws imposing graduated inheritance and income taxes (such a law previously passed by the General Assembly had been held unconstitutional); (2) Compulsory civil service for certain parts of the state's public service; (3) Increase in the borrowing power of the state, commensurate with its needs and present day conditions; (4) Improvements in basic local government which is encumbered by constitutionally buttressed county officers, a fee system and clumsy provisions for municipal government; (5) Permissive exercise of the system of proportional representation.

It is of some interest to know that the Pennsylvania Chamber of Commerce was among the active opponents of the revision of the state constitution, while among those in Allegheny County expressing approval were: Civic Club; Real Estate Owners and Taxpayers' League; Council, Parent-Teachers Association; Real Estate Board of Pittsburgh; Pittsburgh Central Labor Union; Pennsylvania Security League; and various local and neighborhood boards of trade and many reform organizations.

It would seem that those interested in more extensive social legislation, favoring labor, pensions, social insurance, and the extension of public services at the expense of the financially better-conditioned section of the population are in favor of a fundamental revision of the state constitution, while those most partial to conservative systems in government, industry and taxation continue to be the staunch upholders of the existing fundamental law in state, as well as in national, government.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

In the promotion of social legislation, especially of that portion of it more directly addressed to the economic and physical welfare of the wage earner, organized labor has been the most effective pressure group inside and outside the legislative halls. It has not always been the most progressive and far-seeing promoter of social legislation, and frequently, paradoxically enough, it has found itself aligned with the opposition. This has been due to many causes not pertinent to this brief review, but chiefly, perhaps, to the fact that organized labor has chosen the method of direct collective bargaining as the chief instrument for gaining its ends.

The relative success of this method has resulted in a conscious and deliberate policy of specializing in this method to the virtual exclusion of political and legislative programs, except as they were inevitably involved in regulation of hours, wages, and so forth, where the application of pressure techniques proved of the greatest value. In recent years organized labor has liberalized and expanded its program in these kindred fields, and its status in Allegheny County is important, therefore, both from the viewpoint of direct objectives and of indirect activities.

In estimating the effectiveness of labor organization it is important to focus not so much upon the specific local achievements in wages, hours, recognition of unions, or other tangible results of collective bargaining, as upon the total effectiveness of the program of the labor movement. Voluntary offering of better wages and conditions,¹⁴ the introduction of substantial welfare services, and deliberate efforts of employing groups to establish friendly relations with their employees are, in part at least, the reflection of the existence of labor organization.

"Two other periods in labor history approximate the present. During the '80s, when the factory system became the dominant mode of production, the workers, inspired and led by the Knights of Labor, organized throughout the country and participated in strikes involving thousands."¹⁵ During and following the World War, in 1918 and 1919, another surge of organizational activity occurred. Now the impetus to organization, which began with the passage of the N.I.R.A. in 1933, has been further stimulated by the National Labor Relations Act, passed in 1935, shortly after the N.I.R.A. was declared unconstitutional.

Organizational activity in the Pittsburgh District has been similar to that in the rest of the country. During the time of the growth of the factory system and until 1900 the iron and steel workers had the most effective organization in their history. Following the war, in 1919, Pittsburgh was the very center of the unsuccessful effort made by the craft organizations in the American Federation of Labor to organize the steel workers. At present evidence of efforts to organize the workers of the Pittsburgh district is cropping up in all the mass production industries where organization has hitherto been unsuccessful. In the steel industry employers were successful in setting up company unions following the passage of the N.I.R.A., but the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers also made temporary headway in organizing the steel workers in 1933 and 1934. Now the employee representatives, elected under the company unions, are striving toward independent action at the same time that the Amalgamated Association is contemplating an intensive campaign

¹⁴ Note particularly the wage increases offered to steel workers in November, 1936.

¹⁵ Twentieth Century Fund, Inc., *Labor and the Government*, 1935, p. 20.

to organize the steel workers. In the electrical manufacturing industry company unions of long standing are being threatened by unions independent both of the company and of the American Federation of Labor. The aluminum industry likewise has company unions, but it concluded an agreement with the National Council of Aluminum Workers, an American Federation of Labor organization, in 1935. Exclusive of those workers who were comparatively well organized prior to 1933, only two groups of workers have achieved relative success and stability in their organizational efforts, the glass workers and the miners, who are both organized under the American Federation of Labor.

The division of opinion within the American Federation of Labor over the future structure of the labor movement, which has existed for some years, developed into an open conflict at the 1935 convention. "The old craft union, with its membership of skilled workers operating variously within a single trade, has become outmoded, and trade unions of skilled and unskilled have taken its place in most instances. But the logical development by industries which would have formed the workers into groups of powerful unions has not followed. . ."¹⁶

After the 1935 convention, which reaffirmed the American Federation of Labor policy of protecting the rights and jurisdictions of the craft unions in the granting of charters to workers in the mass-production industries, eight unions favoring the granting of unrestricted charters in the mass-production industries, formed the Committee for Industrial Organization.¹⁷ The chief objective of this committee has been the organization of labor in the steel industry—an objective hitherto unachieved under the craft union régime and deemed to be of paramount importance both in the interest of the labor movement as a whole and in that of the security and prosperity of the steel laborer in the Pittsburgh district.

In round numbers about 550,000 persons were gainfully employed in Allegheny County in 1935. About 100,000 of these were employed in industries in which little organization of workers has been attempted anywhere in the country.¹⁸ Of the remaining 450,000 it can be stated definitely that at least 150,000, or one-third, were included in employee-representation plans¹⁹ and that roughly 100,000 were represented in the American Federation of Labor or the railway brotherhoods.²⁰ How many of the re-

¹⁶ Twentieth Century Fund, Inc., *Labor and the Government*, pp. 317-18.

¹⁷ *New York Times*, November 10, 1935.

¹⁸ These include: agriculture, forestry, banking, insurance and real estate, professional and semi-professional, domestic and personal service (1930 census).

¹⁹ Estimated as comprising all iron and steel workers and the electrical machinery industry (1930 census).

²⁰ Estimates of those represented in the Central Labor Body vary from 80,000, given by one official, to 100,000, given by another. The number used here excludes the railway brotherhoods in both estimates, and they have some organization. Even so, it is probably too high.

maining 200,000 were included in employee-representation plans is not known. It is apparent, however, that only a minority of the workers in Allegheny County were members of bona fide labor unions.

The strongest unions in the Pittsburgh District in 1935 were the industrial unions among the brewery workers, the miners, and the glass workers; the craft unions in the building trades and the printing trades, which included a majority, although not all, of those eligible to membership; and the railroad workers organized partly under the American Federation of Labor and partly in the four railway brotherhoods. After the depression of 1920-21, when employers in the Pittsburgh district launched an open-shop campaign, these unions—with the exception of the miners who lost their union in 1927-28, the brewery workers who were temporarily disbanded during prohibition and the glass workers who rose to power after the passage of the N.I.R.A.—maintained a relatively strong position until 1929. Complete data are not available for the depression period, but indications are that, although some losses were sustained by these old, well-established unions, membership held up fairly well despite heavy unemployment.

Whatever declines occurred were more than offset by the increase in union membership, which occurred after the passage of the N.I.R.A. The United Mine Workers rebuilt almost overnight the strong union they lost in 1927 and 1928; the Federation of Flat Glass Workers appeared with a strong organization; the steel workers made certain temporary gains; the aluminum workers were organized for the first time; and several other smaller groups of workers, notably the bakery workers and the cleaners and dyers, increased the ranks of organized labor. Declines have occurred, especially in the steel and aluminum industries, since the peak attained following the passage of N.I.R.A. One large group of workers, those in the electrical manufacturing industry, was not brought into the American Federation of Labor at any time during this period but formed a union independent both of the American Federation of Labor and of the company union. No attempt will be made to describe in detail the status of the older, well-established labor unions. With the exception of the building trades they have been unable to maintain a closed shop. Most of them were forced to accept reductions in hourly wages during the depression, and many of them sought reductions in maximum hours in order that more men might benefit from the small amount of work available. Many of these well-established unions have sick and death benefit funds from which sizeable payments are made. In addition, during the depression many of them set up their own relief funds to assist members of the union found to be in need. Data are not complete as to the number of such funds or the amounts expended, but three unions having a membership of about 2,300 in 1933

are reported to have spent during the depression period (*circa* 1930-35) more than \$600,000 for unemployment relief.

The locals of the several international unions in the Pittsburgh District are associated in four central labor bodies which concern themselves with matters of common interest to all local workers as distinguished from matters affecting the members of a single craft or industry. The Pittsburgh Central Labor Union is the largest of these bodies and claims to represent between 80,000 and 100,000 workers. Central labor bodies exist also in McKeesport, Tarentum, and New Kensington. The two last named have endorsed the principle of industrial unionism for all basic industries. As late as February, 1935, the Pittsburgh central body had taken no action on this question and officers reported they were trying to keep it from coming to an issue in the local body.

THE UNITED MINE WORKERS

One of the largest and most powerful groups of organized workers in the Pittsburgh district in 1935 was the United Mine Workers of America. Prior to 1928 the mine workers had a strong organization in the Pittsburgh district, but in that year, following a prolonged strike when an agreement could not be worked out with the operators, the union was practically wiped out. Membership in District 5, which includes nine counties in Western Pennsylvania, numbered over 40,000 in the early twenties. From 1928 membership dwindled, until in 1933 the dues-paying membership in the Pittsburgh District was less than 2,000 of the 60,000 or so eligible. As reported by the union only a few delegates attended the convention held in Pittsburgh in that year, and "many of the men who were called were afraid to respond, fearful that they might be discharged, fearful that they might be black-listed, fearful that they might be discriminated against because of their natural anxiety to again participate in matters affecting their welfare, in matters affecting the welfare of their organization. They recounted story after story upon the floor. . . in that great Policy Committee meeting, of long hours of labor, of degraded wages, of no money in the pay envelope on payday, or no check-weighman on the tippie. Countless stories were revealed wherein men were having approximately 50 percent of the coal loaded in the pit cars taken away from them."²¹ In the winter and spring of 1933 wages were reported to be \$2 to \$2.50 and sometimes \$3 a day for a working day ranging from 10 to 14 hours.²²

In the spring of 1933 before the N.I.R.A. became law, the United Mine

²¹ Philip Murray, international vice-president, United Mine Workers of America, in *Proceedings of the 35th Constitutional and 10th Biennial Convention, November 1935*, p. 29.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 30.

Workers of America carried on an intensive organizing campaign, and by July, 1933, when they met with the operators to conclude their first national agreement, they claimed to represent 72 percent of the miners in the United States. Membership in District 5 averaged 36,000 for the first eight months of 1935 out of a possible 60,000 or less. The majority of the miners in Allegheny County belonged to the union in 1935. The first Appalachian Agreement effective in the Pittsburgh district from 1933 to March 31, 1934, established an eight-hour day and a five-day week and set a daily wage rate for skilled inside day-wage men of \$4.60 north and of \$4.20 south of the Ohio River. Existing tonnage rates were increased 10 cents per ton, and the yardage and dead work rate was increased 10 percent. Check-weighmen, chosen by the miners at each mine, were provided for in the agreement.²³

The seven-hour day and five-day week for all mines in the United States were agreed upon at the second conference held early in 1934. This agreement provided basic rates of \$5 north and \$4.60 south of the Ohio River; an increase of 9 cents per ton on all short wall machines, combined cutting and loading; and an increase of 10 percent in the rate for yardage and dead work. The present contract concluded in September, 1935, and effective until April 1, 1937,²⁴ provides a wage increase of 50 cents per day for all day-wage men; an increase of 9 cents per ton on the combined cutting and loading basis, short wall; and another increase of 10 percent in yardage and dead-work rates.²⁵ The tonnage rates are by far the most important part of the agreement since about 70 percent of the men in Allegheny County are paid on a tonnage basis.²⁶ Despite these increases in wage rates, annual earnings in the coal fields are far from adequate, for the majority of the miners do not work full time. According to the president of District 5 there is a "surplus" of miners in Allegheny County, even though many of them have left and gone into other industries. At the last joint conference with the operators the union tried unsuccessfully to persuade the operators to guarantee an annual income of at least \$1,500, although it realized that this represented only a bare minimum.²⁷

The present agreement (1935) provides that dues of \$1.30 per month and the initiation fee of \$10 shall be checked off to the District Office, following deductions for wages of check-weighmen, accident and death benefits, rent and mining expenses. Deductions for store bills are authorized only upon proper assignments by the employees.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁴ A further agreement involving some wage increases for a subsequent period of two years is reported to have been arrived at on April 2, 1937, after a one-day strike.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

²⁶ Patrick T. Fagan, president of District 5, United Mine Workers of America, by interview. ²⁷ *Ibid.*

The activities of the United Mine Workers, due no doubt to far-seeing leadership in their own ranks and to intelligent economic realism among a substantial section of the operators, have had other results besides the wage increases and union recognition exemplified in the agreements, without seriously infringing upon the managerial prerogatives of the operators.²⁸ Thus an elaborate, but apparently satisfactory system is provided for the adjustment of grievances, with provision for a series of appeals concluding in an appeal to an umpire selected by a board representative of both union and operators. The union has provided also the channel for more penetrating and fundamental thinking and action on larger issues, both within the field of labor politics and in that of general social and legislative action. Thus, resolutions endorsing the industrial form of union organization were passed at the 1935 convention.²⁹ At the same time discrimination against Negroes was also condemned.³⁰ Important legislative proposals also received endorsement at the convention, including improvements in the compensation law, unemployment insurance, increases in old age pensions and a state constitutional convention.³¹

In specific achievements and in establishing in the mind of the local worker and citizen the possibilities of labor organization the United Mine Workers have performed a most important service within the field. But the really crucial industry in the Pittsburgh district is steel and its derivatives rather than coal. Labor organization in the steel industry is (1935)

²⁸ The agreement includes the following significant passage: "The management of the mine, the direction of the working force, and the right to hire and discharge are exclusively in the operator, and the United Mine Workers of America shall not abridge these rights. . ."

²⁹ *Proceedings of the 35th Constitutional and 10th Biennial Convention, November 1935*, p. 58.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64. District 5, including Pittsburgh, comprises among its membership about 4,000 Negroes or one-eighth of the total (information from the president of the District).

³¹ Unfortunately, a force even greater than that which may be dealt with by intelligent coöperation between operator and organized mine labor may render the work in this field futile and close this avenue of access to a better life for the mining population. The economic foundation of the bituminous coal industry itself is shaky. In an appraisal of the so-called Guffey-Snyder Coal Act before Congress in 1935, a staff member of the Bureau of Business Research states: "The present oversupply of labor is scarcely affected by the Act. . . If demands of the union for a shorter working week are met and weekly wages are held high enough to permit employed miners to earn as much as they previously did, the consumer will pay for the over-manning of the industry in the prices paid for coal, unless he can escape such result by the use of substitute fuel. A shorter working week is not a solution of the problem of unemployment; rather it is a shifting of the burden. The solution of the problem of the surplus mining population awaits genuine business recovery. In the meantime, relief must be given; and vocational training is needed to fit miners for other jobs which promise more for the future than mining. No long-run purpose is served by attempts to 'freeze' the present mining population to the industry."—Wilbert G. Fritz, and Theodore A. Veenstra, "Appraisal of the Guffey-Snyder Coal Act," *Pittsburgh Business Review*, November 29, 1935, p. 4.

practically nonexistent.³² The steel industry as a whole has been inimical to labor organization during its entire history. The company union as introduced into the industry at Bethlehem has never been recognized by the labor movement or by students of the subject as a true labor union; and its extension to the rest of the field, including Allegheny County, in the past few years, has only dubious place in the history of trade unions.³³

LABOR ORGANIZATION IN THE STEEL INDUSTRY

Three phases of the complicated design of labor organization in the steel industry have delayed its possibilities of bringing substantial benefit to the wage earner. One of them is the internal dissension in the labor movement as to policies of organization; the other, the particularly militant resentment by the industry against governmental interference in its dealing with labor organization; and the third, the struggle between labor unions under "outside" leaderships and the employer-supported company-union system. A brief summary of these phases is therefore essential.

Theoretically and in accordance with the policies of the American Federation of Labor the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers has had since 1923 jurisdiction over most of the workers in this industry. This jurisdiction does not, however, seem to have been exclusive, for twenty craft unions, and the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor seem also to have had concurrent jurisdiction over certain workers.³⁴ In addition, during the "reign" of the N.I.R.A., certain federal unions, also affiliated with the Federation, were formed among steel workers, while from a different direction "left-wingers," represented by the American Workers' Party and the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union were also active.³⁵ Prior to the passage of the N.I.R.A., 2 percent of the steel workers in the United States were "covered by trade agreements . . . between independent unions and the management," and 20 percent were included in company unions.³⁶

The roots of the present struggle to organize the steel workers extend back to the last decade of the 19th century. Four organizations of iron

³² This was written prior to the agreement between the Committee for Industrial Organization and the leading steel plants in March, 1937. At this time the steel operations controlled by the United States Steel Corporation are among those that have signed such agreements.

³³ For further discussion of company unions, cf. *infra*, chap. vii, below.

³⁴ Carroll R. Daugherty, Melvin G. de Chazeau, and Samuel Stratton, *The Economics of the Iron and Steel Industry*, Bureau of Business Research, 1937, pp. 943, 972-73; conducted under the Bureau of Business Research of the University of Pittsburgh through funds provided partly by the Brookings Institution of Washington and partly by the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation in Pittsburgh.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 974-77 ³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 930.

workers joined to form the Amalgamated Association in Pittsburgh, in 1876. The union reported a steady growth up to 1892, when it claimed 24,000 members, and during the decade, 1880-90, it secured the most effective agreements between the employers and the men which it has ever had. However, with the exception of the Homestead plant, the new steel mills—as distinguished from the iron mills converted into steel mills—were never effectively organized, and it is doubtful whether the Amalgamated Association, even in the heyday of its existence in 1891, had organized 50 percent of the steel workers in Allegheny County.³⁷

The story of the Amalgamated Association in these early days is told in some detail by Fitch in his volume *The Steel Workers* (The Pittsburgh Survey). The history is complicated by problems arising from the transition from iron to steel production, from the introduction of labor-saving machinery, and from short-sighted or ineffective leadership in the organization that gave the management just cause for resentment and hostility.³⁸

The power of the union was broken by the Carnegie Steel Corporation in the Homestead strike, of 1892; Jones and Laughlin, the second largest steel firm in Allegheny County, became nonunion in 1897; and in 1901 the Amalgamated Association was driven from every important steel mill in the country. By 1909 membership in the union was but 25 percent of what it had been in 1892. Its failure to revive after 1901 has been attributed in part to its action in breaking contracts with all companies which merged with the United States Steel Corporation in that year and in calling out men in the mills not concerned in the original strike against the corporation.³⁹

To one who studied the facts closely the evidence seemed to indicate: (1) that the Amalgamated Association demanded not only “a voice in determining labor conditions,” but “a share in administrative control inconsistent with necessary business methods,” and (2) that the steel companies crushed out unionism not only “to rid themselves of these improper restrictions” but also “to be free from the proper and legitimate activities of the union.”⁴⁰

The Amalgamated Association made no intensive effort to organize the steel workers between 1901 and 1933, when the N.I.R.A. was passed. However, some of the craft unions in the American Federation of Labor undertook an organizing campaign following a resolution adopted by the 1918 convention of the American Federation of Labor. Estimates of the number of men recruited to membership as a result of this campaign and the number who answered the strike called in 1919 on the issue of union

³⁷ John Fitch, *The Steel Workers*, in “The Pittsburgh Survey,” pp. 5, 87-89.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, chap. ix. ³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 88, 101, 105, 134. ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 205-6.

recognition vary widely. The United States Steel Corporation, in answering the organizing committee's request for a conference, said, "We do not think you are authorized to represent the sentiment of a majority of the employees," whereas the leaders claimed that more than 300,000 went on strike in the entire nation, and 60,000 in the Pittsburgh district. Following the defeat of the strikers the new unions quickly vanished.⁴¹ The Inter-Church World Movement, which investigated the strike, reported that "the causes of defeat, second in importance only to the fight waged by the Steel Corporation, lay in the organization and leadership, not so much of the strike itself, as of the American labor movement." They found that "the immigrant steel worker was led to expect more from the International Unions of the American Federation of Labor conducting the strike, than they, through indifference, selfishness or narrow habit, were willing to give; and that an immigrant tendency toward industrial unionism, combatted by the strike leadership, contributed to the disunity of the strikers."⁴²

The failure of the Amalgamated Association to make substantial progress in organizing the steel workers prior to the code period has been attributed to the following factors: "(1) the lack of interest among most of the semi-skilled and skilled workers; (2) the failure of the labor movement as a whole to concentrate unitedly on the problem of unionizing the industry; (3) the diverse racial elements in the work force; (4) the welfare labor policies of the companies. . . ; (5) the repressive labor policies of the companies. . . ; (6) and the pervading psychology of defeat and futility which colored the minds of most of the Association's leaders and members."⁴³

Many of these factors were less operative during the code period, but new problems which arose were not handled adeptly by the union leaders. They assumed a hostile attitude toward the company unions which might have been "captured" and allowed an open conflict to develop and to continue for almost a year between the rank and file and the conservative elements in the union.⁴⁴ Even in the face of these difficulties the organizing campaign following the passage of the N.I.R.A. recruited many new union members.⁴⁵ More money was spent in the Pittsburgh district than in any other place, and by February, 1934, the Amalgamated Association had thirty-one new lodges, with about 18,000 members,⁴⁶ compared with

⁴¹ Harvey O'Connor, *Steel, Dictator*, pp. 97 and 108.

⁴² Interchurch World Movement, *Report on the Steel Strike of 1919 by the Commission of Inquiry, 1920*, pp. 15-16.

⁴³ Carroll R. Daugherty, Melvin G. de Chazeau, Samuel Stratton, *The Economics of the Iron and Steel Industry*, Bureau of Business Research, 1937, pp. 943-45.

⁴⁴ Daugherty, *op. cit.*, pp. 957-59.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 944.

⁴⁶ Daugherty and others, *op. cit.*, p. 949.

9,710 members in June, 1933.⁴⁷ Membership began to decline, however, in the fourth quarter of 1934,⁴⁸ following the threatened steel strike and the rift between the rank and file and the conservative leadership. By June, 1935, the number of lodges in the United States was only half as many as there had been in June, 1934, and only thirty-two more than in June, 1933.⁴⁹ The Amalgamated Association had six lodges in Allegheny County in January, 1935, with 856 members.⁵⁰

The dissension within the union reached a crisis in February, 1935, when a number of lodges were expelled from the union. Their delegates were later excluded from the union convention, but following court action, which ended in a victory for the rank and file, the unions were reinstated in September, 1935.⁵¹ Contacts between the left-wing group and the Communist Party have become less close and less frequent, but the rank-and-filers "will serve as a spur or stimulus to more militant action by [the] conservative leadership [of the Amalgamated Association]."⁵²

Early in 1936 the Amalgamated Association had written agreements with only three firms in Allegheny County; namely, the Lockhart Iron and Steel Company, the Flannery Bolt Company, and the Superior Steel Company, employing approximately 1,700 men.⁵³ The potential membership for steel and iron workers in Allegheny County is about 125,000.⁵⁴

Restoration of peace within the union and the passage of the National Labor Relations Act in the summer of 1935 provided an auspicious setting for an organizing drive in the steel industry for which the American Federation of Labor had voted at its 1934 convention. The Amalgamated Association apparently expected the initiative for such a campaign to come from the American Federation of Labor, for in August, 1935, an officer of the Amalgamated Association wired President Green, in session with the executive council, "to confirm statements in news dispatches that the new membership drive for steel workers was to be launched at once."⁵⁵ This campaign has yet to be undertaken and has undoubtedly been delayed by the growing rift in the ranks of the American Federation of Labor between the industrial and craft unionists. The Committee for Industrial Organization is committed to the industrial form of organization, whereas the president of the American Federation of Labor, in soliciting funds from all unions for a steel campaign, said he would insist that there

⁴⁷ Louis Leonard, secretary of the Amalgamated Association, by interview with Joseph Madden.

⁴⁸ Daugherty and others, *op. cit.*, p. 948. ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 948.

⁵⁰ Louis Leonard, secretary of the Amalgamated Association, by interview with Joseph Madden.

⁵¹ Daugherty and others, *op. cit.*, pp. 966-69. ⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 977.

⁵³ Louis Leonard, by interview with Joseph Madden.

⁵⁴ Louis Leonard, by interview with Joseph Madden.

⁵⁵ Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*, August 14, 1935.

be no strings attached concerning the method of organizing the steel workers.⁵⁶ Consequently it seems likely that the American Federation of Labor will reject the offer of \$500,000 from the Committee for Industrial Organization as part of the \$1,500,000 fund proposed by it in February, 1936, to wage a campaign in coöperation with the American Federation of Labor for industrial organization of the steel workers.⁵⁷

This particular phase of the history of labor organization in the steel industry is by no means finished. For our own purposes the importance of its ultimate outcome is twofold: one, the specific material benefits that may accrue to the nearly half-million persons in Allegheny County whose livelihood is based directly or indirectly on steel operations; the other, its stimulating effect upon the worker whose interest is thus kept awake to seek further access to a better life both economic and cultural.

With the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act (N.I.R.A.) in 1933 a new force entered the field of labor relations and organization—the Federal Government as supporter and sponsor of collective bargaining and labor organization. The intentions of this act were reënacted later in the National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Bill). Political and social attitudes as defined by these acts have given a new place to labor in the life of government and industry in the United States. The steel industry did not, however, take kindly to the point of view of this legislation, and its resentment has taken a dual form: denial of the validity of the legislation itself by court action to restrain its enforcement and specific action to combat “outside” labor organizations in the steel industry, while promoting, as a lesser evil, the system of company unions. The battle is being fought on two fronts, of which one is receiving relatively less emphasis, that is, the denial of the right of the government to regulate labor relations within the industry, while the other, maintenance of the status of the company union as a full-fledged labor organization, is receiving the principal support from the industry.

Daugherty⁵⁸ reports that during the code period six elections were held

⁵⁶ *Pittsburgh Press*, February 25, 1936.

⁵⁷ This offer still stood in April, 1935, when the Committee for Industrial Organization approached the Amalgamated Association with a similar offer of coöperation. The Executive Board of the Amalgamated Association had the power to answer the proposal, but deferred action until its annual convention, which was to be held at Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania, late in April. It was expected that the rank and file group of younger workers who forced the strike vote through the 1934 convention of the Amalgamated Association would lead the fight for acceptance of the offer against the older leaders of the union, who announced that the Amalgamated Association had “every confidence in President Green, had taken no part in the fights of other unions with the Federation, and intended to go along just as it had for the past 60 years, organizing new chapters and striving for the best interests of the steel workers.”—*Pittsburgh Press*, April 23, 1936, and March 30, 1936.

⁵⁸ Daugherty and others, *op. cit.*, p. 1046.

in the steel industry. Four dealt with a choice between company union and outside union; three decided for the latter, including one in Allegheny County. Of the two others reported, one resulted in approval of the Amalgamated Association, whereas the other voted a company union out of existence. Nine other elections were proposed, but were never held because of opposition from the companies; seven of them were dropped subsequent to the court decision declaring the N.I.R.A. unconstitutional.⁵⁹ The legal controversies surrounding the other two, both in the Pittsburgh district, were decided in favor of the employer, in the Weirton case clearly, in the other (Carnegie Steel) on the technical issue of the status of the lodge of the Amalgamated Association involved in the case.⁶⁰ The legal battles first directed against the N.I.R.A. are now fought against the Labor Boards created under the Wagner Act, and the end is apparently not in sight. As Daugherty puts it in commenting on the White House Conference held in 1934 to bring worker and operator together,⁶¹

[The negotiations] suggested that the Government was powerless—in the face of the industry's economic power and in the absence of substantial economic strength in the union, as well as in the absence of a strong, definitive, court-sustained law—to effect any fundamental change in the anti-union attitude of the industry. . . . Without economic power built up by its own efforts the union could expect little more than it had had before the truce negotiations began.⁶²

As a counterpart to this opposition to the process of labor organization the steel industry has made consistent efforts to develop and strengthen its company unions. The issues are still being fought out, and a final answer may have to wait.⁶³

Company unions or employee-representation plans were not numerous in the steel industry in the Pittsburgh district or elsewhere before the passage of the N.I.R.A. At that time most of the steel companies introduced plans modeled after that of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, which had been in effect since 1919. Workers had no opportunity to express a choice between these plans and some other form of organization. Reports are published annually by the American Iron and Steel Institute of the percentage of eligible employees who actually voted for employee representatives. Increases in this percentage from year to year are interpreted by the Institute as an evidence of the growing popularity of employees representation plans. However, it must be noted that the vote represents a choice between no plan at all and the employee-representation plan,

⁵⁹ Daugherty and others, *op. cit.*, pp. 1050, 1054-56.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1053-55. ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1046. ⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Note the tremendous public interest given to the preliminary report on *The Economics of the Iron and Steel Industry* presented by Dr. Ralph J. Watkins, February 15, 1937, in which the desirability of labor organization in the steel industry was cited and the vertical or industrial plan was advocated.

not a choice between an employee representation plan or some other form of organization.

Perhaps the strongest feature of company union plans is that they promote the adjustment of individual grievances. They do not, as a rule, make possible genuine collective bargaining with respect to the more vital matters that are of general concern. This is particularly true in a vast industrial organization like the United States Steel Corporation. Under the present company union set-up, the representatives are wholly without power to negotiate regarding a general change in wage rates. Such action in a single plant would upset the wage equilibrium throughout the company. No manager of a plant would be in a position to consider the matter. Under the rules, the representatives might appeal to the president of the company, but his power to act would be limited by the effect that his decision would have on the wage structure of the other subsidiary companies. It is obvious that bargaining over general wage levels could be carried on only with the officials of the Steel Corporation itself. To make that possible, the employees would require an organization corporation-wide in its scope.⁶⁴

However, even the strongest feature of the company unions, the procedure for adjustment of complaints, has been unfavorably criticized by the employee representatives. "Foremen have a tendency to make adverse decisions and the department superintendent, who is next in line of appeal, backs up the foreman in order to preserve the latter's status. It is only when they get the matter before the general superintendent . . . that they begin to get consideration."⁶⁵ One representative said,

We do not appear to have the proper machinery to obtain favorable action on most complaints. They go through the various phases from the time they are presented to the foremen involved until they arrive at the point where they are refused by the superintendent. The elapsed time may amount to 60 days, after which a grace period of 30 days may be given. In the event of a refusal at this point, we have at our disposal several steps which will take still more time while the result will remain the same. . . .⁶⁶

On the matter of adjustment of grievances, the plans give the employees an opportunity for expression they did not have previously. It is clear, nevertheless, that final decision in all such matters rests with the companies. The system of appeals is difficult enough in itself—long drawn out, slow, and calling for a persistent determined struggle with the executive immediately over the appellant. If a case ever does get to the president—and very few get that far—there is no possibility of appeal over his head without his consent. To be sure, the plans provide for a possible reference to arbitration, but in no case does arbitration follow disagreement as a matter of course. The case 'may be referred to arbitration by mutual agreement.' In other words, there is no consent in advance to arbitration as there is in many trade union contracts. A decision has to be made in each case, and the president is thus in a position to make his own word the last, if he wishes to do so. No cases have as yet gone to arbitration.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ John Fitch, "A Man Can Talk in Homestead," *Survey Graphic*, February, 1936, p. 118.

⁶⁵ John Fitch, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 118. ⁶⁷ John Fitch, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

The aggressiveness of employee representatives in presenting the problems of their constituents "varied directly up to December, 1934, with the size of the plant and company, with the rate of operations and with extent of outside union activity. It often varied inversely, moreover, with the length of service of the representatives."⁶⁸ An analysis of 16,300 cases, brought up during 1934, under 93 company union plans, showed that about 41 percent pertained to working conditions, 22 percent to wages, 12 percent to hours and distribution of work, and the remaining 25 percent to other problems such as welfare measures, management methods and economy, rules, dismissals, and alleged discrimination.⁶⁹ The integrated companies showed the lowest percentage, 71 percent, decided in favor of employees.⁷⁰

Conclusions based on a study of the minutes of joint committee meetings between men and management showed that:⁷¹

1. Practically all questions were discussed.
2. Many employee representatives were aggressive.
3. Wages and hours were adjusted for individual workers or small groups of workers.
4. Requests for improvements in working and living conditions were usually granted provided they did not cost too much.
5. The 10 percent wage increase granted in April, 1934, began as a demand from the employee representatives of a large company.
6. Obtaining the increase in wages was not evidence of the economic power of the representatives, but merely of the management's willingness to grant the increase since other requests for sweeping increases made at the same time were "politely but firmly refused."
7. Trade agreements were not signed.
8. "There was a tendency toward delay" in settling important questions.
9. Employee representatives had outside technical help only in a few instances.
10. "Employee representatives met separately from the management under most of the plans."
11. Representatives rarely called mass meetings of their rank-and-file departmental constituents.
12. "So far as is known, no unsettled cases went to outside arbitration."
13. "The existence of outside union activities among the workers of certain plants was an important, but not the sole, determinant of attitudes of management and employee representatives."

During 1935, both before the N.I.R.A. was declared unconstitutional and subsequently, some of the steel workers showed a dissatisfaction with the functioning of the company union by (1) taking action to create interplant and intercompany connections of employee representatives and (2) by starting unions independent both of the company unions and of the American Federation of Labor.⁷² The latter manifestation has not yet

⁶⁸ Daugherty and others, *op. cit.*, p. 1026.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1027.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1027-29.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 1029, 1032.

(1935) appeared in the steel industry in the Pittsburgh district, but employee representatives from different plants of the same company have met outside company property and without management representatives to formulate a program of action. Opinion among employers about the developments is divided, some regarding independent unionism as a natural evolution and looking with favor upon it, others expressing alarm at the turn of events.⁷³

The first move toward interplant affiliation in the Pittsburgh district was made when the employee representatives of the twelve plants of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company, located in different states, met in New Castle, Pennsylvania, at company expense, and agreed to ask the management for a 15 percent wage increase and a revision of the pension system, worked out a scheme for vacations with pay for all employees and proposed various changes in the employee-representation plan. Another convention was agreed upon for the following year, and an executive committee was appointed to meet with the management. The demands were refused, but they seem to have given impetus to similar requests for wage increases, likewise denied, which emanated from other employee representatives of plants acting individually in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Indiana, and Ohio.⁷⁴

In January, 1936, employee representatives of the 26,000 employees of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation in the Pittsburgh and Youngstown districts met in private session in Pittsburgh. The existing company-union plans were reported to be ineffective and somewhat like a "pacifier" given to a baby to keep it quiet. The chairman of the meeting, employed in the county election bureau, was formerly an employee at the Clairton plant, and was probably the only "outsider" representing the workmen.⁷⁵ Subsequently, two representatives from each plant, with the exception of those at Homestead and Mingo Junction, met to formulate specific demands. Following the meeting the chairman announced that they had "met to improve and strengthen [their] plan [of employee representation] with no thought of affiliating with an outside organization."⁷⁶ As a result of this meeting ten representatives elected under the company union plan met with the president of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation and asked:

1. That a board of arbitration be set up, preferably some government agency, to have final say on disputed points between the men and management.
2. That the ten representatives be recognized as the unit for collective bargaining in matters concerning wages, hours and working conditions.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 1030.

⁷⁴ Rose M. Stein, "Steel Robots That Came Alive," *The Nation*, February 5, 1936, pp. 160-61.

⁷⁵ *The Pittsburgh Press*, January 27, 1936. ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, March 16, 1936.

3. That they be informed of the procedure to be adopted in requesting a 40-hour week and a 15 percent wage increase.

The first request was taken under consideration by the corporation; the second was refused because the company-union plan contains no such provision and because two mills sent no representatives; and with respect to the third, the president of the corporation promised to call a meeting at which the missing plants would be represented.⁷⁷

One other example of company union independence in the Pittsburgh district was the refusal of the employees of the Pittsburgh Steel Company in Monessen to be a party with their employers in a court fight to prevent a government-supervised election, ordered by the National Labor Relations Board, in March, 1936.⁷⁸

LABOR ORGANIZATION IN OTHER INDUSTRIES

No other industry in Allegheny County compares in importance with coal and steel. Yet taken together a number of other fields constitute an important total, and the status of labor organization in them is far from negligible. The glass industry, for example, holds an important position. It has been relatively prosperous, much more so than coal and steel. The Federation of Flat Glass Workers, chartered by the American Federation of Labor, is organized on an industrial basis and embraces a membership of some 14,000, the majority of whom work in the Pittsburgh district. The union has signed agreements with all the leading manufacturers (1936) granting certain increases and providing for adjustment of geographical and plant differentials.⁷⁹ An active federal union exists among the aluminum workers, which, however, is probably not inclusive of the majority of the local workers and which is involved in the controversy with the American Federation of Labor over membership in the Committee for Industrial Organization. The National Council of Aluminum Workers is an industrial union. The situation is similar in the electrical field, where a federal labor union exists, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. There are, however, some independent unions in the field; there is jurisdictional controversy with the central body of the American Federation of Labor; and there are company unions of large membership still within the field, though some of these show symptoms of breaking out into outside affiliation.

A considerable number of local unions affiliated with the railway brotherhoods provide strength to the labor body in Allegheny County, their ranks representing according to the estimate of one union officer,

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, April 13, 1936.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, March 3, 1936.

⁷⁹ This union is a member of the Committee for Industrial Organization.

approximately 80 percent of local railway labor.⁸⁰ Streetcar men are reported as almost completely organized in Allegheny County. Printers are reported as approximately 80 percent organized, bakers about 70 percent, hotel and restaurant employees hardly more than half. Information on these unions, as on most other unions, is difficult to obtain and uncertain when available. Labor officials are cautious about giving information. They suspect the inquirer and fear traps. Except in the large, nationally-officered unions there is not enough leadership talent to cope with the anti-union sentiment which pervades the community under the spell of the steel industry. Members of the staff of the Social Study who appeared before a meeting of the Pittsburgh Central Labor Union in an appeal for information on the situation in the field were met by an attitude varying from indifference to hostility. They were suspected of being instrumental in efforts to employ nonunion labor in the construction of houses in the Chatham Village development operated by the Buhl Foundation; they were told to get their information from their spies, of which there "must be plenty"; the unions seemed particularly reluctant to offer information from which might be gleaned an idea of their numerical strength. After considerable negotiation the Central Labor Union did notify its local constituents that it did not oppose having information supplied to the study; but the limitations of time and resources did not permit pursuit of this somewhat tardy and reluctant offer to any extent.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Officer of the Railway Clerks, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

⁸¹ With the aid of a number of students of the University of Pittsburgh, some useful data were gathered from the unions subsequent to this arrangement, but the material is not exhaustive enough for organized presentation.

CHAPTER V

PHYSICAL CONDITIONS OF LIFE

The housing situation in Pittsburgh since 1893.—A quarter century in one notorious slum area.—Housing in Allegheny County in 1935 as shown by the Real Property Inventory.—Other descriptive and statistical data on current housing situation.—Public sanitation and housing.—Fundamental economic-technical problems of housing in Allegheny County.—Housing shortage.—The movement for improved housing in Allegheny County.

IN SURVEYING the chances of a man to make a living for himself and his family we have been urged by the common knowledge, irresistibly obtruding itself upon our consciousness, that those chances are probably slim and elusive. For how else could one explain the extent of poverty, the imperative need for elaborate systems of relief. The ascertained facts support common knowledge. We find poverty extensive, continuous, severe, fluctuating, reluctant to yield to advances in man's control of nature, production, distribution, and capacity for planning. Poverty in its simplest definition means inadequate money income for necessities of life. Our perspective is hemmed in by the concept of "necessities," for even these are not always at hand, or may be inadequate in amount or poor in quality. Both quantity and quality are usually purchasable, and we are made aware of the absence of purchasing power by insufficiency or low standards. With respect to food, clothing, and medical care the more striking features present themselves in quantitative terms rather than in terms of quality. With respect to shelter poverty does indeed limit the square feet of ground that one may inhabit, the access to sky and air; but it manifests itself far more noticeably in the condition of dwellings, their cleanliness, safety to life, limb, and health, and in the distance from that promised land in which shelter is not for protection alone but for enjoyment, beauty, culture, joy of life, and civic satisfaction.

Within the compass of the present study we must obviously content ourselves with the merest suggestion of the nature of the physical living conditions in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County and with some evaluation of the plans and efforts by which the community seeks to provide those advantages of decent physical surroundings that the purchasing power of the worker alone cannot acquire in a competitive and unregulated field, where

shelter is one of the many commodities in an economic structure designed for profit.

Houses, including their equipment and conveniences—streets, water, sewage, sanitation—constitute the first items in this phase of life; there follow access to schools, parks, transportation to work, and recreation. Gardens and playgrounds, civic beauty, and the advantages of a planned community contribute to the definition of the ultimate goal of acceptable physical setting for an urban industrial population.

THE HOUSING SITUATION IN PITTSBURGH SINCE 1893

What can one say about housing in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County? Some of the more striking facts have already been indicated in the brief references to housing and physical conditions presented in the pages devoted to "the county."¹ For the appreciation of even the few selected data that the scope of this report will permit it is necessary to gain some perspective of the progress made in this field in Pittsburgh. As early as 1893 the Tenement Improvement Company was launched under the influence of the spirit of Octavia Hill and of the current American interest in housing at that time. The company set forth in its prospectus that:

There is no tenement house commissioner in Pittsburgh. . . .

Laws relating to the water supply, sewerage, garbage collecting, overcrowding and the use of houses for immoral purposes, are either not in existence or not enforced. . . .

Pittsburgh, in proportion to its wealth and prosperity, has done nothing to improve the housing conditions of the very poor.²

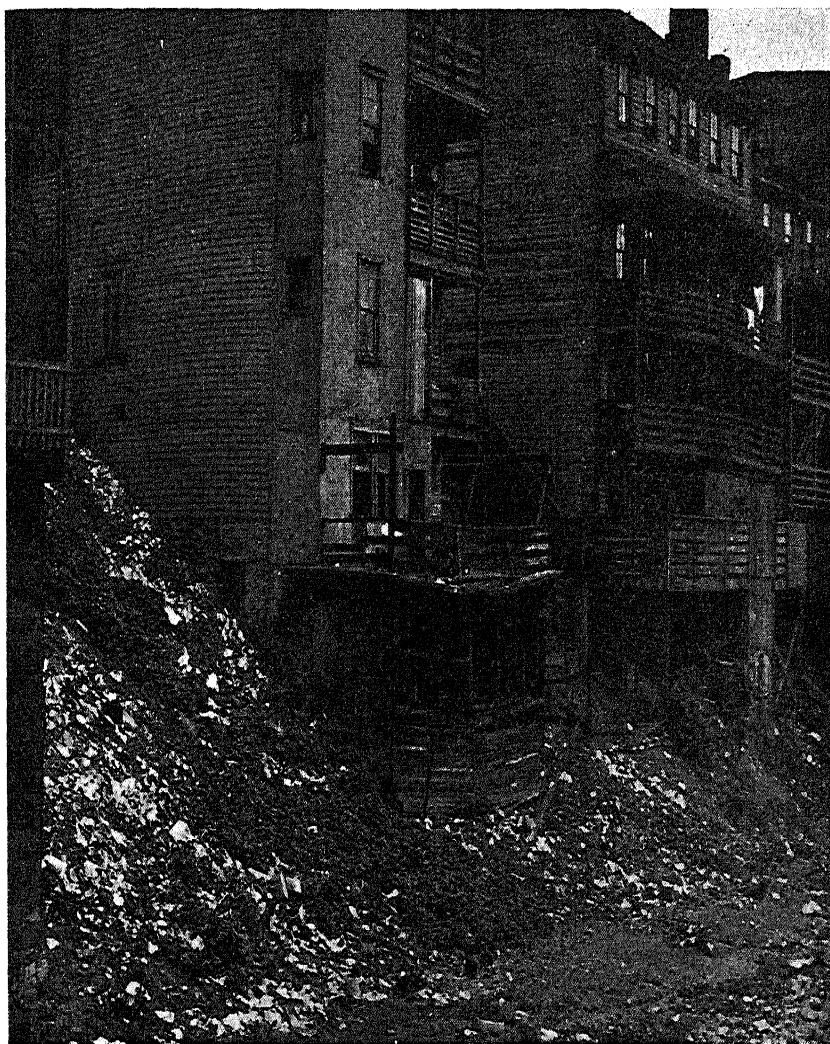
There was indeed an admixture of the prevalent moral emphasis and *noblesse oblige* in the prospectus, which, however, did not lessen its earnestness. Thus, there was reference to "these low-class foreigners," and a paragraph warned the public that such "conditions . . . make for moral and physical contagion, intemperance, pauperism, crime, anarchy, and the destruction of the home." The prospectus proposed:

. . . to buy, build, or remodel tenements in the worst localities, put them in sanitary condition, install tenants of moral character at the same rents paid before and have weekly visits of inspection made by women rent collectors. The Company will agree to manage, on these same lines, tenement houses for property holders on commission.³

¹ There is no comprehensive synthesis of the housing and related physical aspects of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County available to which the reader might be referred, even though invaluable material exists, the product of long labor, much ingenuity and technical competence, especially in the offices of the City Planning Commission of Pittsburgh and the City Planning Association, both reflecting the genius of Fred Bigger, and the findings and maps based on the Real Property Inventory and some special co-operative studies partly sponsored by the Pittsburgh Housing Association.

² "The Housing of Pittsburgh's Workers," by Emily W. Dinwiddie and F. Elisabeth Crowell, in *Civic Frontage*, "The Pittsburgh Survey," New York, 1914, p. 91.

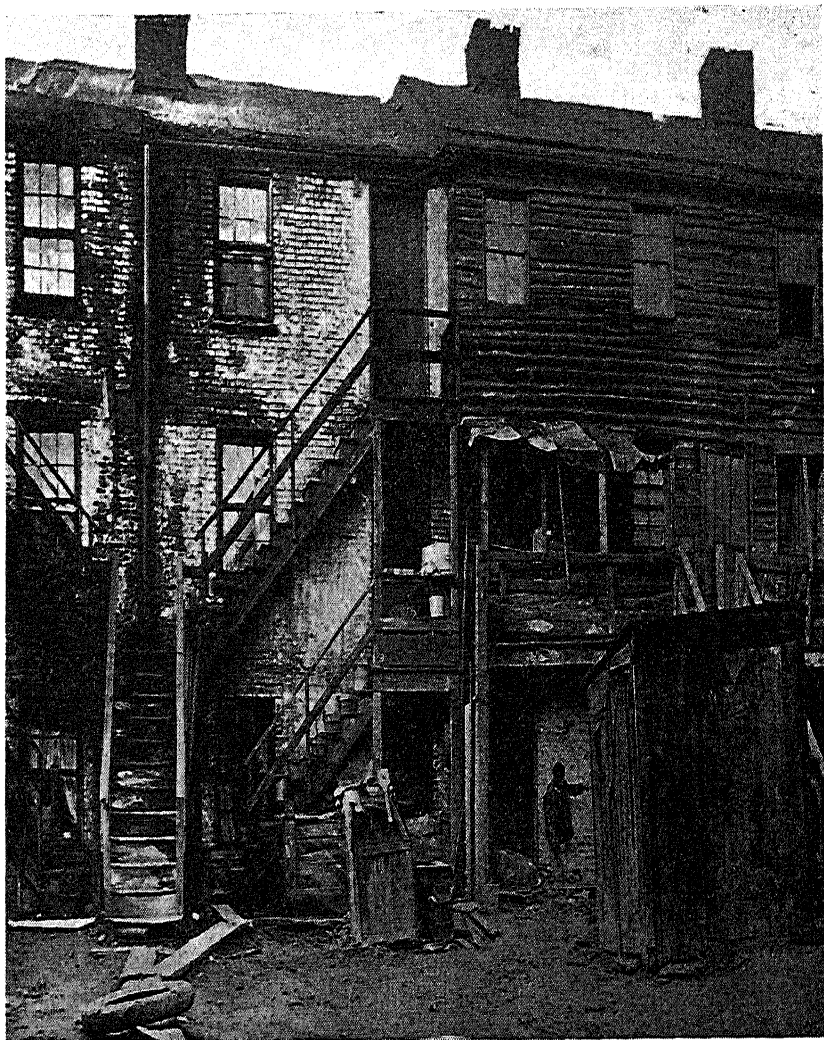
³ *Ibid.*



By courtesy of the Pittsburgh Housing Commission

PITTSBURGH TENEMENTS

In the center is a tenement occupied by four families, including twenty persons. Toilet and sink drainage empties into Sawmill Run, below; the Run is also used as a playground by neighborhood children.



By courtesy of the Pittsburgh Housing Commission

BEDFORD COURT, PITTSBURGH

This tenement was occupied by ten families, and the only water supply was from the yard hydrant. It was demolished in 1934, and the lot is now used for the parking of automobiles.

Whatever may have been the effects of this proposal, the Pittsburgh Survey had this to say in summarizing the situation in 1907-8, in connection with its report of existing conditions:

Today we have in Greater Pittsburgh, with its population of nearly 600,000, housing conditions which are inimical to public health and to private decency. It requires no skilled detective to ferret out these places, nor are they confined to the so-called "slums." They can be seen within five minutes' walk of the heart of the business district. They are duplicated in the Penn Avenue District, down in Soho, on the South Side, and on the North Side. An equally bad condition obtains in the less thickly populated districts, where houses have been built along abandoned water courses, known as "runs."

Over the omnipresent vaults, privy sheds flout one's sense of decency. Eyrie rookeries perch on the hillsides, swarming with men, women, and children—entire families living in one room and accommodating "boarders" in a corner. Cellar rooms are the abiding places of other families. In many houses, water is a luxury to be obtained only through much effort of toiling steps and straining muscles. Courts and alleys, fouled by bad drainage, and piles of rubbish, are playgrounds for rickety, pale-faced, grimy children. An enveloping cloud of smoke and dust through which the light and air must filter makes housekeeping a travesty in many neighborhoods; and every phase of the situation is intensified by the evil of overcrowding—of houses upon lots, of families into houses, of people into rooms. Old one-family houses converted into multiple dwellings show that the Pittsburgh housing problem threatens to become a tenement house problem as well. To cope with these conditions is a bureau of health, hampered by an insufficient appropriation, an inadequate force of employees, and an uneducated and indifferent public opinion.⁴

Pittsburgh had enacted a housing law in 1903; following the Survey, a housing code was enacted in 1910, which is at this writing, with slight amendments, substantially the same as when originally enacted.⁵ It was not until 1928 that as a result of the combined efforts of civic and social agencies the Pittsburgh Housing Association came into existence.⁶ An interpretation of the situation as it existed in 1928 is illuminating. In its first annual report, the Housing Association sets forth some of the results of its early inspections:

Dirt, Disorder, Dilapidation.—These are seen in practically every neglected district and make a first and vivid impression. Even on the edges of parks, on the borders of our better residence areas, there are littered streets, wrecked houses standing vacant and open, overflowing garbage cans, and in summer "odors of the middle ages" that led a recent immigrant to say she didn't "like the smell of America."

Lack of Repair.—Neglect by the owner of his responsibility for the condition of his property is frequently the cause of unfit living conditions. For example, every water closet is defective in one five-family tenement house. The water has been shut off in a three-family tenement house for more than a year because of a broken

⁴ *Civic Frontage*, "The Pittsburgh Survey," New York, 1914, p. 88.

⁵ None of these measures have, of course, any application outside the city of Pittsburgh.

⁶ See *infra*, pp. 221 ff.

pipe. In still another house, where during the winter the public health nurses had four cases of tonsillitis, sewage repeatedly backed up into the cellar bathroom.

Nuisances.—One family was found living over a stable. Another family's kitchen gets its only light and air through a live poultry shop. A rear dwelling is reached via a narrow passage-way between two fowl shops, the slaughter pens opening directly on the passage; the porch, steps, walls covered with blood and feathers. A junk shop dealing in rags and mattresses adjoins two dwellings.

Outdoor Water Supply.—Hundreds of Pittsburgh homes have no bathroom, not even a kitchen sink; only a hydrant in the yard. Sometimes twelve to fifteen families get their total water supply from one such hydrant. If it should freeze in the winter, the result would be disastrous. So it is kept running constantly during freezing weather.

The law requires running water inside every house or apartment, but because of a precedent established some years ago by a past Director of Public Health, this law is not being enforced except in isolated instances, usually in better residence districts.

Room Overcrowding.—We have found some extreme cases of overcrowding, including a Russian family of eleven living in two rooms; a Negro family of ten in one room; a Ukrainian family of ten in one basement room; a Negro family of five in one small room without windows to the outside air.

One twelve room house was found to be the residence of six families, totalling forty-five persons. A girl explained that the young couples who had started the families had simply never moved as their numbers grew. The whole place was neat and tidy. Overcrowding, however, is usually accompanied by dirt and disorder.

Privy Vaults.—One still finds privy vaults, even along sewerred streets, in built-up sections. Some of them are in otherwise very good neighborhoods. One vault in Hazelwood blocked the sidewalk on a sewerred street. Charles Parkinson, Superintendent of the Bureau of Sanitation, estimates that "there are now (January, 1930) less than one thousand" illegal vaults in the city. In 1911, there were approximately fifteen thousand.

Hillside Difficulties.—These hillsides, which in perspective are so picturesque, offer at close range almost insurmountable difficulties to house builders. Yet to an astonishing extent have they been utilized as dwelling sites.

Some of the houses are built in a cut against the hill. During rains, water and dirt wash down the hillsides, rapidly filling the gully-like back yards; wet cellars result. Some houses seem to hang to the very edge of a cliff, in constant peril of slipping down the hill. One house on the side of Mt. Washington collapsed recently because of a landslide following a heavy rain. A neighboring house has been saved, temporarily at least, by jacking up the corner where the foundation walls had given away.

It is not uncommon to see a house sprawled over a hillside like some strange animal clinging there. From the top floor of such a house, the front window may look down four stories to the street below, while the back window opens onto the ground.

Sometimes houses have been built on both sides of a hillside street. Those on the upper side have toilet fixtures connected with the street sewer; those on the lower side, being below the street level and having no "sewer drop" use back yard privy vaults.

Not infrequently, of course, these dwellings are in locations too remote to justify

the expense of carrying sewer lines to them. There may not even be a graded street. Often the streets giving access to such dwellings are nothing but tier upon long tier of wooden steps. Other Pittsburgh streets are, like the equator, imaginary lines upon the earth's surface. There are streets existing in whole, or in part, only on paper; streets which in reality may stop abruptly at the edge of a cliff, invisibly span an intervening valley, and resume their way at the edge of the opposite cliff.⁷

A QUARTER CENTURY IN ONE NOTORIOUS SLUM AREA

The new organization undertook as its first and immediate task a program of inspection and of study of housing conditions in Pittsburgh. For the perspective of 1936 considerable interest attaches to some of the reports of the association which reflect the nature of progress in the quarter century since the Pittsburgh Survey. One of the notoriously bad spots was described in that report—the Lorimer Street (Skunk) Hollow; a check-up of this locality was made in 1931 and again in 1934. The original description, by Florence Larrabee Lattimore, was published in brief in 1909 and again after a revisit in 1914.⁸ We quote from the 1914 report:

No visitor can tell, without inquiry, whether the shacks on Ewing Street are for cows, horses, or human beings; it is said that the owners do not care so long as the rent is paid. The level of one side of Ewing Street and the characteristic drop of the other, have brought two typical forms of Pittsburgh architecture, described in the vernacular of a resident small boy, as "squatters" and "clingers." Whether it is the desirability of being in a "deadhead row" commanding a view of the valley, or the advantage of having a house which, while showing but one or two stories above the street, takes a private drop of one story in the rear and accommodates itself to the abrupt decline of the cliff, there is no doubt that the latter, the cliff-edged structures, are far more popular than their stunted neighbors across the way. . . . In such fantastic and general dilapidation are these rows of unpainted shelters that some of them are falling to the ground without the formality of condemnation proceedings. Most of them have running water in the kitchens; a very few have "sanitary" toilets and shout the fact on black and white rentals signs. Cellar rooms abound and are often used as sleeping rooms; in those houses built together into a block they are windowless. The outside privies are in the old boxed battery style, unflushed, and send their contamination down the grooves of the slope to Skunk Hollow.

The hollow, found by sewage through winding crevices in rubbish, and by goats and dogs over hills of tin cans and refuse, is reached by the people themselves down flights of decaying steps. In the street at the bottom, a wooden surface drain goes companionably along side by side with the footpath. Occasionally a trickling stream from the hill joins its contents, and the whole falls at last through a basket-drop into an open sewer. . . .

The vantage point for a view of Skunk Hollow seems to be on the back stoops of the clingers on the edge of the basin. Here one becomes aware that the Hollow is a

⁷ "Housing in Pittsburgh," First Annual Report of the Pittsburgh Housing Association, 1930.

⁸ In *Charities and the Commons*, February 6, 1909, and *Civic Frontage*, "The Pittsburgh Survey," p. 124, ff.

public dumping ground of ashes and tin cans. As wagons drive up and drop their contents, the air itself becomes full of refuse. Occasionally a thin stream of sewage from Ewing Street trickles by, making its way to the bottom of the valley.

The hollow seems to follow the bed of an old river; it winds away around a huge hill of gravel where two railroads lie. On a delta between the railroad tracks, the boys have improvised a playground. Farther along, there is a straggling bunch of houses. . . The rears of these houses present another solid line of reeking, broken-down toilets with box vaults, unflushed, on platforms built level with the rear floor of the houses.

In 1931, among the early undertakings of the Housing Association, we find a visit to the same locality, resulting in a report which says in part:

In the *Civic Frontage* volume of the Pittsburgh Survey, published in 1914, is an . . . article on Skunk Hollow telling a story of such civic neglect that the reader feels the facts must be exaggerated—that such conditions would not possibly be tolerated in a large city. This survey of Skunk Hollow was made in 1908.

In these last twenty-three years there have, of course, been changes. The street has been sewered and a few houses equipped with water closets; some of the old houses have been demolished. But still the area can be identified from its description of twenty-three years ago. The majority of the families here still use privy vaults; several are still without inside water supply; the people complain that the garbage and rubbish wagons never come around; houses are unrepaired and uncared for, with numerous legal violations.

The tenants here are all colored and rents are very low. One nine-room house rents for \$15 per month. One resident has gained distinction of owning his home and it is the best of the twelve houses still remaining in the area. Vegetation, with the exception of a few weeds, is entirely missing here. Indications that the Hollow has in past years been used as a dump are still in evidence.⁹

A review of Skunk Hollow, following the reports of a typhoid epidemic was again made by the Association on October 3, 1934:

Ten houses inspected. . . These houses represent 50 percent of all Lorigan Street houses listed by the Pittsburgh Housing Association. No abatements of housing violations, (some listed as early as 1931) were discovered.

Total number of typhoid cases[were] ten, located in five houses out of nineteen listed in the Pittsburgh Housing Association files. Only one typhoid placard was noted, and all of the patients are in hospitals; one child has died since being moved.

Conditions with respect to sanitary facilities are little changed from those noted at the time of the Pittsburgh Housing Association Hollows Study in 1931. Several privy vaults are still in use, and several are nailed shut. Some houses are still without inside water supply; most of the occupants complain that garbage and rubbish wagons never come around. Houses are unrepaired and are slowly falling apart. One house is now vacant and open and should be demolished as it is a menace to safety.¹⁰

A more elaborate visit about two weeks later covered thirty houses of the Hollow:

⁹ C. W. Snyder, "Housing in Pittsburgh's Hollows," September 1, 1931.

¹⁰ Robert C. Bowers, *Special Report on Lorigan Street*, to the Pittsburgh Housing Association, October 3, 1934.

These houses on Lorigan Street group themselves quite definitely into a valley and a hillside group. . . There are 16 houses in the lower group, 3 of which are tenant owned. Seven of these lower houses have been judged unfit for habitation by the Pittsburgh Housing Association and have been placarded as such by the Department of Public Health. This area has some of the worst housing conditions in the city. Although the street is sewerred, the non-tenant owned houses have unsewered privy vaults. Most of the water supply comes from outdoor hydrants. The houses are in a run-down and dilapidated condition. However, this does not apply to those houses whose owners are occupants.

Lorigan Street residents have neither garbage nor rubbish removal. Also the smoke stacks of an asphalt factory in the 4100 block emit a continuous sand-like dust which covers everything. A third nuisance is the reported inadequate sewerage system. All the tenants deplore the wood-lined street gutter and the inadequate storm sewer at the foot of the hill. The odor was very noticeable at the time of these inspections. The houses from 4502 to 4508 have water closets on the first subfloor (on the hillside below street level). Tenants complain about these toilets overflowing in times of heavy storms. They explain that the sewer is inadequate to carry away the waste from several streets higher up the hill (toward Liberty) in addition to their own street overflow and house waste. Several tenants mentioned that City inspectors had investigated several times but nothing had been done.¹¹

What is more discouraging about these reports? Is it the actual conditions found, or is it the indifference of the community to civic neglect even in conspicuous instances, where publicity and persistent attention by a local housing association concentrate and continue to expose such conditions? Is the situation likely to be different in the other sixteen hollows known to housing students? Is it likely to be different in the county, where even such advantages as may accrue from health departments and other municipal agencies are lacking? Are the living conditions of the poor likely to improve, when the mere structural aspects of housing are aggravated by crude anachronisms in public health administration and the absence of elementary equipment for water, sewage, light, heat, and sanitary services? And does the rate of improvement promise any substantial mitigation within a future near enough to possess some degree of reality?

The example represented by Skunk Hollow must be permitted to serve as an illustration of the character of bad housing in its more individualized aspect. There may be places in Pittsburgh and in the rest of the county that are worse; the majority are, of course, far better. A truly representative picture of the housing conditions in Allegheny County would require not only descriptions of the many types of dwellings, varieties of setting, location, access and other features of importance in housing, but also an accurate estimate of how extensively each type of dwelling condition is to be found among the population. What portion of the people live in this

¹¹ A. Hunter, "Hillside Study of Lorigan Street," for the Pittsburgh Housing Association, October 16, 1934.

or that type; how serious are the shortcomings represented by the various types of unsatisfactory housing; what elements in the situation render it particularly undesirable: structural unfitness, poor sanitation, lack of amenities like hot water and flush toilets, fire hazards, industrial fumes, unpaved streets? Should the approach to analysis and remedy be in terms of streets, blocks, houses, or of details like running water, bathrooms, sewer connections, and fire safety? As already indicated, no material exists for such a comprehensive statement, and there is some doubt as to whether a way could be found to present a synthesis of all these factors, except in a far too-compendious form.

It is possible, however, to obtain a panoramic sense of the housing situation by segregating certain important elements, such as sewer connections, toilet facilities, water supply, structural condition, and by observing the standards obtaining with respect to these items. For some of these features of housing comprehensive data of outstanding importance have become available through the real property inventory, conducted by the Bureau of Business Research of the University of Pittsburgh,¹² and associated studies correlated with that enterprise. Only the most important and significant of these findings are presented here, in epitome:¹³

HOUSING IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY IN 1935 AS SHOWN BY THE REAL PROPERTY INVENTORY

With reference to the physical aspects of housing, the data collected in the study emphasized the following points: (1) structural fitness; (2) heating facilities; (3) bathing facilities; (4) toilet facilities; (5) occupancy and crowding. These were related to ownership and tenancy and rentals and

¹² The survey, financed mainly with Federal work-relief funds, and sponsored by the state relief administration (Social Surveys Section, first of the Pennsylvania Civil Works Administration, later of the State Emergency Relief Board), was directed by the Bureau of Business Research, of the University of Pittsburgh. Theodore A. Veenstra, statistician, and E. N. Montague, industrial engineer, were assigned by the bureau to organize and direct the field work (their salaries being paid wholly by the university). Afterward Mr. Veenstra was in charge of editing, coding, and tabulating until the end of July, when he was given leave from the bureau to work with the Division of Research and Statistics of the State Emergency Relief Board. During the absence of Mr. Veenstra, the project was in charge of J. P. Watson, assistant director of the Bureau of Business Research. Referred to as a Real Property Inventory, the survey covered almost exclusively residential quarters. Similar surveys were conducted in 64 other cities under the supervision of the U. S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. In addition New York and Philadelphia were surveyed under local supervision. All these surveys were financed largely from Federal work-relief funds.—*Pittsburgh Business Review*, December, 1934. Numerous similar surveys were made under the work-relief program after this statement was written.

¹³ The following passages, except as otherwise indicated and except for minor editorial changes, are quoted from "Condition of Dwelling Houses in Allegheny Co.," by J. P. Watson, in *Pittsburgh Business Review*, April, 1935, and "Housing in Allegheny County; a Summary," by J. P. Watson, in *Pittsburgh Business Review*, December, 1934.

were ascertained separately for communities and other geographical divisions. The conditions of the inventory precluded absolute accuracy of the type that would satisfy the ultimate scientific requirements of the research student, but the margin of error leaves a substantial basic truth of enormous importance. The principal disturbing condition of the inquiry was probably the need for haste.

In the first place, real estate is one of the bedrocks of our financial structure; and the collapse of real-estate values was one of the major factors jeopardizing the financial structure and leading to the creation of agencies to provide emergency financial relief. As these agencies, beginning with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, poured out Federal funds, it soon became obvious that without more adequate knowledge of real estate much of their lending was in the dark. In the second place, building of all kinds is so important an element in our normal economic activity that both relief-work measures and broader recovery measures gave prominent place to the problem of stimulating building. With respect to these programs, it was of fundamental importance to know, among other things, what our residential building needs were. Hence the importance of getting at least a rough picture of the condition of dwellings. Therefore, when the C.W.A. plan of providing prompt work relief was developed, the need of information on real estate led to numerous real-estate surveys.

In view of the wide room for difference of opinion on the condition of property, even among the experienced, it may be thought that such data gathered by the inexperienced enumerators of the Allegheny County Real Property Inventory would be of doubtful significance. It is readily granted that errors were made; but the data on condition of dwelling houses in Allegheny County smack strongly of general reasonableness.

Dwellings were classified in four groups according to condition. The following definitions are those on the basis of which enumerators were instructed regarding the classification of conditions:

Good condition.—In no apparent need of even minor repairs or renovations.

Minor repairs needed.—In need of such things as the provision of new paper or paint, the replacement of occasional broken panes, locks, latches, or hinges, the nailing down of a few loose boards or shingles, or the replacement of a bad grate in the furnace; but not in need of major structural repairs.

Structural repairs needed.—In need of repairs or reconstruction related to fundamental structural failing, such as lifting a settled section, strengthening the foundation, and mending the cracked wall.

Unfit for use.—In such bad condition as to afford little protection to an occupant against cold or rain and to constitute a menace to life and limb; and not believed to be worth the cost of rehabilitation.

Structures were classified according to these definitions. In a multiple-family structure the several dwelling units were classified according to the

condition of the structure. Since volume of housing or number of households involved is more significant than number of houses, more attention was given to family units than to structures. And since so much current emphasis is on housing need as a measure of either the possibilities in special low-cost housing projects or the possibilities in general private residential building, more consideration is given here to bad-order housing than to housing in good condition. The term "bad-order" will be used to include houses reported as needing structural repairs and houses classed as unfit for use. The term "fair-to-good" will be used to designate a combination of houses reported to be without need of any repairs and those needing only minor repairs.

Enumerators reported 228,076 residential structures that range in character from mansions to shacks. There were 1,975 structures grouped as hotels, clubs, and rooming houses, that is, not in the ordinary category of family quarters; the other 226,101 were counted as family-type structures. Unless other meaning is specified "structures" and "residential structures" in the following paragraphs mean residential structures exclusive of hotels, clubs, and rooming houses. The 226,101 structures contained 310,133 family-dwelling units.

Approximately three-fourths of the family-type structures are one-family structures. Only about 55 percent of the dwelling units, however, are in single-family houses.¹⁴ Obviously, to discuss housing in terms of a house to a family merely represents imagination without factual mooring. In Allegheny County two-family structures constitute 12.1 percent of structures and contain 17.6 percent of dwelling units; 1.8 percent of structures are of the three-family or four-family type, and 4.3 percent of units are in these types of building; apartments, nine-tenths of 1 percent of structures, contain 6 percent of the family units; row houses (a continuous attached row being counted as one structure), 1.8 percent of structures, include 6.8 percent of the units.

At the time of the enumeration (early spring of 1934), 288,595 family units, or 93.1 percent were occupied, and 21,538, or 6.9 percent, were vacant. Among the occupied units 36,691, one-eighth, housed at least one extra family each, the total number of extra families being 41,742, a number which does not represent a complete count of extra families, for enumerators were instructed to include as "extra" only those families

¹⁴ Among other large areas for which similar data are available, the metropolitan districts of Cleveland, Indianapolis, and Minneapolis may be taken for comparison. Summaries for New York and Philadelphia had not been released when the study cited was published. In the Cleveland district, single-family structures constituted 66 percent of the structures, but only 42 percent of the family units. For Indianapolis the comparable percentages are 80 and 60; for Minneapolis the percentages are 77 and 53.

that expressed their intention to take separate quarters whenever economic conditions might permit.

No doubt many of the units housing extra families are large enough to prevent actual crowding. But on the other hand it is clear that a large number of units not housing extra families may properly be classed as crowded. An average of one person or more per room was reported for 78,922 units in the count. In this computation all rooms were counted except bathrooms, toilets, and such incidental spaces as halls, closets, and pantries. On the same basis of computation 8,471 family units housed an average of two persons or more per room. These averages may be visualized more easily if translated into familiar terms. A typical five-room house or apartment contains a living room, a dining room, a kitchen, and two bedrooms. Such an apartment housing five people would average one person per room; an average of two persons per room would mean ten people in such space. It is true that beds of the folding couch type or of the "in-a-door" or "roll-away" type make it possible for some families to use small quarters without too great discomfort, even though they might be able to pay for more space. Likewise it is true that numerous families, no matter what their crowding, cannot pay for more space. Nevertheless, crowding is obviously prevalent. Crowding is true of other metropolitan districts, of course. The United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce has released reports on sixty-four other cities, including many small ones and several large ones; and crowding varies but is unmistakably a widespread characteristic of urban America, not merely of Allegheny County. But prevalence of a disease is no justification for ignoring it or for denying its existence.

Tenant-occupants were reported in 153,567 family units, or more than half those occupied; owner-occupants, in 134,885, or 46.8 percent of the occupied units. Nearly 55 percent of the owner-occupants reported that their houses were mortgaged to some extent. Information is not available on the proportion of rental properties encumbered, though it is well recognized that much rental property is mortgaged. From substantial sample data, the analysis of which is incomplete, extensive arrearage is evident in both rentals and mortgage payments. In view of the financial stresses involving owner-occupants, owners of rental property, and holders of claims based on real estate, the pressure on the Government for aid in the field of real estate finance can be readily understood; but the question of who really owns the property is highly debatable. Certainly many of those calling themselves owners are merely harboring a delusion.

Of all residential structures, 6,583, almost 3 percent, were reported unfit for use; 30,406, more than 13 percent, needed structural repairs; and 94,194, in excess of 41 percent, showed need of minor repairs.

As may be seen from Table 15, below, this means that there were 8,341 households in Allegheny County (containing by a conservative estimate more than 33,000 persons) who lived in dwellings unfit for use, with "little protection . . . against cold or rain, a menace to life and limb, and not believed to be worth the cost of rehabilitation." Another 40,000 families (with more than 160,000 persons) lived in places reported to be in need of structural repairs.

TABLE 15

FAMILY DWELLING UNITS IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY, OWNER-OCCUPIED, TENANT-OCCUPIED, AND VACANT, BY CONDITION OF STRUCTURE

	TOTAL	OWNER- OCCUPIED	TENANT- OCCUPIED	VACANT
CONDITION OF STRUCTURE ^a	<i>Number of family dwelling units</i>			
Good condition	125,971	67,489	53,174	5,308
Minor repairs needed	128,295	54,685	64,478	9,132
Structural repairs needed	45,259	11,259	28,778	5,222
Unfit for use	10,169	1,355	6,986	1,828
Total classified ^b	309,694	134,788	153,416	21,490
	<i>Percent distribution of condition group, by occupancy</i>			
Good condition	100.0	53.6	42.2	4.2
Minor repairs needed	100.0	42.6	50.3	7.1
Structural repairs needed	100.0	24.9	63.6	11.5
Unfit for use	100.0	13.3	68.7	18.0
Total classified	100.0	43.5	49.6	6.9
	<i>Percent distribution of occupancy group, by condition</i>			
Good condition	40.7	50.1	34.7	24.7
Minor repairs needed	41.4	40.6	42.0	42.5
Structural repairs needed	14.6	8.3	18.8	24.3
Unfit for use	3.3	1.0	4.5	8.5
Total classified	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

^a The structure, not the family unit, was classified by condition. This classification, therefore, is not condition of family units, necessarily, but condition of structure, containing the units.

^b 441 units not subject to this classification, because of the lack of data.

In short, there is a housing problem in this county, whatever the prospect of solution. Any housing program is abortive, however, as Table 15 indicates, if it be based on appeal to the resident-owner to tidy up his bungalow and does not embrace a cogent plan with respect to tenant housing.

Mere structure, of course, is not housing. Facilities and equipment are essential parts of the picture. The absence of any indoor water toilet was

reported for 48,313 family units in the area canvassed; for 14,063 additional units only partial use was reported, that is, one toilet for two or more houses, flats, or apartments. In 82,511 dwellings there was reported to be no bath tub or shower; and 13,173 other dwellings had shared use of bath facilities (see Table 16, below). Complete lack of running water was recorded for more than 16,000 dwelling units, and nearly 72,000 had only cold running water. Lack of such important facilities was relatively greater outside Pittsburgh than within the city; but the data reveal 18,523 units without toilet, 9,508 units sharing use of toilet, 36,863 without bath tub or shower, and 8,717 units with shared use of bathing facilities, even within the city limits of Pittsburgh.

TABLE 16
BATHING AND TOILET FACILITIES

EXTENT OF USE	FAMILY UNITS WITH			
	BATH TUB AND/OR SHOWER		INDOOR WATER CLOSET	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent of total reporting</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent of total reporting</i>
Private use ^a	213,894	69.1	247,288	79.9
Shared use ^b	13,173	4.3	14,063	4.5
None	82,511	26.6	48,313	15.6
Total reported	309,578	100.0	309,664	100.0
Not reported	555	...	469	...
Total units	310,133	...	310,133	...

^a One or more within the family unit for exclusive use.

^b For use of occupants in units for two families or more.

Since there has been relatively little building during the depression and since it is unusual to rip out essential facilities once they are installed, it may be said confidently that the widespread lack of desirable modern facilities in dwelling quarters in Allegheny County (as in other districts) reflects not merely depression conditions but prosperity conditions. By and large those facilities were lacking in the prosperous twenties, as well as in the depressed thirties. Data from other cities in which a survey of residential quarters has been made show in varying degree a similar lack of facilities. In short, there are extensive areas in which the reputedly high American standard of living does not prevail.

From the many illuminating correlations of the data of the inventory, two at least are of egregious significance: the relation between rentals and the structural conditions found and the distribution of the different grades of housing throughout the county. The former is concisely shown by Table 17 (p. 202) and Figure 14 (p. 202).

TABLE 17

CONDITION OF RENTAL DWELLING UNITS BY RENT GROUP, IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY

PERCENT OF ALL STRUCTURES IN EACH RENTAL GROUP WHICH WERE

MONTHLY RENT	<i>In good condition</i>	<i>In need of minor repairs</i>	<i>In need of structural repairs</i>	<i>Unfit for use</i>	<i>Total^b</i>
All rents	33.4	42.1	19.5	5.0	100.0
Less than \$10 ^a	8.2	32.2	39.3	20.3	100.0
\$10-\$14	12.6	40.6	35.3	11.5	100.0
\$15-\$19	18.1	47.2	28.3	6.4	100.0
\$20-\$24	24.6	51.3	20.7	3.4	100.0
\$25-\$29	33.5	50.8	13.9	1.8	100.0
\$30-\$39	46.9	43.5	8.6	1.0	100.0
\$40-\$49	61.3	33.3	4.9	0.5	100.0
\$50 or more	75.9	20.9	2.9	0.3	100.0

^a Probably small nominal rents affect the lower rent groups somewhat, especially this lowest group.

^b Percentage based on total exclusive of those for which condition was not reported. Only 199 units were thus excluded.

The geographical distribution of poor housing over the county is shown in the chart based on percentages of structures in bad order, which gives a rough idea of the sore spots of housing (see Figure 15, p. 203) and shows

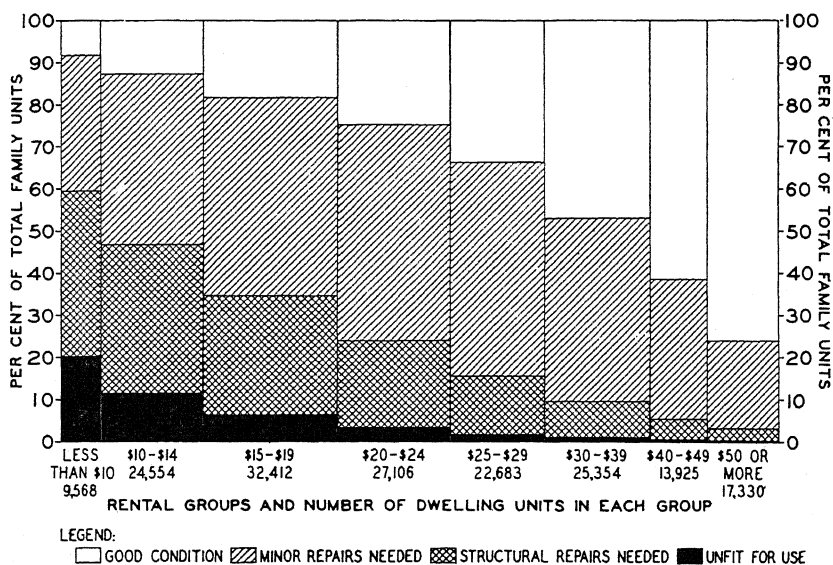


FIGURE 14

CONDITION OF RENTAL DWELLING UNITS BY MONTHLY
RENT, ALLEGHENY COUNTY

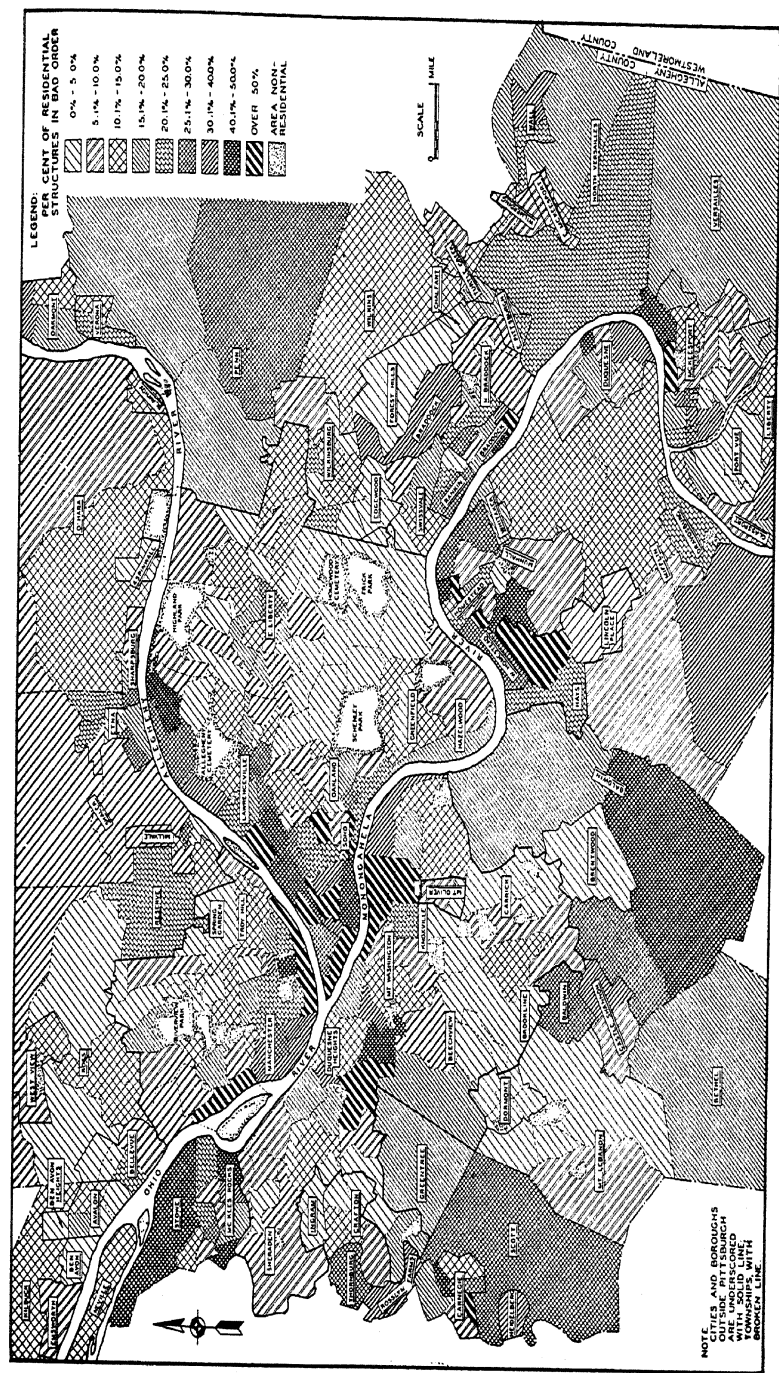


FIGURE 15
PERCENT OF RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURES IN BAD ORDER IN THE VARIOUS SECTIONS OF
PITTSBURGH AND THE SURROUNDING URBAN AREA

that this phenomenon is far more extensive than the usual conception of "the slums" would seem to imply.

In constructing the chart of geographic distribution the percentage of structures in bad order in each census tract was computed, but adjoining census tracts showing the same percentages were shaded together without regard to the dividing line. The darker shades represent higher percentages of bad-order housing; the lower the proportion of bad-order housing, the lighter the shading.

Sometimes discussions of housing conditions imply that cities build outward on the fringes—the center being the oldest section, the successive newer rings being in better and better condition, the outer suburban ring, the newest and the best. So far as Pittsburgh is concerned, such a picture would be a mere fairy tale. It is true that in the old parts of the city, near the junction of the rivers, the percentage of bad-order housing is high. Clearly most of the residential structures there are old, many very old, and very little residential building has gone on there for a long time. But outside that area there is no simple pattern. The river courses and the ridges and ravines make a simple pattern of growth impossible. These influences alone are enough to account for much of the spottiness with respect to condition, since they caused irregularities in the areas of growth. . .¹⁵

There are several additional ways in which the quality of housing conditions may be interpreted and its significance to the dweller suggested. The following would seem to be of particular interest and cogency:

- a. Nature of heating facilities as a barometer of housing conditions—data for Allegheny County based on Real Property Inventory
- b. A comparison of typically good with typically bad housing with respect to certain fundamental items—data for Pittsburgh based on Real Property Inventory
- c. Some information on the character of typical slum districts derived from a special study of the Housing Association
- d. Certain "revelations" brought about by the effects of the flood of 1936

The information on heating facilities was made public by the Bureau of Business Research on December 1, 1934.¹⁶ Out of a total of 311,374 dwelling units within Allegheny County for which heating facilities were reported in the Real Property Inventory, 137,331, representing 44.1 percent have no furnace heat. Of this number, 808 dwellings reported no heating facilities of any kind. At about the same time the United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce conducted a similar survey in sixty-four urban centers throughout the country. Among the largest of these centers are Cleveland, Indianapolis, Minneapolis, and Wheeling.

¹⁵ Cf. *infra*, pp. 215 ff. Quotation from J. P. Watson, *Pittsburgh Business Review*, ends here. Use of his material is resumed later in this chapter.

¹⁶ Release for Sunday papers, December 1, 1934, "Heating Facilities and Fuel Used in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania."

The housing survey for these covered the cities and their environs. These four centers afford an interesting comparison with Allegheny County. Cleveland, Indianapolis, and Minneapolis all rank higher with respect to heating facilities than does Allegheny County, and Wheeling ranks considerably lower. The respective ratios of furnace equipment with relation to the total number of dwellings reported for each are:

PLACE	PERCENT
Minneapolis	76.6
Cleveland	74.6
Indianapolis	61.4
Allegheny County	55.9
Wheeling	34.7

With respect to heating facilities Pittsburgh proper scores lower than does the county as a whole. While county totals include data for poor industrial communities and semi-rural sections, where furnace equipment is generally scarce, they also include Pittsburgh's many suburban residential sections where a large proportion of the homes have many modern facilities. Suburbs like Mt. Lebanon, Wilkinsburg, Edgewood, and others, tend to bring up the county's average. In the city of Pittsburgh more than 77,000 dwellings, representing 50.2 percent of its total, have no furnace-type heat, and 304 dwellings were reported to have no heating facilities of any kind.

Another view of what poor housing may mean is shown by the contrasting distribution of certain elementary housing amenities between typically good (though not luxurious) and typically bad sections of the community. This contrast was set forth by the Bureau of Business Research on the basis of the Inventory data¹⁷ and may be seen in Tables 18 (p. 206) and 19 (p. 207).

Compared to the total distribution for Pittsburgh as a whole these contrasts become still clearer in the following summary:

	DARK SPOTS	BRIGHT SPOTS	CITY OF PITTSBURGH
Total number of dwellings	34,062	27,678	153,810
Percent of total with			
No hot water	49.1	3.2	25.8
No running water	1.7	0.3	1.0
No indoor water closet	24.8	1.6	12.1
No bath tub or shower	24.1	2.9	24.0
No gas or electricity for lighting	8.8	0.5	3.6
No furnace-type heating	84.3	12.9	50.2

¹⁷ "Housing Statistics for the City of Pittsburgh," released for the newspapers by the Bureau of Business Research, October 26, 1934.

TABLE 18

SELECTED HOUSING DATA ON SOME OF PITTSBURGH'S DARK SPOTS
Percentages relate to total dwelling units in the respective areas.

LOCALITY	TOTAL NUMBER OF DWELLINGS	PERCENT OF DWELLINGS IN EACH LOCALITY WITH						
		No hot water	No running water	No indoor water closet	No bath tub or shower	No gas or electricity for lighting	No furnace- type heating ^a	
Downtown section (Wards 1 and 2)	2,759	48.9	4.9	33.8	49.9	11.4	92.4	
Soho (Part of Ward 4)	1,258	56.7	0.3	22.9	48.6	22.5	83.7	
Hill District (Wards 3 and 5)	12,341	32.7	2.2	12.7	27.5	13.1	82.6	
Butler Street Section (Along the Allegheny 33d to 57th Streets Part of Wards 6, 9, 10)	4,815	63.8	0.5	27.7	59.5	4.3	87.1	
South Side (Part of Wards 16 and 17)	5,497	73.3	0.9	52.8	67.1	5.6	92.5	
Woods Run (Part of Ward 27)	597	74.9	1.2	50.6	74.0	8.5	90.0	
Manchester (Ward 21)	4,923	39.4	1.4	16.3	38.8	4.0	74.5	
Troy Hill (Part of Ward 24)	1,872	60.9	0.1	18.1	56.8	2.0	76.8	
Average	...	49.1	1.7	24.8	45.1	8.8	84.3	

^a "Furnace-type" here means hot-air furnace of hot water, steam, or vapor system.

TABLE 19
SELECTED HOUSING DATA ON SOME OF PITTSBURGH'S BRIGHT SPOTS
Percentages relate to total dwelling units in the respective areas.

LOCALITY	TOTAL NUMBER OF DWELLINGS	PERCENT OF DWELLINGS IN EACH LOCALITY WITH						
		<i>No</i> <i>hot</i> <i>water</i>	<i>No</i> <i>running</i> <i>water</i>	<i>No</i> <i>indoor</i> <i>water</i> <i>closet</i>	<i>No</i> <i>bath tub</i> <i>or</i> <i>shower</i>	<i>No</i> <i>gas or</i> <i>electricity</i> <i>for lighting</i>	<i>No</i> <i>furnace-</i> <i>type</i> <i>heating</i> ^a	
Bellefield (Part of Ward 4)	1,772	1.4	0.9	0.8	1.0	0.2	8.5	
Shadyside (Ward 7)	4,453	2.0	...	0.4	2.2	0.2	15.1	
Squirrel Hill and Point Breeze (Ward 14)	10,358	1.3	0.1	1.8	1.4	0.3	4.6	
Highland District (Ward 11)	5,588	5.4	0.1	1.1	4.6	0.8	22.8	
Beechview (Part of Ward 19)	2,488	3.3	0.3	2.3	3.3	0.6	16.2	
Riverview Park District (Part of Ward 27)	3,019	8.2	0.8	3.6	7.1	1.3	19.5	
Average	...	3.2	0.3	1.6	2.9	0.5	12.9	

^a "Furnace-type" here means hot-air furnace or hot water, steam, or vapor system.

OTHER DESCRIPTIVE AND STATISTICAL DATA ON CURRENT HOUSING SITUATION

We have still another view of how a very large portion of the citizens of Allegheny County live from information on some of Pittsburgh's slum districts compiled by the Pittsburgh Housing Association as recently as December, 1935, and based on a study covering 747 buildings and 1,095 separate dwelling units in the city. The study was undertaken primarily as a rent survey of dwelling units located "in the most deteriorated and neglected districts of the city. The wards which comprise the study are 3, 4, 5, 6, 17, 21, 22, 23, 27, and nineteen other wards in which there were too few cases to summarize the information by wards."¹⁸ Some of the more obvious facts amenable to statistical presentation appear in Table 21 (pp. 234-35).

Perhaps the dependence on privy vaults of fifty families out of more than 1,000 may not be so serious in the long view, even though it is probable that in these very cases other conditions are also on the lowest level. The statistics do not tell whether the sixty-two families without inside water supply include the major portion of those with privy vaults, nor whether the eighty-eight families in the unfit dwellings include this group or mostly an additional contingent. It is significant, however, that 54 percent of the families share the toilets with others (as compared with 4.5 percent in Allegheny County as a whole),¹⁹ and that 389 of the water closets are in the yard (38 percent, as compared with 15.6 percent in Allegheny County),²⁰ while 189 others (14 percent) have these amenities in the cellar. Nor is it clear whether "equipped with hot water" means any more than the existence of piping.

It is more difficult to compare the data on conditions of buildings with the general average, because the standards and definitions used in this study²¹ differed from those in the Real Property Inventory. However, the

¹⁸ E. Reithmiller, "Rent Survey of Slum Districts of Pittsburgh," January 1–December 31, 1935, MS report for the Pittsburgh Housing Association.

¹⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 201.

²⁰ Cf. *supra*, p. 201.

²¹ The definitions of these terms as given in "Rent Survey of Slum Districts of Pittsburgh, January 1–December 31, 1935," MS report by E. Reithmiller for the Pittsburgh Housing Association, are as follows:

"Apartments in Compliance with the Law" means that these apartments have no sanitary or structural violation of the law. They meet the minimum standards required by law. However, we would not recommend them as examples of good low cost housing. Only 107 of the 1,095 dwellings studied are in this group.

"Less Urgent Violations" includes dwellings with minor violations such as insufficient water closets for 1 or 2 families; no water supply in house—hydrant in yard; defective rain leader, no yard drainage; no fire escape for multi-family house; broken plaster and garbage and rubbish accumulations. 556 dwelling units are in this classification.

"Urgent Violations"—apartments in this classification have serious violations of the

classification of 432 dwellings out of 1,095—practically two-fifths—as either representing “urgent violations” or suggesting demolition—is bad whether one regards the conditions as exceptional or as typical of the laboring community’s surroundings.

A final perspective on Allegheny County housing is afforded by some of the data on the effects of the abnormal flood conditions of March, 1936, as summarized by the Bureau of Business Research. It is shown, for example, that owner-occupied homes—representing the relatively-better economic stratum—were represented by 20.1 percent among the inundated dwellings, only about half the ratio in the total of Pittsburgh homes (39.6 percent). In the area outside Pittsburgh these figures were 28.8 percent and 47.3 percent, respectively. Further comparisons, as contained in the following tabulation, are significant:

TABLE 20

HOUSING CONDITIONS IN FLOOD AREA COMPARED WITH ENTIRE AREA, PITTSBURGH AND COUNTY OUTSIDE^a

	PITTSBURGH		COUNTY OUTSIDE PITTSBURGH ^b	
	<i>Entire city</i>	<i>Flooded area</i>	<i>Entire county</i>	<i>Flooded area</i>
All homes				
Percent owner-occupied	39.6	20.1	47.3	28.8
Percent without indoor water closet	12.1	40.7	19.1	20.5
Percent needing major repairs	14.5	31.4	14.7	25.3
Percent unfit for use	3.8	22.2	2.8	5.2
Rented homes				
Percent renting for less than \$15	13.7	24.8	26.0	36.9
Percent renting for less than \$20	31.7	54.4	45.1	63.9
Percent renting for \$50 or more	12.8	1.5	6.6	0.9

^a “Housing Statistics for the Flooded Areas in Allegheny County,” *Pittsburgh Business Review*, May, 1936, p. 17.

^b Urban areas only.

law, such as water shut off, no water supply, defective water closet, no toilet facility, leaking roof, no sink, broken steps, bulged walls, privy vault on sewer street, etc.; 344 are in this classification.

“Demolish or Make Fit”—dwellings in this classification have dangerous walls, steps, porches, and very insanitary conditions such as water closets defective and full. In other words, dwellings in this classification are in such a dangerous and insanitary condition that they should not be occupied without repairs being made. In this group there are 53 dwellings for which the landlord is asking and receiving rent.

“Demolish or Make Safe”—dwellings in this classification are in such an insanitary and dangerous condition that they are a menace to the lives of the occupants. They are in such a condition that they are totally beyond repair. They should be vacated and demolished. Thirty-five are in this classification, and the landlords are asking rent for such hovels.

PUBLIC SANITATION AND HOUSING

If the primary considerations with respect to living conditions are those dealing with the elementary items of shelter, structural security, access to air and water, and the decent disposition of excreta, it follows that public regulation of water and sewage and the simpler phases of the control of communicable diseases must be classed among the first conditions of urban housing. That part of public health administration, therefore, which pertains to these fundamental functions is an inseparable part of the physical background of urban habitation.

Tremendous progress has been made in the assurance of public health and sanitation for the inhabitants of Pittsburgh during the past decade. Some progress may be seen also in the rest of Allegheny County. But the rate of improvement in the two districts has been far from even, and the conditions that must still of necessity be accepted by the resident of the latter community in a considerable part of its area are still often primitive, indecent, and even dangerous. Within the city of Pittsburgh itself there are, as we have seen, remnants of what we like to think of as a bygone age: the hydrant in the yard, toilets shared by groups of families, privy vaults and open sewage in the midst of crowded city dwellings. But there is at least the possibility of remedy through existing public administrative bodies, even if their attitudes are frequently lethargic and their activities as sporadic as the interest manifested by the citizens of the community. But in the county at large, outside its few cities and the sprinkling of wealthy communities, health is not safe, and communicable diseases are controlled by chance rather than by foresight.

Water supply, sewage, control of communicable diseases, and milk control are the most important elements in the prevention of the severest dangers to public health from endemic and epidemic diseases. The state makes elaborate legal provisions and sets up rigorous standards for these aspects of public health administration.²² How are these fundamental necessities looked after?

Prior to the opening of its filtration plant, in 1908, Pittsburgh proper had one of the most disgraceful histories for typhoid fever in the country.²³ Since this important step the standing of that city has improved throughout the years, until by 1933 it earned a rating of 79 percent by the standard appraisal of public health administration.²⁴ Its water supply is now safe and adequate, under competent supervision, and, except for inadequate

²² See chap. xix, *infra*.

²³ "Thirty-five Years of Typhoid," Frank E. Wing, *Civic Frontage*, "The Pittsburgh Survey," pp. 63 ff.

²⁴ M. H. Ewalt and I. V. Hiscock, *Appraisal of Public Health Activities in Pittsburgh, 1930 and 1933*, Social Research Monograph No. 2, Bureau of Social Research, Federation of Social Agencies. See also *infra*, chap. xix.

equipment in some of the poorest houses,²⁵ sewage is theoretically under control. But the data presented earlier and the fact that in 1933 the Pittsburgh Housing Association still had 1,015 privy vaults in Pittsburgh listed in its files, 534 of them located in sewered streets (in violation of the laws of the city), raises considerable doubt as to the earnestness with which the city regards this problem, when difficulties and expense would be involved in the remedy.²⁶ Nor does garbage removal seem to be dependable, if reports such as those quoted earlier from Skunk Hollow are credible. Milk control is vested in the Department of Health but does not reach modern standards and in combination with other food control earned only 71 percent on the health appraisal, 8 points below the general average for its total health administration. In the control of communicable diseases the city earned 87 out of a possible 100 points and advanced to this rating from 78, in 1930. Nevertheless, as we have seen, a concentrated occurrence of typhoid fever produced serious conditions in 1934 in a part of Pittsburgh where primitive conditions of sewage have continued year in and year out, despite publicity and inspection and study by private agencies.

It is, however, outside Pittsburgh and a few of the other larger communities that the resident is exposed to serious health hazards. Except for the very small amount of service available from the State Department of Health,²⁷ the nominal activities of the county health officer, and the activities of untrained and unsupervised local health officers, mostly lay persons, there is practically no assurance to the resident of the county as to water, sewage, control of epidemics, or milk control, no scrutiny of the structural safety of his dwelling, of the sanitary standards of plumbing, drainage, cesspool, or privy.

Among the most serious things that can happen to inhabitants of a city is the failure of its water supply. Drinking, cleanliness, cooking, sewage disposal—all depend on it. No single item of public sanitation has received more thought and attention. Yet it was found in the course of this study that sections of the county—some of considerable size—were deprived of their water supply without any community action by health authorities, municipal officials, or county government. The reasons for the water shut-off were entirely economic, inability of tenant to pay rent and of landlord to pay water charges. The situation was brought to the attention of local citizens by the staff of the study, and it was found that some social

²⁵ For further discussion of water shut-offs outside Pittsburgh, see *infra*, p. 795.

²⁶ The files of the Pittsburgh Housing Association contain reports on unsewered streets and privy vaults in greater detail than can be given here. A report dated May 1, 1931, refers to 20 areas, containing 267 houses, as unsewered. A check-up in November, 1933, shows only one of these streets having sewer construction under way, with the resulting probable elimination of some eleven houses from the above number.

²⁷ See *infra*, chap. xix.

agencies which might have been expected to know and publicize the facts were unaware of it, while others, less directly concerned, had sought remedies but did not succeed in applying them to any appreciable degree. Further inquiry disclosed that this difficulty had occurred before, had had the attention of the Pittsburgh Housing Association, but that there had not been enough public interest or support to secure remedy, despite the recognized hazards of congested urban living without water supply. In the light of the paramount importance of water for public health the experience and findings of the Pittsburgh Housing Association are of more than episodic interest.

Records of the Association contain documents dated February 1, 1932, February 12, 1932, July 18, 1932, and December 7, 1932. The first document records the appearance of a representative of the association before the Borough Council of Homestead (and the presence of some forty protesting citizens) with the proposal that the Borough pay for the water supply of its impoverished unemployed rather than countenance the continued health hazard of water shut-off. Council refused to accede.

The second document contains a brief survey of conditions in certain communities of the county. Homestead, for example, is reported as having forty families without water except that obtainable from fire hydrants in pails, and so forth. The Borough of Homestead obtains its water—as reported—by purchase from the Pittsburgh Water Board at rates of 14-17 cents per thousand gallons and sells it to the consumer at 42 cents per thousand gallons. Duquesne and McKeesport officials are quoted as opposed to shut-off. Nine families are found without water in Braddock. These three boroughs own their water works. Uncertain conditions are reported in a few other boroughs.

The July, 1932, report contains some descriptive details, as well as the record of more shut-offs and a number of “turn-ons”; The use of five-gallon receptacles for bringing water from fire hydrants and neighboring pumps, some free, others at a fee; complaints as to hardships, especially in connection with toilet facilities, and inconvenience to neighbors who were donating water to those deprived.

Finally, under date of December 7, 1932, John Ihlder, director of the Pittsburgh Housing Association, records the following:

An official statement to be issued, preferably by the local health department, that a supply of water from an approved source is essential to the public health and welfare.

On the basis of this statement of policy methods of supplying this water must be worked out.

METHODS

1. The municipality shall require the water department or company, public or private, to supply water to all families who are receiving relief (public) and

that the department or company may then bill the municipality for the actual net cost of this service.

This policy is based upon the fact that a public water department is run without profit, that a private water company is operated under regulation and supervision by public authorities with restriction as to rates and charges, etc. The public water department, if operated at a loss, means a burden upon the taxpayers. In the interest of clarity of thinking, this burden should be assumed frankly and at once, instead of being disguised as a deficit in a department's accounts. The private company being limited in its charges should in fairness not be compelled to go into bankruptcy. On the other hand, an adequate supply of water for domestic purposes is an essential in an urban community. Consequently the supply must be maintained. The proposal provides for its maintenance without loss to the supplier and at a minimum cost to the municipality.

2. Failing adoption of the proposal above, there may be a compromise, temporarily, and under constant observation and supervision, in the form of "use of fire hydrants." When water has been turned off in many houses in a neighborhood, the city department may turn on a fire hydrant during specified hours and permit the people of the neighborhood to secure water in pails. In such cases there should be:
 - (a) A city employee stationed at the hydrant who will make the following notes on each person who comes to secure water and each time that person comes.
 - (1) Sex
 - (2) Age
 - (3) Kind and size of container
 - (4) Address
 - (b) Periodically a representative of the municipality should visit every address to which water has been carried to observe the sanitary condition. The chief point to be covered is the adequacy of the supply in terms of
 - (1) Cleanliness of toilet
 - (2) Housekeeping, laundry and bathing
 - (3) Cooking and drinking.

That seems to be the end of this particular story. Later information from the Housing Association would indicate some follow-up, principally by way of pressure upon the relief authorities to include rent allowance in the relief budget.

The situation as we know it in Allegheny County may be summed up in three generalizations:

1. There is a high percentage of unfit dwellings in unfit and unsuitable areas, frequently presenting the economic paradox of "too expensive to retain and too expensive to remove."
2. There are inadequate facilities of a supplementary nature, parks, play grounds, recreational opportunities, advantages of zoning, parkways, and transportation.
3. There is an insufficiency of dwellings appropriate for the needs of the working population, conveniently situated, and providing a minimum of comfort, decency, and enjoyment for a reasonable portion of the wage earner's income.

The extent of unfit habitation has already been suggested; some idea of the limited availability of the other amenities, such as parks and play-

grounds, is indicated in Chapter XX. The actual insufficiency of available dwellings is considered by Dr. J. P. Watson in connection with his discussion of "crowding" in Pittsburgh.²⁸

Crowding, in spite of direct evils and related dangers, is widely prevalent in the metropolitan district centering in Pittsburgh. In setting up a working definition used in a recent extensive survey of urban housing, the United States Department of Commerce defined "crowding" to mean an average of more than one person per room (not only bedroom, but also living room, dining room, and kitchen being counted as rooms). Preliminary data from the Allegheny County Real Property Inventory showed that of approximately 289,000 occupied dwelling units enumerated early in 1934, 78,000 units—more than one-fourth—each housed an average of more than one person per room. About 8,500 of these housed each an average of more than two persons per room. Six people in a typical five-room apartment, where there are two bedrooms, illustrates the minimum number that would produce an average of more than one person per room. Eleven persons in such space illustrate the minimum number that would produce an average of more than two persons per room. About one-eighth of the dwellings occupied at the time of the survey, early in 1934, housed extra families—many of these dwellings, of course, being included among those "crowded" in terms of the number of persons. Most of the units housing extra families, but large enough to show a low average per room, are nevertheless exhibits of "family crowding." The recognized reduction of vacancy since the survey was made could have eliminated only part of the crowding; most of it remains.

If Pittsburgh were to set out to eliminate houses that are unfit for use and to unscramble the worst of the crowding, new family quarters equal to the whole number of new units built in the city since the War, about 27,000 family-dwelling units, would not be too large an estimate of the requirement. Allowance being made for the total crowding and for dwellings that, even though structurally sound enough for further use, are unsuitable for habitation because of the impossibility of providing them with enough air and light, the requirement would be higher. Elimination of fire traps not included in either of the groups already enumerated would raise it further.

There are certain questions that naturally arise from the contemplation of so many inadequacies in the provision of shelter and physical decencies; for example:

1. Does Allegheny County present any special difficulties that may explain or even justify so retarded a picture of living conditions?

²⁸ J. P. Watson, "Federal Aid in Housing," *Pittsburgh Business Review*, August 29, 1935, pp. 2-3.

2. What plans or programs would seem to promise a substantial alleviation of the most conspicuous and deplorable deficiencies of housing and sanitation?
3. What has been done or is being planned for the improvement of housing and associated living conditions in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County?

It is no longer possible to plead ignorance of disgraceful and dangerous living conditions in the industrial metropolis which is Allegheny County. Nor can refuge be taken behind the comforting thought that, while such conditions exist, they are the exception rather than the rule. There are scores of ingenious and suggestive maps portraying every conceivable aspect of housing and city planning available in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, but they are known only to a few interested officials and professional persons. The Real Property Inventory, added to other studies by the Bureau of Business Research, and the disclosures through surveys and inspections by the Pittsburgh Housing Association provide information that indicates that a very substantial portion of the residents of Allegheny County lives in cities that might date them decades or even a century back. While righteous indignation is not an efficient planner (especially when there is but little of it), neither do explanations and the recital of difficulties provide effective remedies. Obstacles must be understood and weighed, but for the purpose of estimating the effort required for their removal, not for obtaining comfort from inaction.

FUNDAMENTAL TECHNICAL-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF HOUSING IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY

All housing in this country has been subject to certain inherent and persistent difficulties which account for the wretched homes of our workers. Pittsburgh and Allegheny County suffer certain additional disadvantages which help to explain the shortcomings of its habitations, but should serve as a goad and incentive for the future, as it has served to provide explanations for the past.

To anyone not acquainted with the topography of Allegheny County at first hand the physical obstacles to orderly, economic, and sanitary housing can hardly have reality. Everything that has made this area ideal for the building up of our steel civilization is balanced by factors that make it unfit for urban living. River transportation and the narrow strips of flat riverside were in addition to coal and oil, nature's subsidy to the creation of a continuous plant of heavy industries with mill after mill along rivers and creeks. Only narrow slices of level land were left by foundry and furnace for the workers to live in, and these were or became unattractive, jammed, smoke-killed backyards of the factory. But people must live somewhere, and what was left consisted of a jumble of hills and ravines in unaccountable folds up to five hundred feet from top to bottom. Only the

most ingenious city planner and the most far-seeing civic pride, combined with the capacity to forego immediate profit and to build for the future, could have made this scenic marvel into a city of homes. None of these has been present in Pittsburgh until recent years. There are, therefore, many streets built where they are hardly negotiable, ordinary problems of sewage and water supply made tenfold more difficult and expensive, houses perched at drunken angles, and thousands of them approached by long flights of wooden steps winding their way along the shoulders and brows of hills. Road building becomes bridge building, and the communities are above and below, as well as by the side of, their neighbors. The basic difficulties of American housing as illustrated in this community have been summarized for the present study by one city planner who has spent many years of study and labor on the planning of Pittsburgh and the surrounding county:²⁹

To build a town or city, with its local communities variously related to each other, involves the laying out of streets and blocks for buildings, installation of sewers and sewerage systems, laying of water mains and branch lines, providing facilities for lighting, the paving of the street roadways and the sidewalks, establishing the manner and location of transportation facilities, preparing the building land in suitable fashion for dwellings of different kinds and for public and semi-public structures, and finally the placing of buildings upon the land in proper relationship to each other and to the surface and subsurface facilities which serve them. This process of building the buildings is an objective toward which all the other things are adjusted, inasmuch as that culminating procedure is the one which completes the physical environment of the people who actually constitute the vital essence of the community. Therefore, people, a community of men, women, and children constitute the end results toward which all community building ought to be directed.

In America the housing and re-housing of the vast majority of the population has been a competitive process. The results are apparent. Wherever superior housing becomes available to any particular economic class, the former dwellings of that class are vacated and either (*a*) they are replaced by the superior or more modern type of housing, or (*b*) they are occupied by people of a lower-income group. The first kind of change is usually not extensive. The second and prevalent kind of change affects more people, since it involves the successive moving up of each class of income group into the housing made vacant by the next higher income group. This process makes for shifting residential population. It leaves at

²⁹ Frederick Bigger, chairman of the City Planning Commission of Pittsburgh, chairman, 1932, of the Committee on Economics of Site-Planning and Housing of the American Institute of Architects, and so forth. MS in files of study.

the bottom an increasing number of obsolescent, depreciated, and actually decrepit properties which collectively become slums. Unless our none too strict health and housing laws are so enforced as to compel demolition of substandard dwellings, the latter remain as income-producing properties. Our communities, generally, have seemed to be unable or unwilling, or both, to prevent wholesale retrogression. It is now becoming clearer that there is an economic as well as a social objective in eradicating the slum.

The normal trend for the individual from bad housing to good, and from good to something better, is broken periodically when local or general depression compels many families to surrender their dwellings for less desirable ones or to share them with others. This makes for doubling and over-crowding. Many dwellings, old and new, remain vacant during the depression, and this condition gives rise to the opinion that there is an excess rather than a dearth of housing, a mischievous notion which tends to encourage neglect of existing dwellings and to discourage the erection of new ones. The actual situation, when analyzed in the light of an observable drop in living standards, reveals that there is an excess of inferior dwellings, a lack of social control to prevent over-crowding and the occupancy of undesirable structures, and a real shortage of good houses.

In the trend toward better housing—accelerated in prosperity and halted or reversed in times of depression—the dominant factor unfortunately is not the well-being of the people who are housed, it is the pressure exerted by our financial procedure and its objective—as much profit as we can get. This is buttressed by unwieldy legalities.

The pressure of financial factors affecting housing (and building generally) compels an unremitting search for economies in planning and construction. A premium is placed upon ingenuity as an aid in “beating the game” which is so inflexibly fixed by the financial set-up. Among the results of such effort are increasing skill in site-planning, in the grouping of buildings, and in the creation of more adequate and appropriately designed open spaces.

Less effort, or less successful effort, has been directed to the search for a way to escape the maladjustments which our traditional practices involve. As a matter of fact, the thing we should be looking for is a better and more equitable adjustment between two forces which now pull in opposite directions. They are, on the one hand, the interest and aim of the private property owner; and, on the other hand, the interest and aim of the collective group of private property owners who make up a dominant part of the community and whose collective action is exercised by their chosen public officials. Whether the private owner of property be an owner-occupant of a dwelling or a landlord, he is dominated by the profit motive, i.e., when his property is for rent or for sale, he welcomes the

placement of a maximum financial value upon it. His wealth is calculated with that objective in mind; his bookkeeping, if he has any, is based upon it. He objects to increased taxation, but he desires the improvements, at public expense, which promise to make his property more valuable. Acting collectively with his fellows, through public officials, he finds that he has to pay outrageous prices for the land or buildings that must be taken from John Doe or Richard Roe to make way for a public improvement. Still acting collectively, he finds it too costly to buy the private property necessary for the recreation of his children, as a substitute for the private yard play space that has been covered over by "more profitable" buildings. . . .

When a costly street widening has been made, the municipal real estate assessor raises the "assessed valuation" of the abutting property. Faced with these higher taxes, the private property owner raises the rentals of his building or he builds a more remunerative building. In the latter case, he quickly tends to cover all his land (often unwisely, because he overlooks the economic value of permanently preserved open space for light and air and appearance). If all the more bulky buildings accommodate a larger number of people, if the temporarily stimulated business concerns attract more people to that street, a still more ample thoroughfare will be advocated. Improved public transportation facilities may be asked for, ostensibly to carry people away from the congested street, but just as certainly to return the profitable crowd the next day. But, meanwhile, the land and buildings which the municipality must acquire for any new widening of the street have become very valuable. Then comes the final plea: that the cost of what is advocated will be repaid to the municipal treasury within a short time, because the new values that are to be created will enable the property owners to pay increased taxes.

This, then, is the sequence, and these are the expanding cycles: (A-1) a public improvement; (A-2) higher property values; (A-3) higher taxes; (A-4) more bulky buildings, more intensive use of private property; (A-5) more people and vehicles in the street; (A-6) demand for "relief from congestion"; (A-7) specific proposals for new public improvements; (B-1) new improvements at public expense; (B-2) increased property values; (B-3) still higher taxes; (B-4) still more intensive use of private property; (B-5) still more "congestion" of people and vehicles in the street; (B-6) demands for still more "relief from congestion"; (B-7) new schemes proposed to increase values; (C-1) another publicly financed improvement program; and so on! All through this vicious spiral the public treasury never comes out ahead, its credit becomes pledged to the limit; some property owners are more or less constantly "on the make," other owners have nothing done to help their own properties the while

they contribute taxes toward this effort to increase the values of the favored owners' property. . . .

Public facilities—streets, sewers, water, lights, etc.,—which serve the blighted area and the slum, have to be maintained after a fashion, at least, by public funds. They may, or may not, have been adequate when first supplied; but they are almost certain to be neglected after decline has set in, thus accelerating retrogression. If, however, standard maintenance of these facilities should be continued, either the tax contribution of depreciated properties is less than the cost of the service they enjoy, or they must be overcrowded to produce sufficient revenue to meet such a charge. Whether or not the blighted area and the slum pay for their own facilities, it is a theoretical fiction that they contribute their proper quota toward the provision of facilities for other and higher-standard localities, perhaps even for those new ones in which modern housing is set up to compete with them. Is there an alternative to saddling high-standard housing and non-residential properties with the cost of maintaining even inferior public services for blighted areas and slums which cannot pay for them?

The municipality owns as well as operates the public facilities in moribund districts. If it neglects them, it suffers loss on capital-equipment and by insufficient operation. If it maintains them at standard, it mulcts its economically healthy districts to pay the cost, and delays the abolition of blighted areas and slums, thereby encouraging the creation of new areas to meet the demand for good housing—a procedure which entails extensive outlays for new capital-equipment—streets, water lines, sewers, police and fire protection, schools, parks, playgrounds, and the like. In effect the municipality does two ridiculously contradictory things, i.e., it preserves a dangerous and costly pathological condition and at the same time, attempts to compensate for it by vast expenditures for new projects. It is as if a mad physician were to administer poison and antidote, toxin and anti-toxin, in concurrent doses.

Clearly, the continuance of substandard housing in the urban picture is a principal cause of new housing developments which force the community to expand over wider territory, to become physically difficult to administer, costly to repair, and extravagant to operate. In these trends, with their collectively unsound economic basis, is to be found the obvious explanation of the disconcerting fact that the larger the community, the greater the per capita cost of operating it.

Official appraisals of property are attempts to evaluate real estate as a basis for determining the share of community costs which the individual owners must bear. In this country, valuations on private property—whether fair or otherwise—are constantly challenged by owners. The

appraisal technique is clumsy in its efforts to differentiate between residential and other types of real property. Ordinarily, no account is taken of the important distinction which ought to be made between housing occupied solely by the owner with saving to himself, and rented housing which exists only as a commercial, profit-making commodity. This tends to throw owner-occupied property into the speculative field, and tempts the owner to surrender the "social home values" for the lure of pecuniary profit.

We have suggested some of the bad habits to which all our communities have been addicted. There seems to be little or no realization that they are productive of serious social and economic results. But they are there to see, underlying many of the conditions to which our welfare palliatives are applied,—tinder for the flame of social disturbance unless corrected with calmness, intelligence and wisdom. We do not yet know whether we possess these three virtues.

Pittsburgh has had the bad habits to which we have referred; Allegheny County has had them; no community has been guiltless. Now, a great many of these bad habits, these prevailing hit-or-miss practices, are more serious in their effects upon the community when it is built upon such rough and varied topography as that of the Pittsburgh District.

Whenever the difficulties of dealing with the rough topography of this district are mentioned, two trains of thought are suggested. One leads forward as the dream of designing a city more consistently adapted to the rugged hills, valleys and ravines,—a city more efficient, more economical to build and maintain, more livable, and of course more beautiful. The other train of thought begins with a despairing glance at the task which may lie ahead and then turns backward to a review of the lost opportunities and the failures to produce more humanly satisfactory results.

If we had the opportunity to start all over again with the designing and building of Pittsburgh, one of the many things we should do would be the exact opposite of what we have done. We would utilize a great deal of the hillside land in very large parcels for the estates of the well-to-do people who could afford the greater expense of building their houses on that kind of land and who could afford to landscape their estates beautifully. We would use even more of that land as public-park land to be attractively planted. In both cases our new streets would be fewer in number, less steep, less geometrically rigid, better adapted to the ground, more attractive, and less costly to build and maintain. On the other hand, we should use the less rough land, that which it is easier to build upon and where less grading is required, as the sites for more modest homes. And here also we would use fewer streets, making the city blocks larger, applying modern planning methods to the arrangement of houses, thereby reducing the

amount of street construction and paving and utilities which would be chargeable against each dwelling. In this manner we would reduce municipal investment and maintenance costs and the outlays of home builders and home owners.

If we were to do this, we would not create again the sordid slum and scarred landscape into which our originally beautiful ravines have degenerated.³⁰

THE MOVEMENT FOR IMPROVED HOUSING IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY

It is clear that a program of better housing must be pursued in both of its phases: by the elimination of positive evils, such as unsafe, insanitary, dirty, dilapidated, ill-equipped, and depressing homes, and by the provision of adequate low-rental homes to take their place. The history of housing reform in America has, certainly prior to the present decade, been to a large extent a history of struggle against evils of housing: slums, fire hazards, lack of sanitation, absence of tenement-house control. Housing laws were drawn up about these foci of interest and voluntary efforts to insure their enforcement by public authorities have been the high spots of our housing progress. Of constructive, large-scale thinking for the rehousing of the enormous urban wage-earning mass there has been little evidence in this country until very recent years. Pittsburgh and Allegheny County differ from other American communities in this respect, as they do with regard to many other types of social amelioration, in that they started late, lacked a large base of interested public opinion, and manifested little militant determination when faced with official indifference or with the financial problems presented by the capital invested.

What promised to be an active interest in housing reform began, as we have seen earlier, under local Pittsburgh leadership shortly after its initiation in New York City and resulted in a special tenement-house law for Pittsburgh, in 1903.³¹ But the Pittsburgh Survey³² found the enforcement of the law lax and perfunctory, as the enforcement of such laws often is. The conditions observed in the survey showed little effect of past efforts. A new interest was created by the survey itself and its attendant publicity, new life was instilled into the public health administration, and considerable advance in the abatement of the more palpable nuisances, such as the existence of some thousands of privy vaults, occurred in the next few years. The Housing Conference, in 1910, sponsored by civic and social agencies, helped to support the progressive interest in housing and sanitation manifested by the municipal administration.

³⁰ End of quotation from Frederick Bigger. ³¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 191.

³² *Civic Frontage*, "The Pittsburgh Survey," p. 109.

The Pittsburgh Building Code was enacted in 1916 and has been amended many times since; the Zoning Code was enacted in 1924. Minimum standards set in these codes are comparable with those in effect in most of our cities.³³ The Building Code is almost identical with the codes of Philadelphia and Cincinnati. Housing standards in effect include adequate direct outdoor ventilation and light for every room, direct ventilation for toilet compartments, inside water supply for every dwelling, and a water closet for the use of each family-dwelling unit. The code requires cleanliness and an adequate amount of artificial or natural light for halls in multiple dwellings, separate fire exits for multiple dwellings, and the separation of toilet compartments from kitchens and dining rooms. There are also regulations governing the removal of garbage and rubbish, fire hazards, and a rather general statement covering overcrowding.

The Zoning Ordinance compels, for new buildings only, adequate space around dwellings in order that a sufficient amount of light and air can enter every room, including appropriate set-backs from the street, yard space in the rear, and a certain minimum amount of yard space on the side. The Zoning Ordinance attempts to control neighborhood uses by prohibiting business or industrial uses in areas zoned for residential purposes. Of course, residential uses are permitted in business areas, and business uses are permitted in zoned residential areas, if such business use existed before the Zoning Ordinance was passed. There is always pressure to break down the protective features of a Zoning Ordinance by those who wish to create a business classification in a residential area.

But the rest of the county remained practically untouched, and soon, despite the unavoidable consciousness of persistently wretched conditions noted by the workers of social agencies, interest flagged again. During the decade of the twenties "housing committees were organized in practically every leading social and civic agency that was concerned with the problem of housing. Attempts were made to secure more effective enforcement of sanitation and safety laws, but efforts of these committees were sporadic and consisted mainly of meetings in which discussion would lead to resolutions that subsequently reached some of the city officials."³⁴ At last, in May, 1928, the importance of the housing of the mass of wage earners received recognition as a permanent and pressing social obligation by the establishment of the Housing Association. Credit for the move is due to the Chamber of Commerce, the Civic Club of Allegheny County, the Federation of Social Agencies, the Family Society of Allegheny County, the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, and other organizations. From this

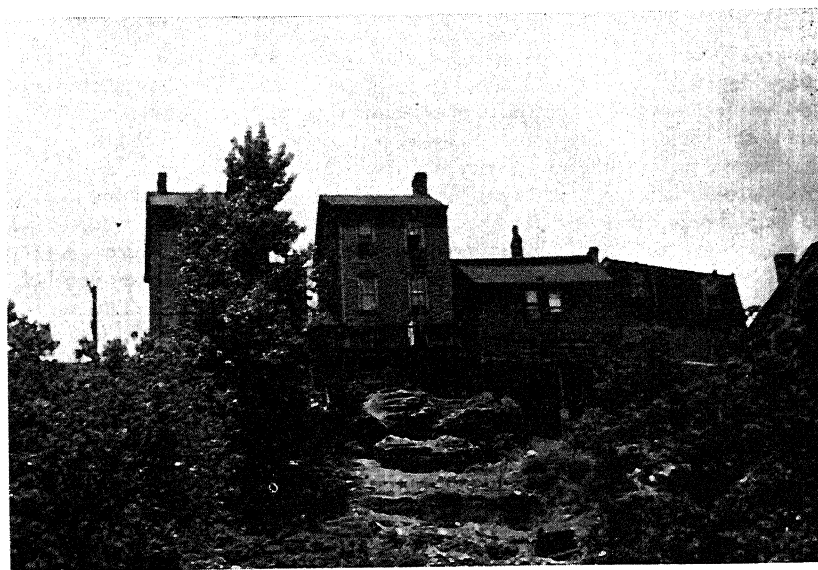
³³ J. P. Tufts, director of Pittsburgh Housing Association, in MS report prepared at the request of the study, May, 1936.

³⁴ *Ibid.*



DWELLINGS PERCHED ON A PITTSBURGH HILLSIDE

Note rubbish that has been dumped over hillside by tenants; steps in center have rotted and are now in dangerous condition.



HOUSES ABOVE WASHINGTON ROADWAY

Photograph taken from bottom of hill.

time and with the aid of Community Fund financing a consistent interest and sustained activity in housing improvement was to be expected.

The history of housing had, of course, as has already been indicated, emphasized the abatement of evils and the enforcement of laws already existing, but presumably lacking earnest official interest. "The outstanding keynote," said Dr. M. C. Elmer, of the University of Pittsburgh, at one of the organization meetings, "seems to be that in this city of wealth and opportunity there are certain areas which were deplorable as early as 1907; that with the great achievement this city has made during the past twenty years, these same spots remain. In fact, many of the very houses condemned in 1908 as unfit for human habitation still stand, the only change in them being (*a*) more dwellers, (*b*) more rent, (*c*) more unfit."³⁵

The new Housing Association was to work on both fronts: amelioration in the form of inspection and pressure for particular items of law enforcement emphasizing individual violations, houses requiring condemnation, nuisances rating abatement, and so forth; and propaganda for large-scale planning, for decent homes, and a city beautiful. The organization has made a good record as an agency for stimulating enforcement and obtaining specific action by the city authorities. It has, for this purpose, changed its earlier tactics of militant pressure for coöperative inducement and friendly help. It has carried on numerous studies and accumulated a wealth of information upon which the present inquiry has drawn freely.

Naturally, [says the present executive of the Housing Association] the enforcement of law depends a great deal upon officials who are interested in law enforcement and who feel they have the backing of citizen groups. There is always a very strong and vocal element in any community who do not want the laws enforced and for that reason there is always a constant pressure being exerted upon certain city officials to curb activity in enforcing the laws. The Housing Association has worked on the philosophy that officials want to do a good job and usually they will respond to suggestions or to specific instances where the laws need to be enforced. A very useful State Act grants power to the Department of Health to vacate and hold vacant buildings that do not meet minimum sanitary requirements. This act has been used very effectively during the last two years in our campaign to secure the demolition of useless and unfit houses. Over 1600 dwellings units have been demolished during the past two years, most of which were torn down because the owners were persuaded that they could no longer make repairs that would make the properties an economic investment.

Whether this point of view can be held in periods of official indifference, as well as in years of sympathetic administration, is a question to which no authoritative answer can be given. It is universally recognized that official interest in enforcement is not a dependable and progressive force.³⁶ In its annual report for 1933, the Housing Association says:

³⁵ From material in the files of the Housing Association.

³⁶ It should be noted that the greater part of the work of the Housing Association

The slum areas of Pittsburgh have become worse, due in part to non-payment of rent with consequent financial distress to owners, and consequent neglect of repairs. Tax delinquencies have become more frequent, city revenues have fallen off and, during 1933, except for the last month when there was a spurt of activity, enforcement of laws designed to protect the public health and safety has become increasingly lax.

Laxness is not always or immediately reflected in statistics. Momentum often carries on after driving force decreases. The City departments continued to go through their routine. Properties listed by the Housing Association were inspected by City officials, orders were issued. Re-listings were re-inspected and orders again were issued. And a good many of these orders were complied with. So our statistics give only a slight indication of what was happening. There actually were more corrections of violations in 1933 than in 1932 and the percentage of corrections was only slightly less—77.2 as against 77.5.

But within the great number of violations and corrections that go to make totals and percentages, there was an increasing number of serious violations that were not corrected. In the most neglected parts of the city, there developed instances of insanitary conditions so filthy, so disgusting that they turned the stomach of the unhardened observer. And these conditions remained uncorrected week after week because dealing with them required initiative and energy and the backing of those in positions of authority. This laxness was the more regrettable because until 1933, Pittsburgh actually had been making progress in raising housing standards, slow progress but remarkable when contrasted with what was going on in other fields during the depression.

There is an increasing agreement among students of the housing problem that valuable as the work of ferreting out particular instances of unfit habitation is for the specific improvement involved in their abatement, it is principally a means of public education. The heart of the task lies in providing more and better dwellings at prices within the range of the purchasing power of the wage earner.

The irony of housing reform is that the evils of wretched housing have been too well publicized (even though the foregoing quotation may throw some doubt on this); public concern and attention have been focussed, when captured, on unfit housing, on need for demolition, even on the imperative necessity for slum clearance. It was inevitable that the symptom, especially when acute, should seem distressing and its abatement the visible objective. In the wake of this interest the recognition of a need for more and different dwellings for the poor was bound to be a pale apparition. It would seem now, and it has become the conviction of many leaders in housing reform, that emphasis must be shifted to the need for decent and economically accessible housing in harmony with the demands

has taken place in Pittsburgh city. For a limited period, work was done also in McKeesport, McKees Rocks, Homestead, Braddock, Duquesne, and Sharpsburg, and a certain amount of general interest is given the county as a whole, but the multiplicity of boroughs, townships, etc., seems to make the task of finding "violations" a prohibitive undertaking.

of city planning; that the barbaric conditions of living for those who continue to dwell in hazardous, insanitary places are merely the worst phases of basically pathologic housing due to the complex of low wages, large families, and the sale of dwellings as commodities at maximum prices for maximum profits. The solution, therefore, is not so simple as merely the passing of housing laws and ordinances, and enforcing them. The program has been in the past:

1. Discover bad housing
2. Enact and enforce laws
3. Encourage the building of better homes

This, it seems, can no longer be the modern housing program, but rather the following:

1. City planning and zoning
2. Building homes in large quantities for low rental families
3. Eliminate bad housing as part of city planning and municipal economy
4. Enforce health laws and building codes

It is by the second and third of these propositions that housing reform dips deep into economics, government, and politics. Passing over the more shady aspects of this trio, involved in the ownership of much of the slum properties by powerful local interests, we find that a community is still faced with this complex difficulty.

Tradition holds fast to the theory that the provision and sale of all commodities is properly private enterprise for the investment of capital and the earning of profits; rate of profit is subject to competitive processes; housing is a commodity. This commodity cannot be produced in accordance with specifications laid down by housing reformers at prices permitting their purchase by low-income wage earners, while leaving ample margin for profits. To this tradition is added the prevalent opinion that government must not enter the field of housing because to do so would interfere with private enterprise, would constitute unfair competition, would increase taxes, would involve participation in the field of partisan politics, and would be impossible anyway because even the government cannot afford such huge capital investments.

That slums and wretched housing mar Pittsburgh and Allegheny County is now admitted by the entire community. It is less generally agreed that more dwellings are needed. There is no agreement at all on the imperative necessity for large-scale action to remedy the continuing and increasingly aggravated situation or on the propriety of public financing of low-cost housing.

As far back as 1907 Dr. James F. Edwards, newly appointed director of the Pittsburgh Bureau of Health, reported the need for more and better dwellings and pleaded for attention to this aspect of housing rather than to

mere inspection and demolition. In 1914 he still pleads, and more earnestly, for the same things.³⁷ In 1908 the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh stated the case clearly and strongly:³⁸

The City of Pittsburgh along with its vast industrial development, has grown so phenomenally in population during the past ten years that it has been clearly impossible for the growth in housing accommodation to keep pace. Careful and comprehensive investigations show conclusively that the housing facilities of the Greater City have completely broken down, not only in point of reasonably proper conditions but in amount of available real estate.

The executive of the Pittsburgh Housing Association believed, in 1936, that the "approaching housing shortage is now having a tendency to slow up" demolition of unfit dwellings.³⁹

The almost complete inactivity of the building industry for the past five years [he says] the demolition programs and the gradual undoubling of families is now increasing the pressure to bring into use many old buildings that should not be occupied. In 1934 the housing vacancy was about 8 percent. This has decreased to about 2 percent or 3 percent,⁴⁰ and the recent flood disaster, while causing considerable amount of property to be vacated, most of which is unfit for use, has resulted in cutting down still further the supply of fit dwellings.

Dr. J. P. Watson, on the basis of the Real Property Inventory of Allegheny County, estimated, as we have seen,⁴¹ that not counting outside county communities, Pittsburgh alone would need some 27,000 new dwellings to eliminate the unfit houses and "unscramble the worst of the crowding." Perhaps double this number would answer for the county.

What is the prevalent opinion as to the desirable and possible methods of coming to grips with the abiding and increasingly serious housing problem in Allegheny County? Is the faith in private enterprise being justified and does it persist? Is the necessity for new housing recognized as an imperative reality? Is governmental action—local or Federal—deemed necessary? Are there any alternatives considered? What is being done by private capital or the Government; what pressure and planful propaganda is going on in any direction?

In 1920 the Chamber of Commerce adopted a plan proposing a limited-dividend corporation (combining the theory of private enterprise with that of philanthropic self-denial by limiting maximum profits) by which 5,000

³⁷ *Civic Frontage*, "The Pittsburgh Survey," p. 120. ³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

³⁹ Statement prepared by Joseph P. Tufts, Housing Association Executive, for the study.

⁴⁰ A sample survey in June, 1936, indicated a vacancy of about 3 percent in the urban area. Scott Keyes, "Residential Vacancy in Pittsburgh and in Twenty-Four Neighboring Boroughs and Townships in June, 1936," *Pittsburgh Business Review*, July, 1936, p. 21. This survey, like the Real Property Inventory, was done as part of the Federal work-relief program.

⁴¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 214.

houses, costing a total of \$15,000,000 were to be built over a period of five years. The money was to be solicited from industrial and commercial concerns in the district, and the houses were to be distributed in proportion to the amount of stock subscription. Dividends were not to be more than 6 percent nor less than 4 percent. Homes were to be sold only to those regularly employed in the Pittsburgh district. It was thought that the houses could be sold at from 10 to 20, and possibly 30 percent, lower than prevailing prices and "so low that no reduction in general prices would ever reduce their market values below the prices at which they were sold to the people."

The prevailing sentiment was that housing "is not a task for the city, state or national governments, but a program that obviously must be launched by some strong and impartial civic organization, representing all interests. They pointed out that the plan was not a "philanthropy" but strictly a business proposition by which bonds underwritten by banks would be sold to the public "as part of the general thrift movement which must be followed up in this country to educate the people away from extravagance, shiftlessness and radicalism."⁴² The corporation "folded up" in 1924, with a deficit of \$11,589, after 304 houses, ranging in price from \$16,000 to \$1,270, had been built. "But it had accomplished its purpose, to stimulate building at a time of severe house shortage."⁴³

The Chamber of Commerce, in 1927, sent questionnaires to agencies interested in housing, including a number of social agencies, to obtain a comparison of the extent and scope of bad housing and to elicit suggestions for methods of financing low-priced dwellings. Of the social workers, the executive⁴⁴ of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies was the only one who suggested "a municipal housing plan which would enable the poor to secure rents under sanitary conditions at a reasonable cost."

About this time the Civic Club reported that practically every social agency in town had a housing committee: "A study of the circumstances brought us convincingly to the conclusion that the striking weak spot in our housing work existed in the fact that our attacks on the problem were spasmodic, disjointed, and haphazard, as directed by the demands of the moment, usually in the form of a crisis." The club pointed to the need for an organization "whose sole aim and purpose shall be constructive work for the improvement of housing conditions in Pittsburgh, and whose program should include not only the rehabilitation of old housing, securing

⁴² Taken from materials in files of Pittsburgh Housing Association.

⁴³ Taken from *First Annual Housing Association Report*, May, 1930. In a communication subsequently received from the Housing Association attention is drawn to several other minor efforts at providing low-rental housing in Pittsburgh: the Phipps Tenement, the Tenement Improvement Company, and the United Housing Corporation.

⁴⁴ Dr. Ludwig Bernstein.

adequate law enforcement, and support of regional planning activities, but an emphasis as well on a thought toward the future with regard to new housing projects for low income families.”⁴⁵ The Pittsburgh Housing Association resulted from this movement.

The attempt at construction of low-cost housing just cited and the few model tenements reported on in the original Pittsburgh Survey constitute practically all that has been done in this direction to date. The famous Chatham Village, a group-housing project undertaken and still managed by the Buhl Foundation, may be regarded as an interesting experiment in economical construction for moderate-income families, but it does not touch the problem of low-rental housing for wage earners, except to establish a case for renting rather than selling homes in the interest of high standards of maintenance and preservation of values. Aside from contributing to esthetic standards in housing and demonstrating efficiency and economy in cost of construction and management, it is an exclusive real-estate development serving professional and white-collar clientele of preferred characteristics. There is nothing in the history of housing in Allegheny County to indicate that the idea of privately-financed housing for low-income groups on a larger scale has ever been seriously considered. In so far as the subject has had consideration the conclusion seems to be that if any basic improvement in the housing of the low-income groups can be effected at all, it will come by way of reconstruction and rehabilitation of homes abandoned for residential purposes by previous occupants of a higher economic level. But there is reported no attempt to invest amounts comparable to the cost of Chatham Village, in large-scale reconditioning programs. The Housing Association, through its constructive Promotional Committee, reported in 1930 as follows:

1. Owing to the cost of construction and the price of land in the Pittsburgh District, a program of building new dwellings complying with proper social standards for families in the lowest income groups is impracticable at the present time.
2. To meet the needs of families in the lowest income group at the present time, more can be accomplished by rehabilitating or reconditioning existing buildings and therefore the Association should in all proper ways aid in such a program.
3. To protect low income group, codes should be enforced and improved.
4. One-family house is preferred over the multiple dwelling.
5. Limited dividend corporations should be encouraged to provide one-family houses for the medium income groups.
6. Management corporations should be encouraged.
7. Limited dividend corporations should in general be the means employed to provide housing.
8. The program of getting statistical information on the incomes of wage-earning groups, rents and housing conditions in Pittsburgh and of stimulating research through existing agencies should be continued.

⁴⁵ From the files of the Pittsburgh Housing Association.

Government subsidy and publicly-financed housing enterprise are not mentioned. An approach to government subsidy, hardly more positive, is shown by 1933 in the statement of the former director of the Housing Association: "Because of present economic conditions, the first projects (slum reconstruction) must be financed chiefly by federal funds, properly safeguarded through state and local responsible supervision. Gradually the proportion of federal money should be reduced until it is all retired." But in 1936 the Housing Association veers to the point of view expressed by its 1930 committee: "The so-called low cost housing developments (presumably these would include Chatham Village) will provide better homes for the middle class. The houses that they will vacate—older buildings but still good, decent homes—can be occupied by those with lower incomes."⁴⁶ It sees this situation brought about by the law of supply and demand: "Owners of the older buildings thus vacated will have to lower their rents to attract tenants. These reductions will bring many of them down to prices that can be afforded by present slum residents." The chief function of public assistance, whether local or Federal, is seen in slum reconstruction rather than in specific provision of low rental housing on a substantial scale.

No such hesitancy with respect to the need for major governmental subsidy for housing, in fact of Federal subsidy, is expressed by Dr. J. P. Watson, of the Bureau of Business Research, of the University of Pittsburgh. In the article "Federal Aid in Housing," in the *Pittsburgh Business Review*, August 29, 1935, he says:

The need for better housing in this community is so great that no Federal program nor any other program conceivable for the near future would be anything more than the first short step on a long road.

Regardless of the exact relationship of the Government to the proposed project or to similar ones, *Federal assistance is involved*. . . Perhaps the extensive experience of Germany and Austria in rehousing their people would not quiet American alarm at subsidized housing. But Holland and England—these are strongholds of sanity! Holland has rehoused perhaps a fifth of her population since the War—with public assistance. England, where recovery is said to be coming without governmental tampering, built about a million homes in the decade 1920–1930—with public assistance; and public assistance is at the bottom of much of the present building activity in England.

The approach involved in the Federal program is relatively new in American housing. Subsidies, of course, are not new to America. Direct or indirect in form, they are as old as tariffs, grants to railroads, public expenditures on harbors and on inland waterways, ship subsidies, mail contracts, tax exemptions, or public backing of easier farm credits. American subsidies, however, have been prevailingly for industry and commerce. Housing subsidy, in order to have any meaning in terms of the problem toward which it is being directed, must be for consumption. It would, therefore, give a new twist to an old practice.

⁴⁶ *Pittsburgh Press*, May 14, 1936.

During the recent developments of housing subsidy by the Federal administration many American communities have succeeded in obtaining such subsidies and making a notable beginning toward a new and bolder attack upon the housing question. Pittsburgh and Allegheny County are not among beneficiaries of the Federal housing program. The situation in Pittsburgh is described by the director of the Housing Association in an article contributed to *Greater Pittsburgh*, a publication of the Chamber of Commerce, October 31, 1935, in these words:

For the past eighteen months, plans for a long-range program of slum elimination and reconstruction for Pittsburgh have been in various stages of preparation. During 1934, the Real Property Inventory conducted by the Bureau of Business Research and the Special Housing Survey supervised jointly by the City Planning Commission and the Pittsburgh Housing Association were completed. These data made it possible to establish pretty clearly the locality of areas containing high percentage of "bad order" housing, the potential housing shortage, rental scales, and the need in terms of replanning and rebuilding.

While this work was in process, a group of local architects, working on a volunteer basis, drew up a general plan of utilizing partly vacant areas near our slum centers and areas of housing which must eventually be cleared or rehabilitated, and developed a comprehensive series of projects to be undertaken over a period of several years. The plan was so made that there would be a minimum of dehousing of existing population until new or reconditioned units would be available.

Early in 1935, Secretary Ickes appointed the Housing Advisory Committee composed of eighteen Pittsburgh citizens, for the purpose of studying and approving projects which would have definite benefits to the City. *Such projects were to be slum clearance or low-rental housing that would not compete with private enterprise nor conflict with the City Plan of re-development.*⁴⁷ It has been recognized that private enterprise has for several years retired from attempts to rehabilitate or rebuild for housing purposes in slum and blighted districts. Several factors have prevented this, among them being: (1) high municipal assessments and high speculative values; (2) difficulties in acquiring sizable tracts because of the many different individual owners; and (3) the lure of cheap land made available to centers of the City by improved highways and extended transportation facilities. These factors have caused population decreases and have reduced tax income for the City from our congested areas.

The Pittsburgh Advisory Committee set to work on the task of selecting from those areas which, on the basis of facts from the above mentioned surveys, were in greatest need of clearance, but which were also low enough in valuation to warrant their purchase, demolition and rebuilding with the resulting housing available at reasonable rentals. A half dozen locations were weighed against the following factors:

1. Prevention or checking further spread of blighted districts.
2. Social benefits to the immediate as well as to the entire community.
3. Ease and cost of land acquisition.
4. Need for slum clearance based on structural and sanitary condition of houses.
5. Possibility of successful operation of completed project.
6. Logical starting points in attacking our slum areas.

⁴⁷ Italics the author's.

Three projects were finally selected and tentative site plans developed by the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration.

In July, there was a two-to-one decision in the United States District Court in Cincinnati against the right of the Government to use the power of eminent domain for slum clearance and rehousing purposes. This made it necessary to change the plans of the Housing Division, abandoning much of its slum clearance work in those states where housing authority laws were lacking. Pennsylvania is one of those states. It has been denied such a law by the State Senate in the last two legislative sessions.

Again the Advisory Committee canvassed the field for well-located sites that could be purchased without condemnation. Three sites were selected of which two were given preference and tentative site plan studies made to determine the feasibility of the project. One site was chosen as the initial part of the program, appraisals made and options secured. The project was approved by the Housing Division the middle of September and work on final plans ordered to proceed. The project would include over seven hundred family units, give full time employment to over 1,500 men during 1936 and cost \$4,000,000. It would attempt to demonstrate the practicability of developing a hillside into a municipal asset and indicate the manner in which other similar areas within the City would be rebuilt in the future. Its social and economic value convinced PWA officials who showed open enthusiasm over the scheme.

Up until September 26, the project seemed certain to go forward. But on that day the announcement by Mr. Ickes of the almost complete collapse of his nationwide low-rental housing and slum clearance program left the Pittsburgh project suspended until further funds are forthcoming by order of the President. The reduction from \$250,000,000 to \$100,000,000 in the amount allocated for the entire housing program made possible only 37 out of the 95 projects under option. The funds taken from the Housing Division were turned over to Administrator Hopkins for the purpose of securing "quick results" in the Works Progress Administration's reemployment undertaking.

Officials of the Housing Division declare that suspension of the Pittsburgh project was not due to lack of local coöperation and that it is not to be considered as final. In a letter received October 1, from Director Clas of the Housing Division, the following statement was made:

" . . . I deeply regret that the Pittsburgh project was not among those on the restricted list approved. This exclusion is not, I hope, to be regarded as final. It implies no lack of energy, ability, and integrity on the part of your Committee and those other public-spirited citizens of Pittsburgh who have given so generously of their intelligence and industry to obtain a project for their city. However, it means that further development must await the allocation of additional funds."

It is generally agreed that emergency rules should not and cannot apply in a housing program in which there is involved the salvaging of a city's slums or neglected areas. To be effective such works should be continuous and permanent. At the start there is the necessity for planning on a sound basis in order that a general improvement will be realized over a period of years. When England launched its program of rebuilding after the War, it prepared and planned for two years before any actual construction was undertaken. The program has been continuous through liberal and conservative administrations. The results are well known. The Ministry of Health is now in the midst of a program bringing about

the completion of 95,000 new houses, about one-fifth of the number required to complete the whole slum clearance program. This Department plans to provide approximately 50,000 houses a year for the next ten years. England's recovery after a long and serious depression has been made possible by its bold undertaking in the field of housing reconstruction, according to leading economists of the country. Nor has all this activity been by the Government alone. Private enterprise has increased its housing activity year by year and exceeded several times the total number of units built under Government assistance in 1934.

More recently the municipal authorities of Pittsburgh, under the leadership of Councilman Evans, have made what appears to be an earnest effort to take public responsibility for organizing subsidized low-cost housing—with what success it is yet too early to judge.

What, then, of the physical living conditions of the wage-earning population of Allegheny County after more than twenty-five years of discussion and a continuous aggravation of these conditions? The issues and possibilities have become clear; some agreement has been reached with respect to a part of the program at least. It is agreed that unfit dwellings should be condemned, and if need be, demolished; many have been demolished. Public authorities with power to condemn unfit dwellings exist in Pittsburgh and in some of the county communities but not in the county at large. These authorities have not, however, been over-zealous, and much of the work of the Housing Association has been devoted to stimulating law enforcement in this direction.

It is agreed that slums should be abolished, but no intensive, continuous efforts to this end are recorded for public authorities. The Housing Association believes in Federal and local subsidies for this purpose and has done considerable work in public interpretation and promotion. Low-rental dwellings for the lower income groups are admittedly desirable. But no authoritative group has carried on consistent practical efforts to promote the production of such dwellings on a large scale.

Reconditioning of houses released by higher-income groups is advocated—by the Housing Association as well as by other organizations—as the only practicable way of providing low-rental dwellings; but no substantial private funds are forthcoming for the purpose. New construction of low-rental houses by private capital is considered improbable, but no zealous missionary work is carried on for large-scale public subsidy or participation, and no Federal housing project is under way in Allegheny County. Studies of the Housing Association and the Real Property Inventory both show tremendous need. Something has been accomplished, but the major task is still before us: it does not consist of a single task, but of many tasks, for there is no royal road. There must be law enforcement and demolitions; old houses must be repaired; reconditioning can supply a large body of low-rental housing that is needed; slums must be cleared, but not neces-

TABLE 21
A SUMMARY OF CONDITIONS AND EQUIPMENT IN SELECTED SLUM AREAS, PITTSBURGH

CONDITION	TOTAL	WARDS										19 OTHER WARDS	
		3	4	5	6	17	21	22	23	27	COMBINED		
Total													
Buildings	747	183	22	112	50	41	78	26	31	27	177		
Dwellings	1,095	293	31	165	71	60	104	36	47	32	256		

	WATER SUPPLY AND OTHER FACILITIES										
	1,011	286	28	130	59	55	101	34	47	29	242
Water supply inside	62	6	...	26	9	5	...	2	...	2	12
Water supply outside	212	56	5	32	5	1	21	12	8	1	71
Hot water available	287	115	7	41	2	3	26	13	11	2	67
Apartment with bath	87	52	...	9	1	...	6	4	...	...	15
Bath shared	879	263	21	132	46	50	92	27	35	22	191
Gas	822	247	20	131	45	39	81	28	32	9	190
Electricity											
	CONDITION OF DWELLINGS										
	107	13	4	11	7	6	9	5	2	2	48
In compliance with law (1)	556	155	12	83	44	43	60	16	16	19	108
Slight violation (2)	344	95	11	56	19	11	25	15	25	7	80
"Urgent" (3)											
"Demolish or make fit" (4)	53	15	1	9	...	...	9	...	2	2	15
"Demolish or make safe" (5)	35	15	3	6	1	...	1	...	2	2	15
Total "serious" (3, 4, and 5)	432	125	15	71	20	11	35	15	29	11	110

sarily rebuilt with low-rental housing; new construction of low-rental housing may be attempted by private capital, but certainly requires at the beginning, at least, public subsidies. These may be Federal, local, or both; should be under local housing authorities; and should contemplate permanent management rather than individual home ownership. For all these purposes much more education and propaganda are needed, a wider scope of activities for the Housing Association, greater public support for its program, and a larger budget for its activities.

CHAPTER VI

RACIAL AND ETHNIC STRATIFICATION

Foreign-born and the Negro, the unassimilated groups in Allegheny County.—New Americans in Allegheny County.—Attitudes of Old and New Americans to each other.—Nationality communities and their characteristics.—Mixed immigrant communities.—Typical situation of New Americans in a typical community of Allegheny County: McKeesport.—County-wide nationality fraternal societies.—The Negro problem in Allegheny County.—Housing in Negro communities.—Employment of Negroes, distribution and discrimination.—Health conditions of the Negro.—Recreational opportunities for Negroes.

WHENEVER substantial portions of the population of a community (or nation) are derived from diverse ethnic origins, the life of that community is subject to the molding and heaving forces that are released by the conflict and adjustment of different cultures. Cleavages and fusions take place in a thousand ways, large and small, and ultimate coalescence seems rarely, if ever, to have taken place in the history of man. When racial differences are added to ethnic diversity, as frequently happens, and when economic competition is involved, as it almost always is, the ordinary ingredients of cultural differences become more pronounced, and the conflicts tend to become more bitter. Our Western civilization is shot through with the results and the still active seethings of ethnic and racial competition. The North American continent is fortunately free from concomitants of ethnic strife that have been created by state boundaries and governmental crystallization, such as those which have made European history a series of wars. We do, however, inherit to some extent and have in some ways created new patterns of cultural conflict in our own national and local community life.

The scope of our present interest is necessarily limited to that part of the social life of the community that has some direct relation to a program of social work. Ethnic and racial factors pertinent to the present inquiry are restricted, therefore, to those that either bear directly on possible programs of social work or may be particularly characteristic of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County or may be responsible for social and economic conditions in that community that call for special measures.

Certain of the social cleavages that are found in Western Europe and in America we must take for granted as too deeply rooted to justify more than passing mention in a practical survey oriented to results in organized welfare activities. Among these are the unreconciled points of view and institutional separatism of the principal denominations: Protestant and Catholic; the special status of the Jewish community; the historical prides and prejudices of the Irish, the Scotch, and the English, of the Latin and the Teuton, of the Slav and the non-Slav, of the aristocrat and the demos. Of practical importance within the limits of our enterprise are the cleavages between old and new Americans and the particular circumstances surrounding the Negro in the community. In the following pages the problems of the Negro and the problems of new Americans will be summarized separately. To the extent, however, that they have become problems in the background of social work there is an underlying pattern common to both.¹

FOREIGN-BORN AND THE NEGRO—UNASSIMILATED GROUPS IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY

This pattern is a patchwork affair, its design perceptible in retrospect only, for it is the resultant of no consistent logical plan, but rather of unforeseen contradictions. Neither the large foreign-born population with its "second generation" nor the heavy percentage of Negro residents in Allegheny County is attributable to natural biological increase or even to the gradual immigration induced by normal demand for labor and the lure of fables of easy riches. Deliberate and repeated attempts were made at various times by the industrial and mining enterprises in the Pittsburgh district (as indeed in some other districts in the United States) to import cheap and amenable labor for the mass-production program of its heavy industries. At times this was occasioned by the needs of a miraculously expanding industry; at times, by labor conflicts and strikes. The former resulted in stimulated immigration from central Europe, the latter in wholesale importations of Negroes from the South and of Mexicans from across the border. The first detail in the design is, therefore, mass housing, an oversupply of unmarried male adults, leading to deplorable physical conditions and abnormal personal and social life. We find these conditions in the foreign-born settlements and in the Negro colonies. This detail in the total design is succeeded by another, when prosperity lags and employ-

¹ The cultural differences that are responsible for the "Jewish problem" in Western civilization do not present in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County the type of situation that creates serious difficulties in social work. The Jewish community has been sufficiently organized to take its full share in the care of those in distress and to develop its own communal life. No problems other than those inherent in the peculiar status of Jewish life require special attention.

ment decreases. Then the underlying racial and ethnic kinship between employer and employee becomes the dominant factor. The native white is retained or reemployed, as the case may be, in preference to the foreign-born or Negroes. To the crowded, unsanitary, abnormal living conditions of the artificially-siphoned labor mass is added the factor of unemployment and its attendant evils. The employer shifts the burden to the philanthropic community, voluntary or public. But culturally this community and its dominant group manifest virtually the same kinships as do employers; as a recipient of communal bounty, the native white will, therefore, again enjoy relatively more consideration, a greater variety of assistance, and higher standards of service than the foreigner, the Negro, or the Mexican. Those who have less will receive still less.

Another motif is added to this design by the distribution, structure, and control of the communities themselves as already described. Roughly speaking, where need is least, resources in the wealthier groups and in taxable property tend to be greatest, while the concentration of large numbers of low-income groups frequently occurs in communities that have limited resources and a plethora of absent landlords and absent owners.

Still another phase of the design is caused by frequently withholding opportunities, other than wage-earning, from the foreign-born (or even from the second generation), and consistently from Negroes. Teaching, professional positions, public office, and advancement within organizations tend to be reserved to the "ins," the American whites; schooling, vocational education, the advantages of labor organization are most reluctantly given to Negroes. Deemed inferior, they are kept inferior by the denial of opportunities, then blamed for inferiority and regarded as lacking appreciation of advantages and incapable of enjoying the fruits of civilization. They do not possess the organized strength to make successful demands, and their failure is interpreted as a symptom and proof of inherent inferiority.

Together, the foreign-born and the Negroes constitute 22.7 percent of the population. With the second generation of the new Americans they constitute a majority of the men, women, and children in Allegheny County. The conditions of their lives and the restrictions of cultural opportunity represent the situation of the numerically preponderant inhabitants of the community.² They constitute, therefore, not special conditions, but basic conditions; and what is denied them is denied by the minority to the majority. The minority, in turn, inevitably share some of the disad-

² To anyone who knows even the rudiments of urban sociology it is hardly necessary to give chapter and verse on the fact that whatever unfavorable aspect of city life is considered, it applies first and in greatest measure to the foreign-born and the Negro. Thus, for example, when poor housing is discussed, it may be assumed that it relates in a more pronounced degree to this portion of the community than to the native-born whites.

vantages and dangers to the entire community arising from the conditions of life of the majority of its citizens.³

NEW AMERICANS IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY⁴

Allegheny County has a larger proportion of immigrants and their children than has the state of Pennsylvania as a whole or the United States. The following table summarizes the relevant figures:

TABLE 22

NATIVITY AND RACE OF POPULATION IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY, COMPARED WITH PENNSYLVANIA AND THE UNITED STATES^a

NATIVITY AND RACE	PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION IN SPECIFIED NATIVITY GROUPS		
	<i>Allegheny County</i>	<i>Pennsylvania</i>	<i>United States</i>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Native white, native parentage	42.4	56.1	57.1
Native white, foreign or mixed parentage	34.8	26.5	20.7
Foreign-born white	16.6	12.8	10.9
Negro	6.1	4.5	9.7
Other	0.1	0.1	1.6

^a *Fifteenth Census of the United States*, abstract, Table 39, pp. 93-94; Vol. III, Table 13, p. 675.

However, in the last decade the trend in Allegheny County has been in the direction of a diminishing proportion of persons of foreign birth. This trend toward a diminishing ratio of the foreign-born in Allegheny County is likely to become more pronounced by the time of the next census.

During the decade preceding the World War, approximately one million immigrants per annum were admitted to the United States. The average for the four post-war years, 1921-1924, was 586,150. The act of 1924 ("quota law") reduced this figure to 293,768 (1925-1930). A further reduction in immigration was effected, beginning in 1930, through the strict interpretation of the "liable to become a public charge" clause in the immigration act of 1917. Under this policy, immigration from both quota and non-quota countries has been reduced to an annual average of 46,313 (1931-1934).⁵

³ Practically three-fifths of the population in 1930 (57.5 percent) are not native whites; 16.6 percent are foreign-born; 34.8 percent, native born of foreign or mixed parentage; 6.1 percent Negro. The native-born whites of native parents are the largest single class, but they obviously include the third generation of foreigners.

⁴ The text of this section on the foreign-born and their children is epitomized and quoted from the report prepared by Mary E. Hurlbutt of the study staff. The full text has been made locally available in mimeographed form and includes material discussed later on certain social agencies.

⁵ United States Department of Labor, *Annual Report of the Secretary, Year Ended June 30, 1934*, p. 48.

To this statement made by the Commissioner of Immigration may be added the fact that, as in previous periods of lessened economic opportunity in this country, there has probably been also a falling off in the number of aliens who desire to enter the country.⁶

Concerning the outflow of aliens since the depression the report of the Secretary of Labor states:

Beginning with 1931, the number of aliens leaving the United States each year has exceeded the number arriving. Over the four-year period 1931-1934, the excess departures have aggregated 229,365. . . . After flowing constantly in one direction for more than 300 years, the tide of immigration has turned. Quantitatively, for the present, at least, we have no immigration problem.⁷

The cumulative effect of all these factors is not only making a change in the physical make-up of the population but also is gradually modifying the social and cultural outlook.

The majority of even the "newer" immigrants have now been living in American communities for several decades. Many of their children, a generation of native-born Americans, are reaching, or already have reached, maturity. Such immigration as there has been since the enactment of the quota laws has tended to complete family groups of naturalized citizens who have established homes here. Moreover, many of the foreign-born whose ties in America were slight have given up the struggle for a foothold and have wandered back to their homelands. The present foreign-born residents, who have survived the worst years of depression, therefore represent a more stabilized group—conscious of deepening roots in American life. The war clouds in Europe serve further to strengthen the impulse to dig themselves more deeply into their adopted country. Hence, among these new Americans the need for a greater measure of opportunity in American life is stirring.

ATTITUDES OF "OLD" AND "NEW" AMERICANS

The older Americans, offspring of earlier immigration currents, have been so preoccupied by the economic and political problems precipitated by the depression that they have tended to give slight attention to these population changes and to their implications for American community life. As a result, psychological and social forces are shaping themselves among nationality groups outside the focus of attention of older Americans.

If these trends were fully understood, it is probable that they would suggest the desirability of a number of new directives in social planning. The need of new adaptations in agencies doing social work is only one aspect

⁶ For discussion of the correspondence between expanding economic opportunity and increase in numbers desiring to come and vice versa in times of depression, consult Hourwich, *Immigration and Labor*.

⁷ United States Department of Labor, *loc cit.*, p. 48.

of a larger problem. In Allegheny County it is important to achieve the coördination and broadening of many sporadic efforts now existing, in order to achieve an effective county-wide approach to the problem of assimilation as it exists today. The first step might well be to look broadly at the quality of social relations between old and new Americans.

The experience of recent years has sharpened the need for better understanding and closer relationships between the two groups. Too often, these contacts have been limited (except for the children in school) to transactions of employment, business, politics, and, today, to those of relief. These are the main channels through which the immigrant acquires a concept of the realities of American life. It need not be emphasized here that industrial workers today are very conscious of the terms of the bargain which secured the labor on which American prosperity has risen. Their ranks—among whom are the greater number of the foreign-born—have felt the heaviest impact of the depression and of the uncertainties and irregularities of the earlier stages of the relief program. The sense of being considered inferior, so prevalent among all foreign nationality groups, in the case of the unemployed quickly translates itself into interpreting any curtailment of relief or any mistake in administration as a deliberate discrimination against a specific nationality.

The American press, with an emotional lack of accuracy, has kept up a hue and cry against the foreign-born, branding them as chiselers and as the unnecessary burden which the American people are asked to support. The trend of much of the present legislation for social security is to exclude aliens from its beneficial provisions. This is bound to increase the general sense of insecurity. Whatever the merits of the question as to America's obligation toward unemployed aliens long resident in this country, the reader who wishes to understand the psychology of the foreign-born must keep in mind that the latter are more likely than are Americans to be mindful of America's immigration history and that recently it was necessary for the expansion of American industry to attract great numbers of European unskilled labor. Most of them recall from personal experience that at the close of the World War, when there seemed to be a vast market for American goods abroad, employers feared an acute labor shortage. There resulted a far-flung program designed to prevent immigrant labor from flowing out of the country because of illusions concerning what post-war Europe might offer them.⁸

Social workers often comment on the fact that the frugality natural to the European peasant has stood him in good stead during recent hard

⁸ On this chapter of American immigration history consult reports of the National Americanization Committee, organized in 1917, on the board of which were, among others, Coleman Du Pont, Thomas Edison, Elbert Gary, Jacob Schiff, H. P. Davison, and Felix Warburg.

times. On this point the executive of the Pittsburgh International Institute, in picturing the attitude of the foreign nationality groups in this economic crisis as compared to other groups, finds that they "... often seem even a little bit more resourceful and can get along on so much less, especially food, for a longer period of time. They are satisfied, also, with fewer clothes and are content to make over things and do not feel resentful in wearing patched clothing. We find them reverting to the foods they used in the old country with less variety than they have been having. Some women have taken to baking their own bread again."⁹

The depression has tended to retard assimilation, even among those who have not reached actual destitution. Numerous families refer to the fact that, weighed down by anxiety and discouragement, as well as by curtailed earnings, they have given up earlier budding ambitions reaching toward finer cultural opportunities in American life or to social contacts outside their immediate groups. The result has been in many instances a drawing in and narrowing down of social life either to the earlier confines of a local nationality group or, still more meagerly, to the limitations of existence without social contacts. As current programs for security through pensions or through work programs tend to discriminate against aliens, the pressure for naturalization increases. The naturalization procedure is still full of difficulties and of opportunities for exploitation. Resources for citizenship training for the foreign-born in the county are woefully inadequate both quantitatively and qualitatively. In numerous cases insurmountable barriers stand between the alien and citizenship, no matter how much he may desire it. Thus, the present situation is bound to leave an emotional aftermath among the foreign-born and their children. Measured against the total population of new Americans in Allegheny County only a meager proportion are at present reached by social and educational institutions. Nor are there many of the latter whose programs and personnel are permeated by a realistic, as well as sympathetic, understanding of the problems and interests of the foreign-born and their children or who are aware of the methods best adapted to serve them. Yet the ingrowing and apathetic moods, as well as the frustrated and critical moods, felt by many new Americans differ only in minor respects from the same emotional trends easily observable in every section of the population. Alongside them and latent within them, among the foreign-born and their children, there is evidence of the hunger for greater participation in American community life—for opportunities and for self-expression which will bring recognition not only of the individual but also of his group and of the value of his cultural inheritance.

Finally, when new Americans feel blocked in every effort to secure a

⁹ Manuscript by Katharine Lawless.

hearing for their interests or to find opportunities for recognition within American institutional life they are responding to new tendencies in their own nationality organizations. Originally these were developed as a protective environment in which the immigrant could feel some comfort, some security, and mutual aid apart from the American community. Today some of these organizations are shaping themselves as more positive instruments to further the interests of members of nationality groups. The movement, as it can be observed in various foreign cultural organizations, is still fairly young and fluid--among other aims, it looks toward finding advantages for the rank and file of its members in American life on terms compatible with their interests and self-respect. How the many movements under this head will shape themselves inevitably depends on the quality of response offered by American groups.

Cutting across this new vitality apparent in some of the foreign cultural organizations is the tendency of the younger generation to drift away from nationality group life with the random purpose of finding satisfying connections in American groups or in circles of mixed nationality background. Again, however vaguely defined, the need is that the new connections shall be commensurate with self-respect and individual interests.

As far as the external elements of social life have been observed, they suggest that many American customs and standards of living are being adopted by the immigrants of yesterday and their children. Thus, for example, the number of residents of Pittsburgh who could not speak English changed as follows between 1920 and 1930:¹⁰

	1920	1930
Men	4,938	1,910
Women	5,386	4,281

It will be noticed that women do not seem to have progressed in ability to speak English as much as have men. It should be borne in mind not only that the women who keep house have less opportunity than the men to learn English and that many European women still cling to conservative traditions which make them timid about making contacts outside the home but also that the government immigration policy in recent years has favored the admission of immediate members of the families of naturalized citizens. Among this group favored by the law, women and children have greatly predominated.

It is difficult to penetrate below such external signs of progress in assimilation as ability to speak English. In so far as one may generalize from a large number of honest expressions of attitudes and opinions on the part of both the native-born and the foreign-born the picture is not encouraging. Here one has the unmistakable impression that although

¹⁰ Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, *Population*, Vol. II, Table 19, p. 1391.

standardized American ways in external aspects of life have been readily adopted, more subjective feelings of homogeneity or "social togetherness" are exceptional. On the part of the older American population a resistance or incapacity to extend any real partnership in American civic and social life to those of the new is apparent. "In our community," was one remark, "there are only two groups, Americans and Hunkies, and there is no connection between them."

Speaking of one of the better residential sections of a town a prominent citizen said: "Few of the foreigners have moved up here; our real estate agents try to keep them where they belong—down in the hollow." The same man stated that problems of absence from school, child labor, stealing, and other delinquencies were prevalent among the children from foreign homes, but shrugged his shoulders as he said that the school dealt with these problems without making contacts with the foreign-born parents.

In one of the small mining towns the Catholic priest had expressed concern about the tendency toward delinquency among some of the children. When asked if he had ever talked this over with the school superintendent or teachers, he hesitated and then said: "I wouldn't be welcome there." To ascertain what basis there was for this feeling on the part of the priest an interview was sought with the school superintendent. He said: "I have nothing to do with the foreign priests. When the children come here we assume they are Americans and will behave like Americans, and we don't bother with their backgrounds." He had no information about the nationality of the children's parents.

Another school superintendent, asked about the nationality background of the children, said he had no idea. He might occasionally recognize the nationality of an Italian, but otherwise he "couldn't tell one from another." Said still another school superintendent: "We rarely have any contact with the foreign-born parents of the children [high-school students] here. As a matter of fact they are all liars and we simply take this for granted and don't believe anything they say."

An American physician's wife in one of the smaller towns in the county said: "There are several foreign doctors but they have to practice among their own people. Not one of them would be called on by an American. The American and foreign doctors have nothing to do with each other."¹¹

In discussing the difficulty which young women of foreign parentage are having in securing appointments as teachers in the public schools, even when their educational qualifications are excellent, an Anglo-Saxon school superintendent remarked: "It would be useless to deny that there is

¹¹ This remark was not found to hold true everywhere, as will be suggested in a later quotation. Its importance is due to the fact that it suggests the popular attitude.

prejudice in Western Pennsylvania against people with outlandish names. Probably it is a religious more than social matter, but even if a candidate says that her religious affiliations are Protestant, if her name sounds queer, we'd think she was lying about her religion." In contrast to this quite general feeling, several observers in McKeesport, both native and foreign-born, stated that with regard to employment of teachers there has been no discrimination.

One American woman spoke appreciatively of another because "she never loses her enthusiasm or interest in those foreign-born people—even though they must really be a deadly bore." If an individual with foreign culture is outstanding in attractiveness or of distinguished ability, he or she may overcome the social barriers and be accepted on terms of social or professional equality by Americans. As one physician put it, if a member of his profession is "able enough," his foreign background will in the long run not stand in his way. One young Polish medical student remarked: "It is good for us that in order to get recognition one of our nationality must be at least twice as good as the American student."

"It is the average student of foreign parents that is isolated and miserable," said a university graduate, "the exceptional ones can win their way to some recognition." There were found examples of Europeans, mostly born and educated abroad, whose exceptional charm had given them access to the most exclusive American circles. The broader cultural interests in modern society in any country are apt to be permeated with cosmopolitan traits, so that other things being equal, individuals of different nationalities who have enjoyed extensive social and cultural advantages may easily find many congenial common interests. Stubborn cultural prejudices and limited appreciation are apt to be sharpest among people having little experience and a provincial outlook.¹²

In part this prejudice today rests on a genuine concern that American cultural life shall develop more homogeneously and with greater appreciation of past traditions and values than has seemed to characterize its development in recent years. There are questions of economic relations, attitudes toward law and order, standards of health and education, and the duties of citizenship and community coöperation to be safeguarded. Yet it is here that prejudice is most apt to be reinforced by serious misconceptions concerning the facts and scientific principles involved.

It is necessary to approach attitudes prevailing among New Americans

¹² In noting expressions of attitude on the part of Americans toward members of foreign nationality groups it was obviously not possible to secure data which would measure quantitatively the predominance of negative over positive attitudes. All that can be recorded here is an impression of the wide prevalence among the American population of attitudes toward the foreign-born which are negative, indifferent, or, occasionally, patronizingly kind.

with objectivity equal to that applied in the study of the psychology of the older American stock. Among New Americans there are, with rare exceptions, feelings of discomfort or resentment at being relegated to what they conceive an inferior status, at being, as they believe, subject often to ridicule and patronage, at being subject to discrimination with regard to employment and other opportunities for achieving economic security and advancement, and at being generally excluded from positions of responsibility and from effective participation in civic and social affairs. Whether in any particular instance the discrimination is imaginary or whether it is real, these social attitudes rooted in an emotional residue left from many past experiences and misconceptions constitute a psychological force to be reckoned with.

A very simple expression of the situation was given by a young clerical worker: "I prefer to keep with my own people because I feel more comfortable with them." Foreign-sounding names were often mentioned as the source of humiliating experiences. "My child suffers in school because they make fun of his name." "Lots of the girls in high school don't tell their right names because the teachers don't like girls with foreign names. Then some of them get scared they'll be caught. Some of them get so scared they quit school." However, changing one's name is not as unimportant as it may sound. To many people who have a foreign background such a change symbolizes the significant and emotionally disturbing necessity of denying their cultural origin and with it their family background.

The supervisor of a social agency remarked that even when he knew that members of his staff came from foreign stock and could handle foreign languages, he often pretended not to know, since he felt that it pleased them to pass for "real Americans."

A girl I know was going to get married. She had an American girl friend and she asked her to the wedding, but she was afraid the American girl friend would laugh at our Slovak customs, so she wouldn't let her family have the kind of wedding celebration they were used to. Our people felt bad about this.

The same sense of being burdened by American prejudice appears in questions of employment.

I had to go into another county where they didn't know my foreign background before I got a chance for a teacher's position.

A foreigner wouldn't have a chance to get one of the top positions [speaking of an industrial plant], no matter how good he was, so I quit and went into a business where I could deal with my own people.

This man has made a marked success.

Regarding an office at which many of the foreign-born make applications, it was said:

They question us as if we were criminals there. They ought to have people in charge that don't dislike foreigners.

You'd better ask an American about that. I don't have anything to say because I am just a Polack.*

There's no use working harder. The boss would never promote a foreign guy.

There is the strong feeling that they are not understood:

I couldn't tell the teacher about that. She couldn't understand about my people.

I wouldn't give them no information. You couldn't tell how they'd use it. Now I'll tell you because you understand how things are for foreign folks here.

It is characteristic of these feelings of inferiority and frustration that they were not limited to the group who are economically and educationally deprived but were found to extend practically throughout all the nationality groups, and to last sometimes even to the third generation.

A minister of foreign background who is conspicuous for his broad cultural background, his distinguished ability, and his courageous attitude spoke of the bitterness of educated foreign-born individuals "because they are assumed to be inferior regardless of personal ability or education. This is never for a moment absent from their consciousness." The same man said also: "Not one of the educated foreign-born in town has any place socially or recognition professionally."

A highly educated man said: "Americans can't recognize differences in foreign people. They treat us all as if we were scum." A social worker said: "The teacher assumed my sister came from the slums just because she had foreign-born parents." A minister said: "Even highly educated men and women are limited to social relations with their own nationality and when these are uneducated laborers, the educated man is sometimes quite miserable and gets bitter."

The barrier is not built by Americans only. The tendency of super-sensitive people to withdraw into themselves in the face of slight or even imaginary rebuffs is part of the picture. A stolid or even aggressive indifference is another way of meeting the situation. A Polish lady remarked: "I never invited my American friends to the home with him (a Polish man of high attainments) because he never has anything to say to them and acts as if he couldn't speak English." In summing up the situation one leader said: "I don't think you can get the two groups to coöperate until you first cure the psychic disease which keeps them separated."

NATIONALITY COMMUNITIES

Wherever a considerable aggregation of families having the same nationality background succeeds in establishing their homes, there a "nationality community" has sprung up. Italian, Greek, Polish, whatever

the group may be, if it has any social vitality and economic security, its life finds expression in a series of enterprises, individual and corporate, which serve its particular needs—churches, parochial schools, lodges, newspapers, stores—conducted in the language and according to the traditional demands of each group. By means of innumerable interrelations between its members and functionaries such a community develops a coherent and characterful life of its own.

It is a mistake to imagine that foreign-born communities are simply replicas of life in the country of origin or that the traits that appear in the members of such communities are explicable simply as the immigrants' "cultural background." The social process is much more complex. Some clues to this background can be gained by considering the general characteristics of peasant communities of Eastern Europe as they were in the nineteenth century. Thus they were known to, and are remembered by, large numbers of America's foreign-born population. Before the advent of the automobile, which is still used only on a small scale in Eastern Europe as compared to American rural areas, many peasant communities had little contact with the rest of the world. Life moved slowly from generation to generation. Innumerable villages retained traits which characterized them in the Middle Ages. Customs and obligations long established as helpful in the hard struggle for a livelihood or as contributing to the meager pleasures of peasant life through the centuries acquired all the significance of eternal verities. Against these focal values new ideas had relatively little weight.

In a peasant community most of the families are likely to be related by blood or by marriage. The position and satisfaction of each member depends on the strength and property of his family group, on the number of fields or cattle the family own, on the dowry it can provide its daughters, and on the inheritance to which the sons look forward. Each member almost from infancy contributes his labor to the family's good, and only the outcast has no claim to share whatever security the group can provide. Innumerable records of peasant emigration illustrate the fact that in the communities where emigration becomes a tradition the departure of the individual is less often an assertion of an individualistic will than a part of a family plan through which to solve its problem of poverty—to pay off a mortgage, to buy additional land, or to provide for a younger son. In other words, life is corporate, and the corporation is the family. At the head of each family is the father, a sovereign both in rights and in responsibilities.

However, the emigrant, from the moment his departure is decided on, is imperceptibly modified by the individualistic experience he is undergoing. His traditional outlook on life is subject to disorganization. More-

over, everything he experiences in America has a more casual, more complex, and at the same time more self-centered quality. His success depends on his own prowess. His companions are intent on personal pleasure and adornment. The fact that his family have owned acres for many generations contributes nothing toward his prestige. He is no longer surrounded by the only people to whom from the cradle he has felt allegiance, that is, to his kin and village. The wonder is that the claim of distant relatives in so many instances survives long years of separation, even when illiteracy has reduced the exchange of letters to meager communications dictated to a third person.

The average immigrant colony goes through several phases of development. The early years of a colony composed of unskilled laborers is apt to show many characteristics which may also be found in a frontier American town. Saloon, dance hall, boarding home, are the conveniences which spring up in the casual life of any early settlement.

The flotsam and jetsam of immigrant life gradually develop coherence and institutional life becomes possible. In some nationalities, perhaps most strongly among Italians, there is a tendency for immigrants from the same village or district in the home country to cluster in the same American neighborhood. Under unfavorable conditions this cohesiveness may outlast the period in which it is essential to the immigrant's economic and emotional security. It may become an atrophied social process, isolating a minority group from relationship to the larger society in which it lives. The normal trend in Allegheny County¹³ has been marked by a gradual geographical dispersion from the first settlements in the hollow or on the river front to various better residential districts. With this geographic dispersion normally goes a branching out of interest and enterprise which, unless it is blocked, tends gradually to relate the erstwhile immigrant to many aspects of American life, although he may long retain his affiliation in his own nationality community.

The nationality communities in and around Pittsburgh are well known.¹⁴ There is considerable variation in the type of institution which may become of central importance in each immigrant community. Among Czechs, for instance, the Sokol (Gymnastic Society) is of central importance; among Italians it is difficult to develop any organization because of the supreme importance of family ties and village ties. Among immigrants who have enjoyed educational advantages and have lived in urban districts the institutional patterns which evolve are apt to be com-

¹³ For the distribution of foreign-born residents of Allegheny County see Table 27, p. 287, *infra*.

¹⁴ Interesting descriptive accounts of a large number of them have been prepared by the staff of the International Institute, and much general information can be obtained there.

plex, representing a variety of specialized cultural interests, such as literary and dramatic societies, political organizations, and so forth.

Among nationality groups in whose tradition the Church has played an important rôle the Church is likely to be transplanted with great strength and to afford a channel of cultural continuity which makes for stability of character during the difficult years before cultural adjustment to American life can take place. Among the Greeks, the Poles, the Russians, and to a large extent among the Slovaks, the Church becomes a center of community life, an expression of deep-rooted cultural form, as well as of religious practices. It is likely to draw to itself functions which in the country of origin belonged to the political community. Support of the Church is imposed on all members as a tax, which may be quite heavy. Within the parish societies the activities may vary greatly in value, but at best they conserve habits of coöperation and mutual responsibility, and they may be important in offering opportunity for recreation and the preservation of beautiful and cultural traditions. Many of the Catholic churches maintain parochial schools. In others a weekly language school is provided to instruct the children in the mother tongue of their parents, thus contributing to the safeguarding of family solidarity.¹⁵

The mother in one Italian family was urged by a social worker to move to a better neighborhood. It was pointed out that she could attend the American Catholic Church there. She protested that she much preferred putting up with her present less desirable neighborhood because the church was served by an Italian priest. She explained: "I want my own religion for the children."

In any immigrant group the daily hazards of life very soon prompt some sort of organization for mutual aid. A few pennies are saved by each individual from weekly earnings and are turned over to a saloon keeper or a boarding home keeper to be kept in a pool available in case of sickness or accident. This was the typical beginning of the lodge. Many nationalities, especially Slavs, Hungarians, and Germans, are apt to build a "hall" as the center of their social activities. These halls are found in every community in Allegheny County where nationality groups live in sufficient numbers to be able to finance the enterprise. As community centers of foreign nationality life these nationality halls are of great importance. They may be owned by a large number of individual shareholders, or a group of lodges may hold the shares. Occasionally a hall is erected by a few individuals as a business enterprise, profit on which is made by letting out the hall to local lodges or any other organizations. Individuals may hire the assembly room for weddings or other festivities. In addition to the secular halls there are others connected with parish churches.

¹⁵ See *infra*, pp. 260 ff., for accounts of some nationality churches.

In Tarentum, for example, there are approximately 3,000 Slovak families. The Lipa Hall there was built in 1918. It is supported by a number of Slovak societies including the Sokol, the National Slovak Society, and the First Catholic Union. Each one holds a share worth \$35. In addition there are about 560 "members" who pay 25 cents each month to help support the house. The membership has been growing recently. Twenty-five percent of the Slovak children in the community are said to belong. There are two gymnastic classes for children under 16 years which meet twice each week.

In a number of the communities in the Allegheny Valley the nationality halls have mural decorations which are painted by the same artist. One which represents the dual orientation of the members' interests is worthy of note. On both sides of the stage are portraits—on the right, President Roosevelt; on the left, President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia. On the side walls are scenes from the homeland: on one side, a towering feudal castle, a peasant boy and girl on a village street, and a legendary meeting of a knight and the virgin. On the other side, a river scene with a "No hunting, no fishing" sign suggests that the locale is American. In other halls there were photographs and calendars having pictures of various American presidents. Washington, Lincoln, and Roosevelt seem to have been the favorite choices.

The typical nationality hall is a rectangular building of two or more floors. On the ground floor is a large room with a bar, pool table, and tables and chairs. There are several additional rooms, usually including a kitchen and small business offices, on the ground floor. On the second floor is usually a large assembly room, with gymnasium equipment and a stage.¹⁶

The nationality hall is usually in charge of a resident steward and his wife. The steward is elected from the regular membership and receives either a salary or a commission on drinks. The use of nationality halls varies greatly. In some lodges quite elaborate operettas and plays are performed several times during the winter. Recently there has been a revival in the popularity of musical programs, which have thus far been sponsored primarily by some of the nationality churches and performed in church halls. The beautiful choir trained by Father Staroski of the Greek Catholic Church, on the South Side of Pittsburgh, is an example. Father Popovitch's choir at St. Savia, in McKeesport, is also notable. This movement is now spreading from the churches to some of the lay groups, who perhaps recognize the appreciation to be won from the American people by this contribution to community culture.

¹⁶ Nationality halls were visited during the study in McKeesport, Tarentum, Coverdale, Springdale, and East Deer Township.

In some instances the halls also provided reading matter for their members. It was usual to find the daily papers, both in English and in the mother tongue of the group. In one nationality hall is a small library from which the members may borrow books to be kept by them for several weeks; in another, plans are now under way to raise money for a new book collection. The interest of this group tends toward study of economic problems and radical political theories. One member pointed out that their hall was the center for any enterprise the group wished to consider. Here money had been raised to send to the homeland during the World War. Here also Liberty Bond campaigns were inaugurated. In Tarentum an attempt was made to measure the importance of the two nationality halls as recreational resources. We were told that whereas ten of the Slovak boys used the local Y.M.C.A., 268 members belonging to the national Sokol met in the Lipa Hall, while 400 were members of the Junior Lodge, and 183, of the Senior Lodge, which meet in the parish hall. In Tarentum 25 percent of the Slovaks are said to belong to the national hall. A larger percentage probably are members of the Catholic lodges.

It is difficult for Americans, particularly for the older generation, to appreciate the social importance of these "national halls." In a setting belonging to the group, where the members feel free from the inhibiting presence of superior-feeling and authoritative Americans, the genuine interests and enterprise of nationality groups have free play. In a number of places the importance of both lodges and national halls seems indeed to be diminishing, but in many they are still the center of plans for mutual aid.

The secretary of a small lodge in East Deer Township explained that in case a lodge member was injured, it would be the duty of the secretary to see that he was taken to the hospital. If he were killed, the lodge must do more than pay his insurance benefit. The members would meet and talk over a plan to help his widow and children.

Drinking is not disapproved by the community, and the men frequently stop at the hall for a drink after work in the mine is over for the day; on holidays they drink heavily, and, as is traditional in the homeland, no one is too much shocked at the man who gets drunk. It was said that the women drink very moderately, as they believe in this way they are more able to restrain their husbands. In the national hall at Tarentum the steward explained that children under sixteen are never permitted in the pool room and bar. They enter by a separate entrance and go upstairs to the large gymnasium where gymnastic drills are held twice each week.

Since the depression lodge activities have been failing for lack of funds. One informant mentioned that members lacked money for carfare as well as for decent clothes in which to attend social functions. "Somehow we

don't feel like celebrations since things had gotten so bad," one woman said. Two club leaders spoke of the great difficulty of getting leaders for the Sokol, as it requires intensive work. Several Sokol lodges are adopting the English language for their instruction in order to hold the younger members. It is generally recognized that the young people tend to drift away, and there is a marked effort to develop new programs to attract them. This is partly a question of sheer business. The lodges cannot remain solvent if their membership becomes predominantly a group of aged and infirm. Yet this is a real possibility which confronts them.

MIXED IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES

Not every settlement of the foreign-born is large enough to produce a well-knit community life. Where the employment policies of American industry in the county have resulted in attracting a mixture of many nationalities, each one too small to develop its own cultural institutions, the result would seem to be a culturally incoherent aggregation of "foreigners," which even more than the urban immigrant colony is slow to overcome the prejudices of older American residents of the countryside.

The observer, alert to problems of the immigrant, is immediately struck by the cultural impoverishment and social disorganization of such a community.¹⁷ The usual hedonistic diversions are certainly present: the movie, the bowling alley, the saloon, and the dance hall. But, whereas in the well-developed nationality community the encroachment of these commercial enterprises is likely to be tempered by traditional activities of more cultural significance, such as those offered by gymnastic societies, singing, dramatic clubs, or literary clubs, in the mixed immigrant community these are either entirely absent or they are conducted intermittently and on a peculiarly meager level. In its early history, this type of community tends to be disunited, broken into component cultural fractions. After a time—if one may judge by what has happened in the communities studied—cultural prejudices recede, alliances are made, and joint activities become possible; but lacking conservative cultural roots, the interests of the population are shallow except where economic grievances constitute a real and deep-seated common experience.

It is to these small and resourceless settlements, which have come into being in all parts of the country in response to the needs of industry, that the Protestant mission tends to come. Unhappily, however devoted their efforts to care for the needs of the population, the ultimate effect in spiritual life is likely to be still further demoralization. This is because religion, at least in its forms of expression and its definition of belief, springs

¹⁷ Almost any of the mining towns offer examples of this type. Coverdale and Russellton may well be studied as mixed immigrant communities.

also out of the depths of a people's culture and is inextricably interwoven with it. Sudden transitions can hardly be made without threat to the depths and richness of religious life. Some individuals seem capable of finding the universal meanings which make it possible to pass from one form of religious experience to another without loss of inspiration or spiritual integrity. But for the average person, and above all for the peasant who does not live according to abstract concepts, form and essence are one.

Reaction like that of the Italian woman who prefers a long trip once or twice a year to a distant Italian Catholic parish to the regular ministrations of a local Irish Catholic church, because as she puts it: "I like my Italian religion," is found frequently among just those whose personalities are nourished by strongly-rooted loyalties. If such strong preferences are felt within the broad framework of the Catholic Church, it is even more true when the transition is from Catholic to Protestant worship. A Slovak miner's wife said: "I'd rather send my children to my own church even if we have to pay there and at the Mission they give you all sorts of presents." Yet, without doubt, the missions have a certain popularity, not wholly explained by their offering of a combination of religious and material advantages. It may be partly because of the warmth and friendliness of many of the workers, as well as because they often provide the only organized social services available in the settlement.

NEW AMERICANS IN MCKEESPORT

In order to obtain some idea of the situation of new Americans when considered in their relationships within one local community an attempt was made during this inquiry to construct an integrated, if brief, picture of the organized life of new Americans in one of the industrial communities of Allegheny County.

The city of McKeesport was selected because of the number of nationalities there, their size and their stability.¹⁸ The 1930 census shows that the immigrants and their children are outstripping the native-born residents of McKeesport in number in almost the exact ratio observed for the county as a whole. Of the total population of 54,632, the foreign-born and those of native birth and of foreign or mixed parentage numbered 32,154, or 58 percent of the total population.¹⁹ If one classifies together the foreign stock from Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, Sweden, and other north-western countries of Europe, they constitute approximately 38 percent of

¹⁸ Twenty-six individuals were interviewed. The majority of interviews lasted from one to two hours and several persons were seen more than once. A variety of reports available through the courtesy of the International Institute and of several nationality organizations were examined.

¹⁹ Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, *Population*, Vol. III, Pt. 2, Table 15, p. 688.

the foreign stock.²⁰ These nationalities are often referred to as "the old immigration," because people from these countries came to the United States in large groups and had well established communities here before the mass emigration from southeastern European countries commenced in the eighties. It will be noted that the largest single group of the foreign-born according to country of birth, as recorded in the 1930 census, is that of Czechoslovakian nativity, who, together with their children, number 6,505. The second largest group recorded belongs to the "old immigration," 3,633 Germans. The Polish stock, 3,586, come next. Then there is a drop to 2,387 Italians, 2,219 Hungarians, and 2,161 Yugoslavs.²¹

These census figures are, of course, only roughly indicative. The census enumerators cannot go beyond the information given by foreign-born residents, and many immigrants are exceedingly hazy in their knowledge of European geography. Census enumeration, moreover, follows the political boundaries created at the close of the World War. Thus, for example, Czechoslovakian origin may represent culturally diverse Slovaks, Hungarians, and Czechs. In McKeesport the Czechoslovak group consists almost exclusively of Slovaks.

The coming of the "newer immigrants" to McKeesport was an event in the history of local industry and illustrates the general pattern of immigrant accretion referred to earlier. The National Tube Company was established in 1872, and the population thereafter grew rapidly.²² In each stage of the growth of the immigrant settlements the needs of the industries have been the potent drawing force.²³ These same industries are still the chief employers of foreign labor. A former employee of the company tells how at one time the National Tube Company brought in carloads of Mexicans, who were first housed in company barracks. After several years the demand for this labor failed, and they were left to find their way back to Mexico or to other employment as best they might. A few Mexican families living in wretched quarters in the first ward are the historical survival of this industrial chapter.

While, of course, the bulk of new Americans belong to the laboring mass, there are also an increasing number of successful enterprises in the business world conducted by new Americans. The Italians have been most active in undertaking independent enterprises, but there are scattered in-

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Tables 18 and 19, pp. 702 and 706.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² As one landmark of the newer immigration, one may take Rev. Daroczy's report that the first Hungarian (or Magyar) family settled in McKeesport in 1881 (newspaper article by the Rev. Daroczy on "Magyar Culture in McKeesport," in the *Daily News*, March 5, 1935).

²³ An unpublished survey of McKeesport made in 1930-31 gives as the principal employers: the National Tube Company, 7,200 employees; the National Sheet & Tin Plate Company, 1,800 employees; the Firth Sterling Steel Company, 550 employees; and the Fort Pitt Casting Company, 300 employees.

stances of business enterprise on the part of other nationalities. There are two hotels in McKeesport, and the smaller one of the two is owned and operated by a Slovak. The four moving picture theaters are owned by Austrian Jews. There is a large printing establishment operated by the United Societies of Greek Catholic Religion. A large bakery is operated by a Hungarian. A real estate and insurance business, by a Slovak. The local agent for the Frigidaire is a Yugoslav.

These illustrations perhaps suggest the trend toward economic success among many members of nationality groups. Inevitably there has come with it a growing interest in civic affairs, which is expressing itself in political organization. For instance, each of the Slavic groups in McKeesport has a political club. These have been united in the past two years in the "Slavic Political Federation," which also has a woman's branch. There is as yet, we were told, no clear-cut trend of political thought in this group or any definite conviction concerning the Republican and Democratic parties. In the last election, however, they were overwhelmingly Democratic.

The tendency is for politicians to respect requests coming from any organized body of voters. It is said that the individual foreign-born person has little chance to overcome the discrimination against him unless he can bring the influence of such an organized group into play. Thus, for instance, during the days of prohibition a Hungarian applying for a position on the police force was told that he would have to be recommended by a certain Hungarian Club known to have bootlegging interests, since the administration could not appoint a man against the wishes of this organization which controlled many votes.²⁴ Incidentally, this situation would seem to provide a new and vital reason for the survival of the nationality organization.

A student of the local situation reports:²⁵

To the uneducated European peasant who has been accustomed to the autocratic control of the village by the local official corresponding to the mayor of an American city, the city official is omnipotent. It is almost impossible to convince the average foreigner that the mayor, the ward politician or the local representative in either the State or Federal legislature cannot set aside laws to grant a favor to anyone loyal to the party. The extent to which this faith in the politician enters into community life in McKeesport is almost unbelievable. The politicians frequently seem to be favored by Providence, for in numerous cases, where in the natural course of events, the desired end would be gained with no intervention, and could not possibly be hastened, some local politicians have written a letter just in time to get all the credit for the success which was inevitable. Aldermen²⁶ make a practice of filling out petitions for the entry of relatives of naturalized citizens and sending them to the local representatives in Congress instead of to the State De-

²⁴ Reported in an unpublished survey of McKeesport.

²⁵ *Ibid.* ²⁶ Local magistrates.

partment. The voter then gets the impression that he is indebted to the Congressman and to the party for the admission of his relative, who would have been admitted if the man himself had sent the petition to the State Department instead of paying a fee to the alderman for unnecessary red tape. The alderman and notary public make a living from the foreigner in McKeesport. High fees are often demanded, and many services, such as filling out applications for citizenship papers, which could be done by any private citizen or social agency, are regularly performed by these petty officials for a fee, because the foreigner thinks he must go to an official for such services or they would not be legal. Many domestic and neighborhood difficulties are taken to aldermen who require high fees and accomplish little in many cases.

Almost every nationality group has many organizations which furnish potential support for politicians. At special affairs held by these organizations public officials are usually the most honored guests and speakers. Especially is this true just before election, when political candidates spend Sunday afternoon making the rounds of these meetings. To the simple-minded foreigner, with a peasant background, it is a great honor to have the mayor or other officials attend their affairs, and one visit of an hour or two nets the party several hundred votes, with a few drinks on the side. . . .

The successful politician in McKeesport must be affable enough to win the loyalty of the foreign element, diplomatic enough to respect the interests of powerful industries without drawing forth open criticisms, and tactful enough to keep his eyes closed to the activities of local bootleggers and gamblers. It is not surprising that civic improvements are slow in coming, for many of the most needed improvements, such as better city planning, conflict with the interests of the industries to whom the official feels he owes more than to the voter.²⁷

With regard to McKeesport one may ask how far older American groups who control the cultural and civic institutions invite participation by the "new Americans." One may hear much talk in McKeesport about the failure of the "foreigners" to become Americanized. Yet when one examines the membership lists of American enterprises, one rarely discovers a name suggesting that the McKeesport inhabitants of southeastern European stock have a chance to see more of America than school, mill, shops, and movies! For instance, the Kiwanis, the Lions, the Optimists are said not to have extended their membership to citizens of foreign stock. There are one or two successful Slavic and Italian business men among the Rotarians. According to a social worker formerly in McKeesport, a number of men of various nationalities are members of the American Legion, but these same men do not belong to the fraternal orders or other groups predominantly American. Among women's groups, there is the same distinction.²⁸ The College Club, for instance, has only on rare occasions admitted a college graduate whose family belongs to one of the "nation-

²⁷ Interview with a social worker in McKeesport.

²⁸ At the time this study was made, there was no parent-teachers' association in the schools—an organization which might have served to bring new Americans into helpful contact with community situations.

ality" groups. The Women's Club is said to have a closed membership limited to fifty; the Junior Auxiliary is of similar type. The Mothers' Club has made no effort to include mothers from "nationality" groups. Even the Catholic Church organizations, such as the Catholic Daughters of America and the St. Vincent de Paul Society, have few members with foreign background. The Chamber of Commerce is indeed a point of contact, and it was noticeable with what pride some of the business men among new Americans mentioned the doings at the Chamber of Commerce luncheons and spoke of their success in raising money in their own nationality groups for some of the civic enterprises sponsored by the Chamber, such as funds for the Boy Scouts, the Hospital, and the Helping Hand. There is a psychological clue here which should be noted. There seemed to be little interest among the nationality leaders in supporting social services rendered by Americans for "the foreign people." This may well be because an appeal based on the fact that the unfortunate are their own people identifies them still further with a status of inferiority and lack of adjustment to American life which they desire at all costs to escape. There was pride, however, in having been asked and having contributed to a variety of causes sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce in behalf of the whole community, especially when there was recognition of the contribution as coming from a particular group.

It was mentioned several times that the school board in McKeesport did not discriminate against girls of foreign parentage in the appointment of teachers. This was a happy contrast to the evidence on this point obtained in some of the other towns of the county. It is reported that the Public Library has a few Croatian books and a collection of two hundred books in the Hungarian language selected by the scholarly Hungarian pastor, whose congregation helped raise the money for the purchase of these books. The books are well selected and are in frequent use. Most of them represent the best type of fiction, both modern and of an earlier period.²⁹

In social work the only participation of nationality leaders on a constructive democratic basis was found to be in the International Institute and on the Recreation Committee of the Community Council. Four of the

²⁹ In this connection it may be mentioned that in the New York Public Library there are collections of books of particular interest to the different language groups. In 1898 the trustees of the Webster Free Library, now a branch of the New York Public Library, appropriated \$30 for the purchase of Bohemian books. The project of developing the library as a center of Czechoslovak art, music, drama, and literature has slowly grown. The entire Czechoslovak book collection now numbers 10,000 volumes. Efforts have been made to draw the interest of foreign-born groups in a great variety of ways. One plan which proved very successful in one branch was to give a puppet show to which the Porto Rican school children and their parents were invited. It was given in the language of the parents invited. The show was followed by a visit around the library and an explanation of its purpose. There resulted a marked increase in the willingness of parents to let their children go to the library.

nineteen members of the latter were of foreign background. There was little opportunity to find out how active the new American members of the Recreation Committee have been or whether their interest has been aroused and held.

Although there are many reasons why immigrants of each nationality build up their own institutions, their exclusion from American organizations and from close contact with the American world of ideas probably contributes more than anything else to the longevity of the nationality communities.

As an example of a nationality community in McKeesport, the community of the Slovaks will be briefly described. In any immigrant community there are likely to be factions of which a wise community organizer will have to be aware. Some of the divisions reflect the European inheritance. There are, for instance, the Slovaks who tend to favor the Hungarians, whereas others favor the Czechoslovak government. Some Carpatho-Russians are fervent Russophiles, while others are Czechoslovak in their loyalties, although in Europe they are all today politically under Czechoslovakia. The divisions may also be defined in religious terms; Roman Catholic, Protestant, Greek Catholic, and freethinkers have various alliances and hostilities. As soon attempt to organize a Southern community in the United States without reference to Negro-white cleavage as to proceed in a nationality community without being aware of traditional conflicts.

In the Slovak group, as in many other groups, the Church is the vital center of social life, the strongest element of continuity transplanted from the past. The multiple activities affiliated with the Church fulfill many needs. As one example one may take the largest Slovak parish, which is the Roman Catholic "Holy Trinity." Organized in 1893, it now has eight hundred families. The priest, an American, relates that in the seminary he and several others were ordered to study the Slovak language with a view to being put in charge of a Slovak parish. When he first came to McKeesport, he says, "there was a riot." The people wanted a Slovak priest. However, he stayed on and has built up a strong organization. He seems to be greatly respected, and "performs the services quite correctly!" He preaches in Slovak (even though it is imperfect Slovak). Holy Trinity parish has, like all Catholic churches, a number of clubs for all ages and both sexes—"Ladies' Rosary," "Young Ladies' Sodality," "Young Men's Lyceum," and the "Holy Name Society" for men. The St. Vincent de Paul Society has ten members who are very active in parish visiting. The society has given \$400 to \$500 in relief each year. These church societies provide a social outlet for the members, usually are a source of support for the Church, and offer some opportunity for moral and religious influence.

The parochial school has 434 pupils. Five local lodges of the Slovak Catholic Union are organized under the sponsorship of this church, meet at the parochial school hall, and have a membership of several hundred each. Church lodges are similar to the nonsectarian type, collecting dues on life insurance policies issued by the National Union. The local lodge carries a sick-benefit fund. In addition the members of the lodge meet for a variety of social entertainments. The distinctive feature of the church lodge is that it is under the guidance of the spiritual advisor, the priest, and much of its activity is devoted to raising funds for various church purposes.

Another large Slovak parish is that of the Czechoslovak National Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, organized in 1925 with a membership of five hundred. An important denomination in McKeesport which includes many Slovaks, as well as Carpatho-Russians, is Greek Catholic rite, represented by the congregation of St. Nicholas, organized in 1901. This church represents a compromise between the Eastern orthodox ritual and recognition of the supremacy of the Roman Catholic pope. Until recently the clergy have been allowed to continue their ancient custom of marriage. Recently the order of the bishop, at papal behest, abolishing this right has been threatening a split in the Church. There is also an interesting question of language. Since the ninth century the Church has used the old Slavonic language. Today when this language is increasingly remote from the vernacular spoken by the laity, it has been proposed by some of the younger members to substitute English. The Catholic Church urges the adoption of Latin. These details illustrate the elaborate and deeply-historical cultural issues, often rather remote from actualities of life in America, which still occupy the interests of these congregations. Belonging to St. Nicholas Church are a mixture of Russians (Carpatho-Russians), Hungarians, Slovaks and some Croatians, totaling about 1,500 members. The church owns several pieces of property, including a parish house where the usual church societies meet. The language school for children, customary among practically all immigrant groups, gives instruction in old Slavonic which is useful for participation in the church service, but does not serve the usual purpose of foreign-language schools of strengthening the family by teaching the children the language of their parents. In the Church of St. Nicholas the course in the ecclesiastical language lasts six years; lessons are given every Saturday and daily for nine weeks during summer vacation! Under the spiritual direction of the priest there are several lodges affiliated with the United Societies of Greek Catholic Religion, a national fraternal organization. It has been said that the church societies lack vitality, are meager in program and narrow in outlook. It was not possible to investigate this aspect. Monthly

dues of one dollar paid to the church are obligatory for every family; otherwise Easter confession and communion may be withheld, and this action carries the dire threat of eternal punishment.

The local priest is interested in the social problems of his parishioners. He feels that the young people representing the grandchildren of those who immigrated are a fine group and are increasingly interested in the Church. The young people in the choir give several dramatic performances during the winter and have numerous "sociables." His ideas on the rôle of social agencies are suggestive and may be significant. For example, he does not think the Church should distribute relief. This should be done by social agencies. He is glad to have the social agencies consult him, as they frequently do, with regard to the need of a particular family; but, he observes, social agencies need the advice of people who understand the lives of the immigrants. Three women in his parish are receiving Mothers' Assistance. He is now trying to get old-age pensions for two members. In spite of this interest and of his efforts on behalf of his parishioners it is evident that Father "X" knows very little about the way American social agencies operate.

The fraternal benefit society, "United Societies of Greek Catholic Religion," has headquarters in McKeesport, which results in a center of activity and interest for the local Greek Catholics. There are fourteen local lodges, totaling about eight hundred senior and one thousand junior members in McKeesport. The headquarters publishes a weekly newspaper, *Enlightenment*.

The Slovak National Hall in McKeesport is a large three-story brick building, located on White Street, that is, in a poor neighborhood. It has the usual equipment of assembly room with stage, gymnasium, bar, pool room, and small offices. It is owned by private stockholders who rent out the rooms for profit to any organization. The Sokols hire it for gymnastic drills at a low rental.

Reference has been made to the Federation of Slavic Political Clubs. This movement started about two years ago in an attempt to get all the Slavic groups in McKeesport united—the Poles, the Slovaks, and the various Jugo-Slav groups. Obviously there is potential economic, as well as political, strength in such a union; but it is too early to predict its significance. At present the group is active just before elections. In McKeesport the organization hopes ultimately to succeed in electing Slavic people to office, but at present they back the ticket put into the field by one of the other parties if the group is favorably disposed to its promoters. It is associated with a national movement of this same type.

The Sokol movement is the typical expression of Czechoslovak cultural life. Sokol means eagle, the bird of strength and courage. Sokols were or-

ganized in Europe to foster, through gymnastic training, moral discipline, and comradely loyalty, the union of the Czech people at a time when, under the domination of Austria, the privileges of political organizations were denied them. Sokols became the symbol of devotion to the cause of Czechoslovak nationality. As the Falcons were organized among the Poles at the time of foreign domination, possibly both movements were originally inspired by the German "Turnverein" which came into being early in the nineteenth century, during the period when the younger generation of Germans felt the spirit of revolt against the domination of Napoleon. In America these organizations have lost much of their nationalistic vitality but they have survived largely because of their athletic interests. Membership in Sokol depends on a standard of conduct approved by the group and doubtless is a regulating influence. Recently insurance features have been added, and the new projects of Sokol leaders include proposals for summer camps, for dramatics, and for musical programs. The local Sokol lodges in McKeesport seem feeble. It is said that there is a diminishing interest in the traditional gymnastic drills and that there are many factional disputes. The depression also has contributed to the falling off of paid memberships.

The Jugoslavs are few in number, and their organizations are split by bitter political disputes which reflect the divisions now keeping these groups apart in Europe. Of the three Yugoslav groups—Serbians, Croats, and Slovenians—the first two are found in McKeesport. Serbian life centers around the Serbian Orthodox Church of St. Sava. There are 120 families from McKeesport in the parish and 90 families from Duquesne.

There are five Hungarian church congregations in McKeesport—the Roman Catholic, the Magyar Reformed Church, the Hungarian Greek Catholic, the Baptist, and the Free Magyar Reformed Church. Inevitably there is a hard struggle for existence in each one. The Hungarian Hall is on Market Street and in general pattern is similar to the hall of the Slovaks. Americans have expressed the opinion that this hall is a demoralizing influence because of the drinking and card playing that goes on, but inquiry from thoughtful and intelligent persons of the groups themselves gives a different impression.

Some additional foreign-nationality clubs found in the new McKeesport directory are: the American-Russian Self-Culture Club; the American Serbian Club; the Hungarian Social Circle; the Italian Social Union; and the German Turn- and Gesangverein. This list is by no means exhaustive.

Enough has been said perhaps in these brief notes on some of the nationality communities in McKeesport to suggest that in trying to understand the community life of the foreign cultural groups in a local community reference must be made both to the social and institutional life

developed here and to the cultural loyalties which have their roots in the countries of their origin.

COUNTRY-WIDE NATIONALITY FRATERNAL SOCIETIES

The local community of each nationality group tends to link itself with communities of like nationality in other localities. This complicated "interlinkage" comes about not only through the intermarriage of individual families, not only through the constant interchange of information regarding employment opportunities, business developments, and professional services but also by means of common enterprises which become incorporated in large national or supernational federations. Thus, local fraternal lodges are united in various "unions," "alliances," or "societies," and these federations in turn stimulate the creation of new local lodges. Through annual conventions the developments of policy and program are coördinated.

Through the agency of permanent national headquarters the national organizations either directly administer or contribute to the support of a large variety of institutions and services which serve the purposes of the group. A function common to all these national societies is the issuance of insurance policies to their members and the publication of a newspaper or periodical. In addition there are undertakings expressive of the interests of each group. Some maintain educational institutions or scholarships, summer camps or gymnastic organizations. Some are linked to religious denominations and some are nonsectarian.

Thus, these fraternal societies tend to become extensive enterprises of mixed social, business, and political character. The relationship between members is one of "brotherhood," so that a member need never feel bereft of human relationship wherever he can find other members of his fraternal order. For the immigrant this fact has been an immeasurable support. Among the older generation the fraternal orders with their subsidiary lodges still tend to be the center of social life. As was pointed out with reference to the local lodges, the allegiance of the younger generation hangs in the balance. All the societies, conscious of the danger of disintegration as the older generation dies off, are making a bid for the support of youth. This leads to many interesting modifications in program and procedure.

Allegheny County is an important center for some of these nation-wide societies, and their activities constitute, therefore, a significant element in the local life of new Americans. For this reason some consideration must be given them in an evaluation of the forces at work among new Americans. A few examples have been selected because they seem to represent characteristic socio-psychological trends. The National Slovak Society

has its home office in Pittsburgh at 516 Court Place. It was incorporated in 1890 and now has branches in thirty-eight states. In December, 1934, it had issued 32,699 insurance certificates—a number somewhat smaller than that recorded for the previous year. About 17,000 are junior memberships. Approximately one-third of the membership is in Western Pennsylvania. Premiums vary with the size of the insurance benefits, the average being \$1 for the men, 75 cents for women, and 15 cents for the children. Of the monthly payments 15 cents remain with the local lodge for sickness insurance, which in some cases pays as much as \$5 a week for 13 weeks in case of illness. The balance of monthly premiums is paid to the national lodge. Death benefits vary according to payments. In 1934 the assets of the National Slovak Society as reported to the state were more than eight million dollars. As stated by its officials, its basis is co-operative.

The purpose of the National Slovak Society is to give mutual protection and to further the cultural interests of its members—both those that spring from the foreign heritage and those that are American. For instance, several years ago an additional tax of two cents each month was levied on members for a fund to be contributed toward the welfare of the Czechoslovak Republic. On the other hand, the society promotes American citizenship among its members, and it formerly awarded scholarships for university study. Recently, small grants of \$25 to \$50 have been awarded to junior members as an aid to their education. The society publishes a paper written in both English and Slovak, *Narodny Noveny*. Its *Almanac*, published annually, gives to the membership a great deal of useful information about the United States.

Another Slovak society is the Slovak League of America, which was founded at the time of the War in order to aid the struggle for independence of the Czechoslovak Republic. In recent years this society has become interested in establishing a department to do welfare work. Its reported contributions for beneficial purposes rose from \$283.75, in 1931, to \$751.25 in 1934. To date the administration of this part of the program is not in the hands of anyone with professional experience in social work. However, the League is serious in its interest and is considering application for membership in the Federation of Social Agencies. It is therefore possible that, through coöperation this society may develop a progressive policy toward the education of its members in modern social welfare methods. It is another sign that nationality groups are becoming interested in taking a more responsible part in civic affairs.

Another large fraternal organization is based on membership in the Greek Catholic religious rite. It includes many Slovaks, as well as Carpatho-Russians, and is called the Greek Catholic Union. Its national head-

quarters occupy one of the handsomest office buildings on the main thoroughfare of Homestead. It was stated by one of the officials of the union that of 1,500,000 Carpatho-Russians in the United States, approximately one-third are organized in the Greek Catholic Union. The organization has 975 lodges, of which 597 are located in Pennsylvania. The national union is a member of the National Fraternal Congress, which maintains a representative in Washington and is actively interested in state politics in Harrisburg. In 1934 its assets were nearly eight million dollars. In the same year the total number of certificates held were 49,845, of which 32,501 were in Pennsylvania. The ratio between its assets and liabilities is well above the minimum required by state law.

The Greek Catholic Union is directly under the jurisdiction of the Church. The governing body is a board of trustees composed of ten people elected in the convention, which is held once in four years. Much more active than the trustees, however, is its permanent group of administrative officials. An observer gets the impression of an interesting dual orientation in this organization. The president and spiritual advisor, an elderly man, leans toward the conservation of old traditions. Younger members of the staff, who have increasing power, are enthusiastically concerned with the interests of their fellow nationals in American life. They point with pride to the growth in junior membership. The union gives many scholarships each year in order that students among its members may attend American educational institutions. Last year it spent \$70,000 for educational purposes. It also operates an orphanage at Elmhurst, Pennsylvania, with a capacity of caring for 240 children (really a home for children of the members who become dependent).

A variety of interesting trends can be observed in another national group, the Polish National Alliance. In spite of the fact that its headquarters are in Chicago, it is included here because of the influence it has in the Polish colonies around Pittsburgh. It has approximately 300,000 members. In Chicago it maintains an educational division, which finances courses at Northwestern University, at the University of Wisconsin, and an extension course at Milwaukee. The alliance spent about \$20,000 last year in noninterest-bearing loans to cover tuition for students at American colleges and professional schools. The alliance also maintains a library in Chicago and a college at Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania. With regard to the latter, a significant minority would like to see the funds now invested in the "college" used for other purposes. They contend that it is little more than a high school, attracting most of its students through scholarships and unduly prolonging their separation from American life. Of the considerable sum now required to maintain the institution it is urged that a part at least could be better appropriated for scholarships

to send students to American educational institutions, to send them to Poland to study or to support chairs in Polish language and culture at American universities.

Of particular interest for Allegheny County is a local organization, the Central Council of Polish Organizations, recently created through the collaboration of a number of Polish organizations in Pittsburgh to represent their joint interests. Member organizations include the local branch of the Polish National Alliance, the Polish Roman Catholic Union, Polish Women's Alliance, and the Pittsburgh Nest of Polish Falcons. Each society is entitled to one delegate for each one hundred members. There are at present 149 delegates. The present budget is \$5,000 annually. The program of the council has several subdivisions:

I. Educational

This division undertakes to supply information, literature and other cultural resources to Poles or Americans on request. It hopes to interest the School Board in permitting Polish to be offered as a second language.

II. Nationality interests

Will encourage observation of Polish national holidays, plans to sponsor a Polish chair at the university, and so forth.

III. Citizenship

To give information and aid to Polish people desiring to prepare for American citizenship.

IV. Social service

This department is still in its first stages, but several Polish people referred to it as enlisting their greatest interest. There is much concern as to the alleged amount of juvenile delinquency among children of Polish background. The council has a special worker for boys brought before the Juvenile Court. It has been interested in providing entertainments and gifts and reading matter to homeless and unemployed men at Federal camps and to patients at Mayview. It has applied for affiliation in the Federation of Social Agencies.

It is necessary for the social worker to understand that the leaders of nationality communities, both local and national, constitute the mediators between the rank and file of their nationality groups and the American community. Their influence largely determines the quality and direction of interest of the group. Obviously the quality of this leadership is of crucial importance. Their understanding of, attitude toward, and participation in American community life largely determine the understanding, interest, and attitude of their followers. Speaking the same language and knowing intimately the way of life of their compatriots, they inspire confidence, especially in recent arrivals. Cumulative experience gives many of these men a certain expertness in handling the most varied concerns.

Leaving aside the constant danger that many unscrupulous members^{al} of a nationality group find in this rôle a welcome chance to exploit

newcomer, it is true that even conscientious and intelligent leaders are apt to lack adequate knowledge of American life and resources to handle all types of problems that are brought to them. Some of these have the initiative and self-confidence to persist in their efforts to secure information from American officials and social workers but many of them think, rightly or wrongly, that they will be rebuffed. Their foreign modes of thought make a meeting of minds difficult, and undoubtedly they often stress points which an American finds unimportant or objectionable or funny. The American often fails to see that the failure in mutual understanding is due to cultural differences.

If the American community offers opportunities for a continual inflow of new participants in its life, if recognition and opportunity for real activity are open to new Americans under circumstances satisfying to and congenial to them, there will be a fruitful interpenetration of social influence between the American institutions of long standing and those which have sprung up to meet the immigrants' needs, to the benefit of both. As long as the interchange is blocked by lack of knowledge of each other, by patronage, or by attempts at coercion the tendency is for the nationality organizations to gain in strength, not as healthy transitional devices and conduits between the tradition of the past and the opportunities of the new life, but as compensatory devices for escape from American life or as a means of exercising group pressure on American life.

Nor can it be denied that group pressure as a device for securing recognition and opportunity otherwise withheld is likely to spread rapidly in the near future unless American social planning proceeds along more democratic cultural lines. Like all institutions these great fraternal organizations are tenacious of life; they tend to become vested interests, and their offices tend to become objects of factional struggle for control. On the other hand, the question arises whether they can continue to satisfy the ambitious needs for self-expression of the younger native generation. Inasmuch as they derive their concepts from the past in another country and cut themselves off from the life blood of actual changing experience, they tend toward stereotyped activities and ideas. Inevitably they offer diminishing satisfaction and usefulness to vigorous personalities among their membership. In seeking to hold their membership they are therefore forced toward policies which are oriented in favor of American life.

In this discussion of cultural achievements by nationality groups there should be included some reference to the project at the University of Pittsburgh, where nationality groups have coöperated with the university in creating a series of classrooms, each expressive of the cultural genius of a nationality group. As a venture in the educational field the details of the program lie outside the scope of this report. As an expression of "cultural

orchestration" it is a beautiful achievement, the lesson of which should be studied by every social agency. There has been the adjustment of varied ethnic groups to American procedures, not through phrases learned in a classroom, but through practical activities. These activities center in nationality committees whose plans gear into the administrative arrangements and decorative plans of the university, reach across the sea to gather in exemplars of traditional culture, and at the same time branch into the small nationality communities throughout the county, successfully enlisting the thought and activity of local lodges. Anyone who is privileged to witness meetings of the nationality committees can observe a circulation of ideas and an articulation of effort which is of great significance. One hopes that the project may continue to grow in new directions, adding new breadth to the curriculum and to the social relations between the university and the new Americans in Allegheny County.

THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY³⁰

Unlike the foreign-born population of Allegheny County, which was last brought prominently to public attention by the revealing interpretations of the Pittsburgh Survey of 1907-8, the situation of the Negro has received considerable study and some publicity in recent years, much of it through the instrumentality of the unusually competent and imaginative Urban League. Special studies undertaken by students of the University of Pittsburgh as part of their academic work have helped produce valuable data, and the more ambitious field studies of social conditions of the Negro, made possible by grants of the Buhl Foundation, have made outstanding contributions to the subject.³¹ Much of the information on the Negro in Pittsburgh is therefore available and need hardly be repeated here. Less is known of specific conditions in the county outside Pittsburgh, and for that reason such first-hand inquiry as has been possible as part of the study has been restricted to county data.

It is obviously not within the scope of this study to discuss the general question of race relations. Our concern with the special situation of the Negro is justified by the facts, first, that they constitute a substantial por-

³⁰ The material upon which the following discussion is based was collected by Dorothy R. Bucklin, of the staff, chiefly from secondary sources, but also from some results of direct inquiry in the area outside Pittsburgh conducted by Dr. Dean S. Yarbrough and Robert Curtis, both experienced students of their race, under supervision of Elizabeth T. Alling, of the staff. Frequent recourse was had to R. Maurice Moss, executive secretary of the Urban League of Pittsburgh, as the local worker best informed on matters concerning the Negro. Among secondary sources considerable material in the possession of the Urban League of Pittsburgh was utilized.

³¹ Ira de A. Reid, *Social Conditions of the Negro in the Hill District of Pittsburgh*, General Committee on the Hill Survey, 1930; Elsie Witchen, *Tuberculosis and the Negro in Pittsburgh*, Tuberculosis League of Pittsburgh, 1934.

tion of the population of Allegheny County and therefore of the probable clientele of social work and possibly of its support; secondly, that the existence of socially undesirable conditions in any part of the community inevitably affects the rest; and thirdly, because there is reason to believe that the attitude toward the race question may determine the relative extent of need among Negroes and the readiness with which that need may be met in comparison with the needs of the white population. As a problem in race relations the situation in Allegheny County offers nothing startling or unusual.

Numerically the Negro population is small in comparison with the immigrant group considered above as "new Americans." The seriousness of unwholesome conditions of life and economic discrimination relating to the Negro lies therefore not so much in the large number of people affected as in the relative intensity and permanence of the conditions. For the immigrant tends to disappear as succeeding generations inevitably merge with the resident group and as restrictive legislation and other factors limit the number who enter this country. But the Negro in America increases and remains Negro. He is used, and sometimes exploited, by the industrialist in need of amenable labor as was formerly the European immigrant. Moreover, there is a large Negro population available outside North America in the island possessions and dependencies of the United States that can supply Negro labor if the South should fail. It is important, therefore, at least to suggest the conditions of life created for and by the color stratification that separates the Negro, and his part in the total background of social work and health work in Allegheny County.

The census of 1890 enumerated 13,501 Negroes in Allegheny County. Forty years later, 83,326 were enumerated—a more than sixfold increase. In 1930 they constituted 6.1 percent of the county population. This increase—more than 100 percent from 1890 to 1900 and more than 50 percent for the last two censal dates—came about principally by direct migration from the South, especially of young persons.³² Consequently, as seen in the table on page 271, the Negro in Allegheny County presents an age distribution considerably different from the total Negro population of the United States.

In so far as the tasks of the community and of its social agencies may be determined more by the problems of the lowest and uppermost age limits, this distribution should favor Allegheny County. Unfortunately, there are many counteracting influences. Thus the high death rates, affecting especially the early-age periods, exact a serious social and emotional cost: "Negro infants have about one and a half times, and Negro children

³² Cf. *infra*, p. 277.

TABLE 23

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION, ALLEGHENY COUNTY AND THE UNITED STATES^a

AGE	ALLEGHENY COUNTY		UNITED STATES	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Total	83,326	100.0	11,891,143	100.0
Under 15	22,142	26.6	3,850,129	32.4
15-19	6,146	7.4	1,250,528	10.5
20-44	41,633	49.9	4,717,815	39.7
45-64	11,839	14.2	1,686,221	14.2
65 and over	1,478	1.8	372,719	3.1
Unknown	88	0.1	13,731	0.1

^a Figures compiled from Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, *Population*, Vol. II, Table 8, p. 577, and Vol. III, Pt. 2, Table 11, p. 660.

almost three times the chance of dying during the year that white infants and children have."³³

In so far as the services of community agencies are equally available to Negro and white, the distribution of the colored population might be regarded as favorable, for about two-thirds live in the city of Pittsburgh, which is relatively better endowed with these services than the rest of the county. There is, however, small consolation in this, for on the one hand the Negro lives in those sections of town and county where housing and sanitation are of the poorest grade, and on the other hand he does not receive in fact the services which in theory he is to enjoy. The Negro inhabitants of Pittsburgh are, paradoxically enough, both widely scattered and highly concentrated. About 45 percent of the Negroes in Pittsburgh live in the Hill District, in the third and fifth wards.³⁴ A small proportion, 4 percent, of them live in "The Strip," a rapidly deteriorating area. About one-fourth, including the more economically favored, live in the East Liberty and Homewood-Brushton areas. The rest, comprising about one-fourth of the total, live in other areas throughout the city. This scatter has its disadvantages, as well as its assets (as does the distribution of nation-

³³ A. G. Moron and F. F. Stephan, *The Negro Population and Negro Families in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County*, "Social Research Bulletin," April 20, 1933, p. 3.

³⁴ Figures on population in the principal areas inhabited by Negroes in the city of Pittsburgh are supplied by tabulations of the Bureau of Social Research:

AREA	TOTAL POPULATION	NEGRO	
		<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Total	...	54,983	100.0
Four districts	211,697	40,079	
The Strip	10,670	1,764	4.0
The Hill	59,779	24,799	45.0
Homewood-Brushton	41,956	4,673	25.0
East Liberty	99,292	8,843	
Rest of City		14,904	25.0

ality communities also). "The absence of a solidly Negro community in Pittsburgh reduces very materially the power of the Negro population to compel retail dealers to employ Negro clerks in residential districts and to secure Negro political representation as in some Northern cities."³⁵

About one-half the Negro population in Allegheny County outside Pittsburgh live in seven chiefly industrial communities along the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers in groups of 1,000 or more. About 15 percent are distributed in seven other boroughs and townships in groups of 500 to 1,000. Another 13 percent live in groups of 250 to 500 in nine other political subdivisions, and the remaining 20 percent live in groups of less than 250 throughout the county. In the city of McKeesport the 1,900 Negro residents live in ten of the eleven wards, with 45 percent of the total

TABLE 24
DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO POPULATION IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY

COMMUNITIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
County total	28,343	100.0
Groups of 1,000 or more	14,134	49.9
Braddock Borough	2,224	
Clairton (city)	2,070	
Duquesne (city)	1,817	
Homestead Borough	3,367	
McKeesport (city)	1,893	
Penn Township	1,207	
Rankin Borough	1,556	
Groups of 500-1,000	4,423	15.6
Coraopolis Borough	878	
Elizabeth Township	575	
Sewickley Borough	713	
Snowden Township	543	
South Fayette Township	659	
Swissvale Borough	514	
Wilkinsburg Borough	541	
Groups of 250-500	3,673	13.0
Bethel Township	468	
Brackenridge Borough	349	
Braddock Township	336	
Carnegie Borough	488	
McKees Rocks Borough	488	
North Braddock Borough	488	
North Versailles Township	305	
O'Hara Township	425	
Ross Township	326	
Remainder, less than 250	6,113	21.5
Avalon	110	
Bellevue	211	
Scattered	5,792	

³⁵ A. G. Moron, and F. F. Stephan, *The Negro Population and Negro Families in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County*, "Social Research Bulletin," April 20, 1933, p. 4.

in one ward (the third) and about 10 percent of the total in each of three other wards. In Homestead, where Negroes are more numerous than in any other place in the county, they are concentrated in two sections—in “the Flats” and “on the Hill.” Duquesne, with 1,800 Negro residents, has three Negro communities—“The Bottoms,” “on the Hill,” and “South Duquesne.”

HOUSING IN NEGRO COMMUNITIES

In some phases of social life there is no essential difference between conditions of life as experienced by the poor, whether they be Negro or white. Poverty is the major condition. The minor factor of color merely emphasizes and concentrates the evil. This is true with regard to housing and recreation facilities. In other respects the differential against the Negro is more decisive. Unemployment is greater among Negroes, therefore poverty is more extensive. The general fact, observed here and in other communities, that services tend to be proportionately less available rather than more available in proportion to the need naturally leaves the Negro with less relief, less medical care, less social case work services, and less group work facilities. Unmet needs constitute not only a cause of individual suffering but also a source of social evil in the form of disease, death, and crime. It is for these reasons that mention must be made of the specific impact upon the Negro population of Allegheny County of bad housing and inadequate sanitation, of disease, poverty, and unemployment.

Negro housing is merely a part of the inferior and dangerous housing already described—only more concentrated at the lowest standards recorded. Existing conditions have been described in many studies. The

TABLE 25

CONDITION OF DWELLING UNITS IN FIVE SELECTED AREAS OF PITTSBURGH^a

PLACE	TOTAL UNITS	PERCENT OF UNITS IN EACH AREA WHICH WERE				
		<i>In good condition</i>	<i>In need of minor repairs</i>	<i>In need of major repairs</i>	<i>Unfit</i>	<i>Condition not reported</i>
Mt. Washington ^b	6,145	38.5	46.3	12.7	2.4	0.1
The Strip	2,402	7.4	35.5	33.1	23.6	0.2
Hill District	13,942	23.3	42.9	24.7	9.0	...
East Liberty ^c	8,169	35.4	49.3	13.5	1.8	...
Homewood	9,783	50.4	41.6	7.2	0.8	...

^a Real Property Inventory

^b This non-Negro area is included for the sake of comparison since it is representative of a reasonable standard to expect throughout the city.

^c Includes only those census tracts in which the proportion of Negroes is relatively high: 7 G, 8 H, 10 F, 11 I and J, 12 C, D, E, and F.

reader will find ample information in the reports by Miss Witchen and Dr. Reid³⁶ and elsewhere. The Real Property Inventory³⁷ emphasizes these findings in numerical form. The Negro population is found in largest numbers in five districts, of which two, the Hill and the Strip, comprise the poorest groups. Here almost half of the city's Negro population resides. The relative housing conditions in these areas may be seen in the table on page 273, which should also be compared with the data for "good" and "poor" districts given earlier:³⁸

Miss Witchen's study, which comprised a sample of 4,245 Negro families, describes the typical dwelling in 1934 in these words:

The usual home, regardless of the size of the family, consisted of three or four rooms. . . . Lodgers complicated the situation in one-third of the homes. . . . Frequently six or more persons shared a bedroom; occasionally they shared the same bed. In fact, almost one-half of all persons seen shared their rooms with two or more people.

Two or three families sharing water or toilet facilities was the rule, but instances are known where nine families used the same toilet, and where fourteen families secured their water from a single tap in the back yard.³⁹

A tabulation of deficiencies noted includes:

	PERCENT
Families sharing water supply	54.9
Families without bath	40.3
Families with outdoor water supply	1.7
Families sharing toilet	64.7
Families with outdoor toilet	14.5

Quite in line with the kind of housing implied in these figures are the conditions described by the Pittsburgh Housing Association in October, 1935. Emphasizing structural, as well as sanitary, conditions, the Association finds:⁴⁰

A few of the rear walls are in such condition as to warrant calling them dangerous. Units with questionable walls include 1402 Clark Street, and 31 and 33 Townsend Street (rear house). A parapet wall of 29 Townsend Street is leaning dangerously over on to 31 Townsend; a tall chimney at 33 Townsend Street (rear) slopes about 15° from the vertical and another chimney at 27 Townsend appears ready to topple over. The front wall of 1410 Clark Street is also cracked and slightly bulged. The rear porches of 29 Boone Way are rotted and of questionable safety. The steps and porch at 31 Townsend Street (rear) are also in a dangerous condition and are the only means of access to the fourth floor apartment which is occupied. The interior structural conditions are safe in most cases except for holes in floors

³⁶ Ira de A. Reid, *Social Conditions of the Negro in the Hill District of Pittsburgh*, General Committee on the Hill Survey, 1930; and Elsie Witchen, *Tuberculosis and the Negro in Pittsburgh*, Tuberculosis League of Pittsburgh, 1934.

³⁷ Cf. *supra*, chap. iii.

³⁸ Cf. *supra*, pp. 206, 207.

³⁹ Elsie Witchen, *Tuberculosis and the Negro in Pittsburgh*, pp. 65-66, 69.

⁴⁰ Report on file in the Pittsburgh Housing Association; location is a half block bounded by Boone Way, Clark Street, and Townsend Street.

and the danger of falling plaster. The third floor at 29 Boone Way is badly ripped up, however, so that a person could fall through to the second floor.

Because of the broken or defective condition of water supply pipes, the only buildings in the section that have a water supply are 31 and 33 Townsend (these are the only ones for which rent is asked). All occupants, except of the above mentioned addresses, must carry their water in from outside the block. . . .

The drainage of waste water is as inadequate as the water supply. . . . At 31 Townsend there is about two feet of what looks like waste water in the cellar. In the cellar of 33 Townsend (front) are two small streams of water which apparently seep through the foundation at two different points from 31 Townsend and 33 Townsend (rear) and run across the floor to a makeshift sewer connection. . . . There is an open sewer connection apparently, for another water closet, which was not installed. The opening was not capped. When the usable water closet is flushed, the waste comes up in the uncapped connection and partly flows over the dirt floor. . . . In view of the bad sanitary and structural conditions, all of the houses should be placarded as unfit for habitation and occupancy prohibited. A definite effort should be made to get all of them demolished, with the possible exception of 33 Townsend. However, the owner of that property should be forced to alleviate the very bad sanitary conditions existing there and also to repair the dangerous chimney in the rear.⁴¹

Information on housing of Negroes in Allegheny County outside Pittsburgh is less complete than for Pittsburgh.⁴² Negroes live in company-owned houses in Clairton and McKees Rocks and in the mining communities. The houses in Clairton are located about two miles from the mill at opposite ends of the town.⁴³ They are brick houses and are superior to those occupied by Negroes in any of the other industrial communities visited. This is accounted for in part by the company's policy of constructing new houses for the higher-paid white workers and passing on old houses, while they are still in good condition, to the Negroes. One group of company houses for Negroes in McKees Rocks consists of rows of frame houses inside the mill yard facing the mill. In the mining communities two-family frame houses are usually provided.

Housing for Negroes in Duquesne, Homestead, and Rankin, where there are no company-owned houses for them, is inferior to that in Clairton and McKees Rocks. The Negro residential section of Duquesne consists of rows of dilapidated frame structures located between the mills which are below the tracks in "The Bottoms." In Coraopolis the houses are located in "The Bottoms" between the tracks and the river in an abandoned and unkempt industrial area, while in Homestead the poorer

⁴¹ In checking up on recommendations made in 1930 by Dr. Reid, we find that, according to local observers, there has been an appreciable amount of demolition of unfit dwellings. But, of course, no compensatory building program exists.

⁴² Industrial communities visited included McKeesport, Homestead, Clairton, Duquesne, Coraopolis, and McKees Rocks.

⁴³ The houses in Clairton belong to the United States Steel Corporation; those in McKees Rocks, to the Lockhart Steel Company.

Negro section is found in "The Flats," below the tracks. In each of the industrial communities, however, better and more modern homes "On the Hill" are occupied by Negroes, many of whom own their homes.

Housing for Negroes in Sewickley and in Ross Township, where those employed for domestic service live, is superior to that in industrial communities. However, the domestic servants of Avalon live in dilapidated houses in Spruce Run Hollow. Resistance to home ownership by Negroes exists in Avalon and in Sewickley, where it is in part due to the location of the city-owned swimming pool, from which Negroes are barred even though it is situated in the midst of the Negro residential area.

In some ways, obviously, this pattern repeats the one we have described with relation to the lives of the foreign-born. The tendency to segregate "inferior" inhabitants among the foreign-born also results in the creation and perpetuation of poor housing. But there is neither the degree of separation, nor the full consciousness of inevitability about it, as that which makes Negro habitation an urban problem of slums and of eighteenth-century sanitation.

EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES, DISTRIBUTION AND DISCRIMINATION

About 36,000 Negro men and women were either employed or available for employment in Allegheny County in 1934.⁴⁴ The relatively great concentration of Negro workers, both male and female, in jobs requiring little or no skill, such as common labor or domestic and personal service, and their scant representation in commercial pursuits, public service, and the professions is well known and is no more characteristic of Pittsburgh than of other large cities. In this respect, again, the Negro's situation compares unfavorably with that of the foreign-born, and it lacks the hopeful aspects of the latter. However, the introduction of labor in large numbers at irregular intervals into the two leading industries of the district, coal mining and steel manufacture, has produced problems of social and economic adjustment in the community in that they led to the formation, within a brief time, of large colonies of rootless population, with no reserve resources, without security, and without a community responsibility for their welfare commensurate with the extent of their social problems.

Negroes were first employed in the steel industry in large numbers during the war period. Less than 2 percent of the working force of the steel plants were Negroes in 1907-8.⁴⁵ The largest steel firms in 1918 were employing almost 7,000 Negroes, whereas prior to 1918 the same firms had

⁴⁴ "Unemployment in Allegheny County, February, 1934," Pennsylvania S.E.R.B. Bulletin 13-A, p. 4.

⁴⁵ R. R. Wright, Jr., "One Hundred Negro Steel Workers in Wage-Earning Pittsburgh," in *Wage Earning Pittsburgh*, "The Pittsburgh Survey," p. 97.

employed only 2,250.⁴⁶ The Homestead plant of the Carnegie Steel Corporation reported that almost 12 percent of its force were Negroes in 1919 and that the proportion of Negro workers from 1918 to 1928 had fluctuated between 10 percent and 12 percent.⁴⁷ A survey of the leading steel firms in Allegheny County in 1934 showed 4,250 Negroes employed, comprising a little more than 10 percent of the total force⁴⁸ (the two largest steel firms in the district, Carnegie Steel Corporation—now Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation—and Jones and Laughlin, employed 80 percent of this total). For the most part Negroes were employed at common labor and were used for semi-skilled or skilled jobs only when the jobs were so disagreeable that white workers would not stick to them. Little or no change in the proportion of Negroes to total force seems to have taken place during the depression.⁴⁹ These percentages seem encouraging, but they should not be interpreted as applicable to all fields of employment. The preponderance of assignments to unskilled jobs implies, moreover, a corresponding prevalence of low wages and its accompanying difficulties.

Negroes were introduced into the coal mining industry in large numbers as strike breakers in 1926 and 1927. As late as 1920 only 72 Negroes had been employed as miners in the Pittsburgh district.⁵⁰ Prior to the 1927 coal strike, 7 percent of the Pittsburgh Coal Company's normal force of 11,000 and 20 percent of the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Company's normal force of 3,000 were Negroes. During the strike the number of Negroes employed by the Pittsburgh Coal Company rose to 3,500, or 40 percent of the total in December, 1927. Negroes comprised about 42 percent of the force of the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Company during 1928.⁵¹ Adequate living accommodations for these large numbers could not be provided, and it is reported that the Negroes accepted conditions during the strike that no other group of people would have accepted.⁵² A Senate committee reported the barracks used to house the men were unfit for beasts.⁵³ In explanation of these conditions, an official of one of the companies said that the men who went to the barracks were largely of that class that move about a good bit, and that men with families remained in the barracks only until houses could be provided.⁵⁴

⁴⁶ F. Alden Wilson, *Occupational Status of the Negro in the Iron and Steel Industry, Pittsburgh and Environs*, 1934, p. 55, quoted from A. Epstein, *The Negro Migrant in Pittsburgh*, 1918.

⁴⁷ Sterling D. Spero and Abram L. Harris, *The Black Worker*, 1931, p. 153.

⁴⁸ F. Alden Wilson, *loc. cit.*, p. 52.

⁴⁹ F. Alden Wilson, *loc. cit.*, p. 25.

⁵⁰ Ira de A. Reid, *Social Conditions of the Negro in the Hill District of Pittsburgh*, 1930, p. 52.

⁵¹ Spero and Harris, *The Black Worker*, p. 228.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 238. They quote C. A. McDowell, personnel manager of the Pittsburgh Coal Co.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 237. ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

In 1929 the Pittsburgh Coal Company still employed 2,500 Negroes who constituted about 25 percent of their total force. This represented a substantial increase over pre-strike days but was appreciably less than the number employed at the height of the strike.

The situation is equally unfavorable for the salaried types of position. Negro teachers are not employed in the Pittsburgh schools. According to the superintendent of schools the civil service examinations for teachers are open to Negroes, but as yet no Negro has qualified.⁵⁵ This is not to be wondered at, since Negro students do not have an opportunity for practice teaching in Pittsburgh schools which is afforded the white students. Were the Negro community represented on the teaching force in the same proportion as it is in the population, approximately 250 teachers would be given employment and the income of the Negro group would be increased by some \$300,000 a year.

In a study of vocational opportunities for Negro students (1928) it was found that 63 students wanted to follow teaching as a career. Up to that time eight Negro girls had graduated from the H. C. Frick Training School for Teachers (the last two graduated in 1922), but none had been appointed to teach in the Pittsburgh schools.⁵⁶

The situation in the field of medicine is equally, if not more, serious for it defines not only the opportunities of the Negro professional for employment and advancement, but also the chances of the Negro when in need of medical service. As indicated by the findings of Dr. Sturges,⁵⁷ there are nearly fifty colored physicians practicing in this community, yet only three of them are in any way connected with any of the thirty-five hospitals serving the county and city. These three are in the out-patient departments of two of the clinics.

There is no institution in Allegheny County where Negro internes or nurses are accepted for training. The chairman of the State Board of Medical Education and Licensure reported that only one hospital in the state accepts Negro internes (Mercy, Philadelphia) and that only two have training schools for Negro nurses (Mercy and Douglas Memorial, Philadelphia).

The Medical School of the University of Pittsburgh has not graduated a colored physician since 1914, despite the fact that this institution claims to be serving mainly the applicants from the western part of Pennsylvania and receives very substantial support from the state. It claims that no qualified Negroes have presented themselves as candidates.

⁵⁵ By interview with the superintendent of schools.

⁵⁶ Ira de A. Reid, *Social Conditions of the Negro in the Hill District of Pittsburgh*, 1930, p. 89.

⁵⁷ Of the study staff; detailed report in local circulation in mimeographed form, entitled, "Organized Care of the Sick," pp. 178 ff.

The Negro medical student thus faces initial difficulties, and the Negro medical graduate finds serious obstacles in the way of keeping abreast with the advances in medicine through participation in the work of hospital staffs. These elements must be taken into consideration in plans for improving health conditions and in furnishing public medical care among colored people. The situation further intensifies the problem of hospital care for colored people, since in the everyday practice of the Negro physician he is likely to be unwilling to have his patients go to a hospital in which he cannot treat them. Most hospitalized cases mean lost patients for him.

The hindrance which these restrictions place upon Negro physicians and the consequent loss to the community should appeal especially to the general body of physicians in Pittsburgh. Physicians individually and through medical societies understand what the deprivation of professional opportunities means to physicians and are in a position to appreciate the deprivation falling upon this important group of co-professionals. As compared with many other cities, both North and South, such as New York, Philadelphia, Knoxville, New Orleans, Cleveland, Kansas City, and St. Louis, Pittsburgh is much more remiss in giving opportunities to Negro physicians as internes and as staff members, especially in tax-supported hospitals and sanatoria, and in bringing Negro physicians and nurses into membership on various advisory committees concerned with the health problems of the community.

The results of all these discriminations are naturally reflected in the relative degree of unemployment during the depression. A survey of unemployed in Allegheny County, made in February, 1934,⁵⁸ showed that 48 percent of the employable Negroes were entirely without employment at that date, while only 31.1 percent of the potential white workers were unemployed. The percentage of Negro workers who had only part-time employment was also higher than that of the white, 21.0 to 16.7. This in turn means that the Negro population is bound to present a disproportionate need for relief. Actually the October, 1933, count shows that the Negroes contribute one-fifth of the relief load, or more than three times their proportion in the population. As a percentage of the Negro population, the figures for February 16, 1935, show 59 percent, or practically three out of every five Negroes in Allegheny County, on the relief rolls.

In this dark picture there is, at any rate, one bright spot; no discrimination appears to have been practiced by the Emergency Relief Administration. So far as meager figures indicate, this is true of other public relief bodies and public hospitals as well, though not of voluntary hospitals.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Pennsylvania S. E. R. B. Bulletin 13-A, *Unemployment in Allegheny Co.*, p. 4.

⁵⁹ Cf. chap. xviii, Pt. 2, "Organized Care of the Sick."

Thus some 11 percent of Mothers' Assistance Fund cases in January, 1935, were Negroes—as against 6.1 percent Negroes in the general population. In May, 1936, 67 of some 500 blind pensions (13 percent) were paid to Negro persons.

Prospects for future re-employment depend on a number of social and economic factors. As reported in a recent inquiry,⁶⁰ given continuance of the present wage minimum and scales, along with the "open-shop," employers could be expected to re-employ the major part of their former Negro workers, except for the possible effect of certain depression-bred factors. Negro communities and living conditions had become so bad in Clairton, Homestead, Rankin, and the Hill District of Pittsburgh, and in other localities in the county, that employment officials were considering the refusal of employment to large numbers of demoralized former Negro employees, most of them depression relief cases,

who have become radicals and malingerers since long exposure to the subversive influences of slums and the relief set-up during the hard times. Families have broken up or doubled up in their housing facilities; former employees have degenerated into embittered local floaters, bums and panhandlers; and sanitary, moral and social standards have been permanently crippled in this stratum of the population. The net result is that the mills decline to rehire these people. Employment standards have undergone enormous improvement—especially at the larger plants—so as automatically to eliminate these unfit groups, regardless of former employment status, at the very plants where they now apply.⁶¹

This attitude was expressed by two of the largest employers of Negroes in the steel industry. Neither of the employment officials would guarantee re-employment to any Negro. This fact vividly recalls the pattern suggested earlier, in light of the fact that these same officials related of their own accord that they had brought "hundreds of Negroes" north from Virginia and elsewhere in the South in the many years during which they have served the company.⁶²

HEALTH CONDITIONS OF THE NEGROES

Among the major disturbances of the life of the worker—economically, as well as psychologically—is the incidence of illness, which is probably second only to industrial unemployment in upsetting the all-too-uncertain equilibrium of his family life. Illness hits the Negro in our industrial communities far harder than the white man. The infant death rate is inordinately high; total death rates are similarly high, and were it not for migration, the size of the Negro community might be stationary. From 1910 to

⁶⁰ F. Alden Wilson, *Occupational Status of the Negro in the Iron and Steel Industry, Pittsburgh and Environs*, p. 25. ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁶² Ira de A. Reid, *Social Conditions of the Negro in the Hill District of Pittsburgh*, 1930, p. 52.

1930 death rates among Negroes from all causes and from specific diseases were consistently higher than those for the white race.⁶³ The Negro death rate in 1933, 12.6 per 1,000 population, approximated the rate of 12.5 for whites in 1923, "thus indicating a lag of at least ten years for the Negro."⁶⁴

Only 8.2 percent of the total population in Pittsburgh⁶⁵ in 1930 was composed of Negroes, but they contributed in 1933: 14 percent of the total deaths; 15 percent of the infant deaths; 24 percent of the deaths from pneumonia; and 35 percent of the deaths from tuberculosis.⁶⁶

The relatively great need for health facilities and hospital facilities among the Negro group which these figures indicate is intensified by their low standard of living, exemplified by poor housing, overcrowding, inadequate diet, insufficient clothing, and inferior working conditions. The need indicated by this excessive death rate and its accompanying morbidity is, unfortunately, not met by appropriate facilities for medical care.⁶⁷

This is also true in the field of recreation. Here the question narrows down to a few simple questions. Whether such facilities as are available to the general public are open to Negroes, and whether if technically open, they are actually open or restricted by indirect methods; also, whether predominantly Negro neighborhoods are supplied with recreational facilities in the same ratio as are similarly dense white neighborhoods; whether specific exclusion is practiced, and whether the exploitation by commercial recreation constitutes a serious menace.

RECREATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGROES

Except for large parks—of which there are three for Pittsburgh and Allegheny County—no form of recreational facility is available in proportions even approximating recognized standards.⁶⁸ This is true of both Pittsburgh and the rest of the county and is especially true of playgrounds and play fields for children. If the Negro population has less access to leisure time activities than has the general population, they must be limited indeed. Generally speaking, the Negro is not admitted on equal terms to recreational opportunities provided by voluntary agencies even in the field of social work, where race discrimination has least justification; occasionally, though indirectly, he is excluded or his participation restricted in public provisions for recreation also; here and there actual exclusion is practiced. In the life of the relatively disadvantaged population

⁶³ Elsie Witchen, *Tuberculosis and the Negro in Pittsburgh*, 1934, p. 8.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶⁵ No comparable information of equal dependability is available for the entire county.

⁶⁶ Elsie Witchen, *Tuberculosis and the Negro in Pittsburgh*, 1934, p. 9.

⁶⁷ Cf. *infra*, chaps. xviii and xix. ⁶⁸ Cf. *infra*, chap. xx.

the social agency has, by tradition and definition of its function, sought to bring some degree of equalization by offering its services to make up for their social handicaps. It should therefore play an important rôle in the amelioration of the life of the Negro.

Settlements have always claimed a special place of honor in advancing the democratic and equalitarian concepts of western life. Indeed they are traditionally established in and for those neighborhoods where poverty and other unfavorable conditions of life may be prejudicial to the development of a free, equal, self-respecting citizenry. To discriminate in the use of plant, facilities, or service against any portion of the population in the neighborhood, especially against a portion known to be subject to more and greater disadvantages than others, seems subversive of the very foundations of the settlement idea. If nationality and race problems present psychological and communal difficulties, these should, in harmony with the purpose of the settlement movement and with elementary considerations of community organization, be met by the application of all the ingenuity and versatility that can be turned into administrative procedure. There has, indeed, been no discrimination of any degree against the foreign-born. Rather the contrary, since recreational facilities have been prominent among the Americanization methods in vogue in this country. With respect to the Negro, however, the situation has been very different and is the result of the deplorable social setting of the community. Thus, for example, Kingsley House, in Pittsburgh, despite its claim to the heritage of the settlement house tradition, entirely excludes Negroes from the use of its facilities. The Irene Kaufmann Settlement, while granting a generous proportion of services to the Negro population, much of it of an almost pioneer nature, does not freely admit them on equal terms of opportunity. It is true that this settlement was founded by the Jewish community and was intended primarily for the disadvantaged youth of that community. But the nature of the ultimate objective of neighborhood houses is such that it can brook no compromise in this, its essential phase of democratic neighborhood agency, with special group interests, national, racial, or religious. It is reported that the Brashear Settlement on the South Side has no policy with respect to segregation and has worked closely with the Urban League in the development of its program for Negroes. They have a small center for Negroes only, but they provide activities for the children of both Negroes and whites at one of their other houses, and at Christmas time they had a pageant in which both races participated. Rankin Christian Center formerly had separate rooms for Negro activities, but owing to budget cuts these were closed, and Negroes now use the main building. Negroes are included in small children's and boys' clubs but are excluded from older girls' clubs.

With respect to the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. the situation is complicated by the fact that these institutions are to a great extent self-supporting, with income coming principally from membership dues and other fees paid by those enjoying the benefits of the organization. It follows, therefore, that they serve roughly an economically more favored section of the population.⁶⁹ The question then is not so much whether the disadvantaged or poor Negroes are admitted, these being presumably part of the economically unfavored population, but rather whether, other things being equal, Negroes able to pay fees have equal access to their facilities. As reported, Negroes are excluded from certain Y.M.C.A.'s, such as that in McKeesport. They are, on the other hand, permitted relatively free use of the Y.W.C.A. facilities and are actually included in its board of management, while there are, of course, several Young Men's Associations serving especially the colored group.

Some 5,000 Negro clients are included among the total registration of the voluntary group work agencies as indicated by statistics obtained in the present study. About 55 percent of these are registered with the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. Four others report them in substantial numbers (including, of course, the Urban League, organized specifically for service to Negroes). The tendency in most communities is to organize special colored branches in the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Association. As stated by the executive of the Urban League of Pittsburgh:

In most of our large cities, there is one section largely inhabited by Negroes. Our tendency is to locate such institutions as the YMCA, YWCA, and other organizations in and near the heart of this large group. But in the same cities, we find that other sections having a large number of Negroes are without these resources. Pittsburgh is no exception to this. In the Hill District, where the largest group of this race resides, there is a colored branch of the YMCA and the YWCA, the Kay Club, the Urban League and certain other organizations. But meanwhile, there have grown up considerable sized Negro districts in the eastern end of the city, on the North Side, South Side, and in certain other districts. . .

In these areas, less thickly populated by Negroes and therefore not justifying the financial outlay for separate plants, the problem of exclusion is a serious one. Table 26, with its data on distribution of Negro registrants in group work agencies in Allegheny County, supports these general statements about organized recreational opportunities for Negroes.

The problem of exclusion from tax-supported recreational facilities is complicated by this same factor of location in areas with both dense and sparse Negro constituents. It is made still more difficult by disagreement among the Negroes themselves on the question of special facilities to serve Negroes exclusively, the idea of segregation being emphatically rejected

⁶⁹ See chap. x, *infra*, for percent of income from operating expenses of group work agencies.

by a substantial portion of the Negro community. This difficulty has come to the fore particularly in connection with the availability of swimming pools both in Pittsburgh proper and in the county. As reported in Clairton, Negroes use the school swimming pool but do not use the city-owned public pool. In McKeesport the city pool is open to everyone. In Avalon only white persons may use the city-owned pool. Both the McKeesport and Avalon pools are located in sections occupied predominantly by Negroes. As indicative of the divided public opinion the Avalon situation is of particular interest. The pool was opened some four years ago, and the City Council announced the designation of one period a week exclusively for Negroes. The legality of this provision was questioned, the matter was taken to court, and it was found to be contrary to the provisions of the law. The case was taken to court by Negro initiative, despite the fact that this particular provision was to insure the undisturbed use of the pool at least one day a week by members of the Negro race. Recently, in another attempt to meet the existing needs without reviving the same controversy, an effort was made to interest the Avalon Council to build a separate pool for the exclusive use of Negroes, but the plan was abandoned because of the opposition by a substantial representation of the Negro population itself.

In Homestead and Duquesne the Carnegie Library buildings contain swimming pools, as well as club rooms, recreation rooms, and gymnasium. These are open to club members, but club membership is closed to Negroes. The matter of joint use of swimming pools seems to have been more controversial in many ways and in many communities than any other aspect of the recreation program. The Y.M.C.A.'s of McKeesport, Sewickley and Coraopolis, for example, do not permit the use of their pools by Negroes.

There is considerable difference of opinion as to whether the Equal Rights Bill, passed by the Legislature in 1935, which makes discrimination against any person on account of race or color in restaurant, hotel, railroad or other public conveyance, place of entertainment or other public place a misdemeanor is likely to prove a benefit to the Negro or a source of irritation and conflict.

Discriminations in public places would seem to be particularly fruitful of friction, in view of the fact that the same children who have found themselves fellow pupils with white children in the schools one part of the day, with apparent lack of discrimination, find themselves in another part of the day or week excluded from activities not essentially different from those practiced in the schools. In the city of Pittsburgh, while all pools are theoretically open to mixed groups, in actual usage at least one of the pools is patronized almost entirely by Negroes, another practically by

TABLE 26

DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO REGISTRANTS IN GROUP WORK AGENCIES, ALLEGHENY COUNTY

	THE STRIP	HILL DISTRICT	EAST LIBERTY	HOMEWOOD- BRUSHTON	OTHER CITY	COUNTY	ALL AREAS
All group work agencies	321	2,296	613	461	1,020	467	5,178
Y.M.C.A.	37	759	193	199	230	125	1,543
Center Avenue	16	636	142	110	186	55	1,145
East Liberty	...	...	19	...	...	...	19
Homewood-Brushton	...	...	5	75	...	...	80
Lawrenceville	15	1	2	...	...	30	48
Oakland	...	14	...	...	...	2	16
North Boroughs	...	...	...	...	...	2	2
North-East Boroughs	...	...	...	...	...	31 ^a	31
Camping and Counsellors	6	108	25	14	44	5	202
Y.W.C.A.	19	664	178	131	216	80	1,288
Center Avenue	5	640	172	129	196	80	1,222
Central Avenue	...	21	...	1	10	...	32
East Liberty	...	3	1	1	1	...	6
Lawrenceville	14	...	5	...	9	...	28
Settlements	256	60	7	3	360	177	863
Goodwill Industries	...	6	7	1	91	...	361
Manchester Educational Center	...	...	...	1	20	...	21
Munhall Neighborhood House	...	...	...	...	...	3	3
Rankin Christian Center	...	...	...	...	...	174	174
Soho Community House	...	53	...	1	134	...	188
Woods Run Settlement	...	1	...	...	115	...	116
Other group work	9	813	235	128	214	85	1,484
Boy Scouts	...	21	16	6	4	...	47
Girl Scouts	...	...	5	1	37	17	60
Kay Club	9	438	7	2	16	...	472
Urban League	...	354	207	119	157	68	905

^a Twenty-four of these are women.

white persons alone, while one or two seem to get along with mixed groups.

Of other pronounced inequalities in the availability of leisure time facilities, perhaps special mention need be made only of camping facilities during the summer. With the exception of the Pittsburgh Day Camps these facilities are vanishingly small, although the problem is being recognized and some improvement may be hopefully expected.

Further details concerning the limitations imposed on Negroes in the fuller enjoyment of the fruits of urban civilization might be continued, but they are not very different, nor do they have greater significance for Pittsburgh and Allegheny County than they have for other American communities. While Pittsburgh has had its occasional race riots, there have been no major catastrophes of this type. In the opinion of competent observers the general attitude of the community is tinged with the Southern point of view rather than with that of the North, but this has manifested itself in no tangible intolerance, nor, on the other hand, by any greater manifestations of the traditional fatherly concern which the white man is reputed to have for the Negro in the South.

There is constant conflict in the minds of those who have indisputable interest and goodwill for the Negro between the earnest intention to provide services at least equal to those enjoyed by the white and preferably commensurate with their greater need, on the one hand, and the consciousness, more or less emphatic, that latent prejudices in the community must not be aroused by too great a readiness to practice the equalitarian theory of democratic America. This inner conflict and consequent hesitancy tends to show itself whenever specific programs for social amelioration are proposed within the field of social work. Thus the important study, culminating in recommendations of an essential nature, made under the auspices of a representative local community by Dr. Reid and frequently referred to in the preceding pages found the committee and the author of the report at variance on specific recommendations and found similar differences within the membership of the committee itself, differences based not on varying degrees of goodwill but on questions of policy as affected by each person's judgment of the nature and significance of public opinion.

In discussing the recommendations of the present study pertaining to the care of the sick a similar conflict within the membership of the sponsoring committee was found, based on the same diversity of judgment as to how much public opinion would endure and how far the inherent justice and validity of recommendations should weigh against the problems posed by existing prejudices. Some reflection of this inner conflict seems to manifest itself in the consideration given by the Community Fund to the programs and budgets of the Urban League of Pittsburgh. Not only did this

program seem to be too limited and its budget too restricted, but in the consideration given them before a budget committee of the Community Fund, in September, 1934, it was apparent that a lower standard of values was applied and more patronizing and meticulous examination of particular items was indulged in than in respect to other social agencies. As a practical policy it may not be sound for representatives of the Negro group to demand what they ought to receive. This pressure should come, therefore, from the community as a whole. Particularly, it should be the function of the social agencies to take special pains that through their initiative and their deliberate and voluntary coöperation with the Negro agencies and the community greater facilities be provided for the colored section of the population than exist at present. While with respect to the new Americans of foreign birth and parentage what is needed most is greater understanding and a more sympathetic appreciation of their cultures, with respect to the Negro a social work community must go beyond that to pressure for more extensive services and more generous provision of those facilities which the social agencies are responsible for providing.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ A further consideration of social agencies dedicated to the special service of the needs of foreign-born and Negroes will be found in chap. xi, *infra*.

TABLE 27

COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY, 1850-1930^a

	1850 ^b	1860 ^b	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Foreign-born whites	43,414 ^c	53,727 ^c	75,897 ^c	88,666 ^c	153,078 ^c	191,141	271,350	248,581	227,536
Austria	...	...	..	...	4,254	17,384	53,590	24,218	8,301
Hungary	...	...	...	...	2,700	8,537	25,758	14,149	7,205
Yugoslavia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11,187	13,463
Russia	...	...	...	...	2,708	6,074	39,066	20,446	12,648
Lithuania	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,613	5,447
Rumania	...	...	...	...	...	153	1,994	2,254	2,743
Greece	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,353	3,485	2,989
Czechoslovakia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	18,364	29,224
Palestine and Syria	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	928	934
Canada	...	...	676	...	1,359	2,316	2,861	2,650	3,077
England	...	...	11,772	14,907	21,937	20,778	19,935	16,317	14,410
Wales	...	...	...	...	5,362	5,245	3,925	2,883	2,236
Scotland	...	...	2,824	3,711	6,830	7,265	7,904	7,045	8,890
Ireland	...	...	25,508	28,432	34,953	32,013	26,721	20,077	16,414
Germany	...	...	30,983	33,980	56,350	52,560	49,113	28,856	25,439
Norway	...	...	74	461	200	127	245	...	362
Sweden	...	...	...	...	2,814	3,891	4,279	3,407	3,168
Switzerland	...	...	1,588	1,698	1,454	1,743	1,784	1,523	1,229
France	...	...	2,034	1,712	2,177	2,153	2,052	3,275	2,296
Poland	...	...	88	440	3,343	16,107	...	29,781	29,307
Italy	...	...	106	...	3,498	11,287	26,914	29,122	34,039
All others	...	...	970	2,366	3,080	3,736	3,856	5,001	3,715

^a Table supplied by Bureau of Social Research, Federation of Social Agencies, compiled from census data.^b No details available for these years.^c Includes colored races.^d Included in "all others."^e No separate figures; included with Austria, Russia, and Germany.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL ATTITUDES, PUBLIC OPINION, AND PRESSURE GROUPS

Public opinion as the reflection of attitudes.—Dominant and minority public opinion in Pittsburgh.—Labor relations and social attitudes.—The changing press.—Freedom of speech in relation to schools, university and social agencies.—Pressure groups for social change.—Open forums.—The League for Social Justice.—Council for Peace and Social Action.—Pennsylvania Security League.—Organization of relief clients.—Organizations of social workers.

THERE HAVE been marked changes in the physical, economic, and social setting of community life in Allegheny County. Many forces have influenced these changes, some promoting and some retarding them. Technological advances, building and city planning, growth, expansion, and in some cases removal of industrial plants, real estate development and decay—these have changed some of the physical aspects of the county. Accumulation of wealth, diversification of industries, absentee control, changes in immigration, and mobility of labor have altered the proportions in the background of economic life. Rising wages and standards of living, the absorption of inventions in home economics and leisure time activities, the pressure of ideas upon all phases of conscious life, all the thousand and one events and shifts of points of view that have crowded life in the past three or four decades have been at work to build new features in the cultural physiognomy of the metropolis centered in Pittsburgh.

So far as deliberate changes in the institutional life of the community go—including schools, politics, social work, and civic activities—these forces have to work through social attitudes consciously or unconsciously held by the members of the community. These attitudes may be propulsive or resistive, mutually supplementary or hostile. Social attitudes express themselves in the thousand ways that constitute community life, but they are perhaps most clearly discernible in the various manifestations of public opinion. They constitute, mold, and define public opinion and are in turn forever set and entrenched by it. So far as the more limited interests of operating social work agencies are concerned, the function of public opinion is reflected in and served by the publicity activities of those agencies. These are discussed elsewhere in some detail. But the more im-

portant aspect of public opinion, as it expresses and creates social attitudes, leads to action, and determines the nature and speed of changes in the background of community life, embraces a wider field of interests—philosophic, political, denominational, and cultural. Because social attitudes and their public expression are intimately involved in the community background of social work, an appraisal of their essential characteristics is necessary.

DOMINANT AND MINORITY PUBLIC OPINION IN PITTSBURGH

There are, roughly speaking, two constituents of public opinion: dominant and minority. Of these the dominant public opinion is the really effective opinion in the scope of social work. Its characteristics determine the main features, conditions, and objectives of the social work design. This dominant public opinion in Pittsburgh is composed of elements contributed by the economic hegemony of the industrial and financial corporations; by the conservative and, in important places, fundamentalist theology of the leading local denominations; by the tradition of the superiority of the "American" races—English, Scotch, Irish, and their combinations—over other European nationals, and especially of those settled by several generations earlier than recent immigrant groups; by the superiority of employer over employee, and the assumed superiority in endowment, culture, and moral qualities of the rich over the poor; by the social philosophy of individualism and its concomitant aristocratic tradition; by the pervasive veneration of property and of the legal structure which protects and enshrines it; by the effective daily demonstration that these things together do actually provide labor and daily bread for the multitude; and by the fact that these conceptions of the paramount importance of corporation growth, of religious, philosophical, and political conservatism, Scotch-Irish and British descent, established generations in America, and the possession of wealth are combined and held together in family and social bonds in a closely knit local social aristocracy.

The bitter strifes of an earlier day are not forgotten by those who manage and control the local industries, and the local veneration of such heroes of our material civilizations as Carnegie and Frick is based only partly on their magnificent contributions to art, culture, education, and civic progress; it is based as much on the admiration of their tactics in the bold pursuit of their objectives of industrial and financial leadership and the creation of wealth. Criticism and the advocacy of contrary opinion is little tolerated, and the present study itself was designated a "social study" rather than a "survey" in deference to a persistent resentment of the activities associated with the famous Pittsburgh Survey, which laid bare some of the social costs of the precipitous pursuit of power and wealth.

The opinions of the dominant group of a community become public opinion rather than merely the point of view of the select by two complementary processes: one, the actual control of the channels of publicity; the other, the veneration and imitation with which the "plebs" always responds to the patrician. To the complex roots of this worship of the aristocracy by the common people, a worship in which imitation and the acceptance of leadership are prominent, America has added, by a queer paradox, still another source of nourishment: the "self-made-man" theory. "From newsboy to president" is the symbol of American potentialities, and this theory has been absorbed and fully integrated with the peculiar aristocratic tradition of the new continent. To level down the status and distinction of the powerful leadership—open to every man—would be to deny the unlimited possibilities to every American. The potential millionaire and aristocrat—for the moment farmer or laborer—is as staunch a supporter of the existing social-economic system as is the actual millionaire and his social-financial group. Opposed to this point of view has been the growth of socialist political opinion, the trade union movement, "liberal thought," and the natural tendency to rebellion of all groups. These disadvantaged groups in American industrial civilization have tended to be, in separate or overlapping categories, the wage earner, the immigrant, the Negro, the exponent of divergent socio-political theories: liberal, socialist, anarchist, communist.

It is to be expected that a dominant public opinion will call forth a corresponding "minority" opinion, the latter arising chiefly among the suppressed groups or combinations of them. The relative strength of the two opposing points of view would vary in accordance with the infinite combinations of temporary economic and social conditions, leadership, speed of change, dramatic incidents, deliberate suppression, or active rebellion. Thus public opinion is a dual dynamic process of action and reaction, hammer and anvil. Dominant public opinion the one, minority expression the other.

Dominant public opinion has incomparably greater control of the channels of publicity, most of which are either directly purchasable or respond to indirect pressure, such as social acceptance, political advancement, newspaper attention, professional and business rewards. Inasmuch as publicity gives dominance to opinions, it is important to retain control of its channels. We shall see something of this process in the following pages. Minority opinion must therefore seek new, different, unorthodox channels of expression, less expensive, less predictable, less permanent, more adjusted to the immediate objectives. Among the instrumentalities used by minority opinion, in addition to the regular organs of minority groups, such as organized labor, nationality groups, and the lesser political

parties, are reform organizations and pressure groups. The programs and activities of a few of the more prominent of these groups, since they constitute a necessary part of the picture of dynamic public opinion in Allegheny County, will be summarized later in this chapter.

The threat to the dominant social attitudes in Pittsburgh, to their exponents and to their indirect influence over the press, schools, higher education and the pulpit, is not yet sufficient to have introduced important changes and basic concessions. True, the exclusion of the "new Americans" from communal life, discussed elsewhere, threatens to render these newcomers a dangerous power in politics, but this menace does not seem serious or immediate; the strength of organized labor is growing, but not at a pace carrying any great menace to the rooted attitude of employer to employee; and the strength of liberal public opinion, notoriously uncertain anywhere, conveys but slight conviction to the entrenched conservative leaders. The part played by Bishop Francis J. McConnell in the interchurch investigation following the steel strike of 1919 cost him his local prestige in Pittsburgh, while it won him national fame.

We must be prepared, therefore, to expect, as indeed we shall find, that in social work, as in the general fields dealing with immigrant, Negro, unemployed, and the poor in general and also in civic programs and legislation, in public education and in the leadership offered to the masses, public opinion is politically and philosophically conservative and often militantly orthodox; that the chances for the introduction of changes that are or seem to be out of harmony with this prevalent attitude are slight. This fact is made no less true by the striking contrast to a small number of civic and philanthropic leaders who, individually and through organized effort, champion the cause of the disadvantaged and nonconformist.

The positive effects of this solidarity of conservative opinion may be seen in a variety of sometimes tangible, more often subtle, aspects of the general policies in social agencies, more so where group activities and public education are involved than in organizations serving individual persons and families. Thus, witness the exclusion of Negroes by two leading settlements, despite their location in the heart of a colored district; the disciplinary action taken by the board of another settlement against its executive who had been actively interested in a propaganda group for "social justice"; and the virtual dismissal of a Y.W.C.A. industrial secretary, despite the sustained liberal program of that organization, in conformity with pressure exercised through the financial support of a conservative section of its management.¹ The Community Fund had indeed

¹ The head of one of the settlements who was chairman of "the League for Social Justice," brought upon himself considerable criticism from his board for his activities in the League; this resulted in the passing of a resolution forbidding staff members to

admonished the censorious settlement for its illiberal attitude toward its executive, but, on the other hand, has been unable or unwilling to draw into the membership of its management a representative distribution of the citizenry to include the laboring population.² Since the conflict of policy occasioned at the time of the steel strike of 1919 the relief agencies have been markedly free from the effects of conservative employer censorship. Religious or denominational conservatism, however, is strong, and a considerable area of the relief activities that remain in voluntary agencies is within the scope of its influence. When, for example, during a meeting of the sponsoring committee of the present study the contrast of objectives between professional social workers and certain church bodies conducting social services was indicated as expressed by the terms of "rehabilitation" and "redemption," respectively, there was no lack of sentiment for the latter in the committee, composed in the main of the liberal lay leaders of social work. Similarly, no serious objection was raised in that body to the proposition advanced in one of its discussions that the purpose of social work is "the stabilization of society." This is not, of course, what a conscious and deliberate formulation of its purpose by the group would have been, yet there was sufficient evidence in the discussions of the committee to indicate that a definite formulation, had it been attempted, would have leaned heavily on the Biblical interpretation and authority for charity rather than on the responsibilities for social action arising from economic organization and the distribution of wealth. Most of the separatist tendency in the local history of organized social work is interpreted by competent local observers as being rooted in the deep sense of individual responsibility for acts of charity that arise from the religious source of inspiration. This tendency is also reported as manifesting itself in the fact that many members of the dominant churches support single handed a large, if unknown, number of families who therefore never reach the doors of organized relief agencies.

In a less positive way the dominant conservatism of the community expresses itself in the sparse growth of militant organizations for social reform, in the meager representation of the community leaders in those in existence, and in the infertile nature of the soil for the dissemination of nonconformist ideas, for the growth of liberal groups, and for the defense of free speech, free assemblage, and academic freedom.

participate in activities which do not have general public support. After a conference initiated by the Community Fund directorate with members of the board of directors of the settlement this resolution was withdrawn and a milder one was passed, stipulating that staff members who participate in outside activities are not to do so as members of the agency. For a summary of the Y.W.C.A. incident see Appendix C, p. 912.

² One member of its board of directors is elected from the ranks of the officials of organized labor.

The general attitude on freedom of thought, speech, and action in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County seems inextricably bound up with the economic issue of whether or not labor has the right to organize and bargain collectively and with the political issue of whether or not those advocating basic changes in our form of government shall be granted the same rights and privileges by public authorities and private organizations as are accorded to other groups.

Outright denial of civil rights and the suppression of liberal opinion in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County have been most flagrant during crises in industrial relations. At such times the lines were clearly drawn between those who believed that the Government had been unreasonable in the exercise of its police power and that the contentions of both parties should be fully and freely discussed and those who believed that the need for the protection of property rights warranted the suspension of civil liberties and that no issue worth discussing was at stake. Fundamentally the difference between the two groups is one that revolves around the right and desire of workmen to organize and bargain collectively, and this issue has tended to focus and sharpen the division between conservative and liberal in religion, government, and standards of behavior.

Because of the fundamental significance for freedom of expression and for its effect on social work, of social attitudes on the labor questions, it may be well to give some prior consideration to the state of public opinion on industrial relations in Pittsburgh.

LABOR RELATIONS AND SOCIAL ATTITUDES³

In 1909 John R. Commons was enormously impressed with Pittsburgh as the creator of wealth, noted the "titanic . . . contests for the division of wealth" and saw that "Pittsburgh loom[s] up as the mighty storm mountain of Capital and Labor. Here [said he] our modern world achieves its grandest triumph and faces its gravest problem."⁴ It is possible that the ensuing twenty-five years may not have completely sustained this judgment and prophecy. There may by now be greater triumphs in the hub of the automobile industry, and of the gravest problems in our modern world Pittsburgh, as a symbol, may be only a part. But for the life of the people of Pittsburgh and its environs the production of wealth on a gigantic scale and the contest for its division are still the basic facts, and that city may yet qualify as the "storm mountain of Capital and Labor." A third major attempt to unionize labor in Pittsburgh's steel industry is now in process. Both capital and labor recognize the practical, realistic im-

³ Data for this section are drawn from several reports prepared by Dorothy R. Bucklin of the study staff.

⁴ John R. Commons, "Wage-Earners of Pittsburgh," in *Charities and the Commons*, Vol. XXI, p. 1051.

portance of public opinion, and each is seeking to be the hammer rather than the anvil in forging favorable public sentiment with its concomitant political, financial, and police-defense corollaries. The relations of capital to labor and of employer to employee are the substrata on which the shifting, yet remarkably solid, foundations of local public opinion rest.⁵

The laboring population and their families constitute probably four-fifths of the population of Allegheny County. Organized labor with outside affiliations may not directly represent more than one-sixth to one-fifth of this number. This body of some 100,000 workers⁶ and their families may not all hold opinions in harmony with "labor philosophy." Another body of perhaps 150,000, accounting for more than a quarter of the workers and population, are probably associated with "company unions" and are bound to have at least divided sympathies. More than half the gainfully employed workers of Allegheny County are not organized. But it would be rash to assume that these workers are not interested in employer-employee relations, that they do not respond in one way or another to evidences of divergence between capital and labor, that they are completely devotees of the philosophy of the "self-made man" or, on the contrary, fully permeated by class consciousness.⁷

The situation with respect to the status of labor organization in Allegheny County has been discussed elsewhere in this report.⁸ Our interest here is in the attitudes and opinions of labor, representing as they do the bulk of the population, in so far as those opinions, arising from controversies in labor relations, constitute a general cultural background of individual and community life in the county. The attitudes of workers and their families as potential clients of social welfare agencies go a long way toward determining the policies of those agencies, while as voters, they are even more decidedly potential arbiters of public programs and expenditures. It must be borne in mind in this connection also that such cleavages as may exist between the dominant stratum of the community and the mass of its people by reason of race, religion, American ancestry, Scotch-Irish descent, or political affiliations are reflected in no small degree within the body of the laboring population and their families. Thus any interest in questions of labor relations is considerably complicated by

⁵ Since the above was written a new era of labor relations may have opened up with the signing of an agreement between the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, for the Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin Workers and the leading steel operators, including the Jones and Laughlin and U. S. Steel plants. No small influence may also be exercised in the near future by the publication of the study of steel labor by the Bureau of Business Research, see *supra*, chap. iv.

⁶ Cf. *supra*, chap. iv.

⁷ Events subsequent to the agreements signed in March, 1937, may give a different complexion to the situation as characterized here.

⁸ Cf. chap. iv, above, summary of trade union situation.

dynamic consciousness of racial, national, and religious-cultural backgrounds.

The heart of the problem of labor relations is collective bargaining. The objectives of collective bargaining are improvement in hours, wages, and working conditions, all of them threats to profit and to the free disposition of capital. By opposing collective bargaining, owners of industry retain control of all conditions of production that may affect profit. An interpretation of the ruling attitude in Pittsburgh, as given a quarter of a century ago, seems still valid today:

Recognizing clearly the serious limitations of trade unionism as part of the organization of a tumultuous industry like that of Pittsburgh" said a native of that city who had attained national fame as a social worker, "it must still be said that there is substantial evidence that the community cheats itself when it keeps up a glutted labor market and a lower than standard wage. However this may be, Pittsburgh employers, more than those of any other city in the country, have a point of view like that of the English employers of the early days of the factory system,—holding employees guilty of a sort of impiety, and acting with a sudden and sure execution if they undertake to enforce their claims in such a way as to embarrass the momentum of great business administration.⁹

Employer opinion in Pittsburgh today, if the following judgment is sound, is still not enthusiastically in favor of trade unions.

Even most employers with union shops have accepted the union grudgingly and agree with the more hostile employers in their criticism of trade unions. Employers criticize unions as political agencies with operating methods similar to those of Tammany Hall or the old Philadelphia political gang. They resist unions because they fear that they will have to pay higher wages if their shops are organized. They object to what they think of as needless red tape and numerous petty regulations in the union organization, to the seniority rule which often prevents the discharge of incompetent workers, and particularly to the frequent jurisdictional disputes over which they have no control and which, they feel, result in unnecessary stoppages, and wastes. They are reluctant to discuss internal plant problems with outside union representatives who, they feel, cannot be familiar or sympathetic with them. Unions are accused by many employers of preventing the adoption of technological improvements which from the employers' point of view would result in lowered production costs, but from the standpoint of labor would throw many workers out of jobs. Irrespective of the soundness of these objections—and they are not all unsound—they are worth noting because they represent the typical anti-union employer attitude and as such they account in large measure for the vigorous opposition to unions which organized labor has had to fight.¹⁰

In the earlier history of Pittsburgh any organization proposed by labor was opposed by capital. The present controversy—brought about by the inevitable changes of the past decades—concerns rather the kind of organization, the extent of its powers, and the nature of its leadership

⁹ Robert A. Woods, "Pittsburgh; an Interpretation," in *Civic Frontage*, p. 15, "The Pittsburgh Survey."

¹⁰ Twentieth Century Fund, Inc., *Labor and the Government*, 1935, pp. 313-14.

than organization *per se*. The state of the public mind on the subject of labor organization has been further complicated by the entry into the capital-labor situation of the Federal Government itself, through the National Industrial Recovery Act and its codes and through the open advocacy by the Federal administration of collective bargaining through representatives of the employees' free choice. In other words, the employers—or a substantial part of them—have accepted labor organizations as an unavoidable fact of modern times, some, like those in the soft-coal mining industry, actually recognizing organization of labor as an asset. There is then a variety of opinions held or practiced by varying groups more or less directly concerned. These are, chiefly:

1. The formal labor movement, locally represented by:
 - (a) The American Federation of Labor and its affiliates
 - (b) The United Mine Workers, as a major factor in local organized labor
 - (c) The C.I.O. (Committee on Industrial Organization) and its constituents
2. The body of workers corresponding to these groups as members or potential members
3. The unorganized workers including white-collar classes
4. Employers favoring organized labor, notably the soft coal industry
5. Employers committed to or promoting and practicing employee representation (company union)
6. Politicians sensitive to all the implications and pressures
7. Liberals and those only indirectly concerned, including social workers and sponsors of reform movements

The strength and distribution of opinions held by these groups and the degree of their overlapping are of course beyond measurement. Certainly they differ in time of stress—whether occasioned by strikes and lockouts or by unemployment and destitution—from relatively normal times and are subject to all the influences of mob psychology, fear, obstinacy, and other human qualities. But one may reasonably assume certain streams of opinion of relatively stable direction of flow, even if they vary in volume.

At the present time the conflicts in the field of labor relations are most obvious and menacing in the steel industry, the truly fundamental industry of the district. In so far as there is, at present, an active consciousness of public opinion on labor relations in the Pittsburgh District, it may be said to relate to the steel industry.

Steel employs nearly two-thirds of the workers in the manufacturing industry in Allegheny County and nearly one-fifth of all persons gainfully employed. Of these 100,000-odd workers, only some 1,700 are on the pay rolls of companies who have recognized and bargained with a bona fide labor union (1935-36),¹¹ while a majority of them have, since the N.R.A., become affiliated with employee-representation systems.

¹¹ The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. Names of companies which have agreements with the union were obtained through interview with

The quasi-official employer opinion of the day (1935) is clearly outlined for the steel industry in a statement published in June, 1934, apropos of the inauguration of the N.R.A., from which the following significant excerpts are deemed important to quote:¹²

The Industry stands squarely in favor of the right and the practice of collective bargaining with its employees.

The only issue at stake involves the form of such bargaining.

This issue arises from the fact that labor unions, chiefly those affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, temporarily usurping a dominating position under the N.R.A. have claimed the exclusive right to represent the employees of the Industry, despite the fact that their membership in groups does not, and never has embraced more than a negligible minority of employees.

The steel industry is not without experience in "bargaining" with the American Federation of Labor unions, and that experience with its examples of jurisdictional disputes; strikes, racketeering leadership, excessive dues, fines, and penalties; limitation of output; intrusion of agents having no acquaintance with the industry or the employee body they claim to represent; and a general and fundamental philosophy of conflict, has not been conducive to satisfaction either to the employees or to the management.

The employees and the management alike contend that collective bargaining may be best accomplished, in the interests of the employees themselves as well as those of business and society at large, by the establishment of self-governing employees' organizations within the Industry, who elect representatives who will deal with employers upon questions concerning wages, hours, working conditions as well as all other matters of mutual interest.

The employee representation plan has been customarily referred to in newspapers and in magazines as a "company union." To the extent that this term indicates an organization of the employees of a company for collective bargaining, this name is correct. However, the implication that it follows from this that management controls the affairs and decisions of the employee organization is absolutely unwarranted. In order for the employee representation plan to function successfully, it is essential that employees be given the right of independent meetings, elections, and conclusions. . . .

The employee representation plan builds harmony, confidence and understanding between employer and employees and gives workmen a means of collective bargaining which will permit them to present their case directly, and which will work for the mutual benefit of both workers and management.

By contrast—"union" labor appears to have been built upon the theory that the interests of capital and labor are inevitably antagonistic—that there must be, in the nature of things, a perpetual conflict between employer and employees. This accentuates class differences, promotes bitterness and hostility, fosters suspicion and friction, and drives a wedge between men and management. It is productive of no profit to anyone concerned, unless it be to the many racketeers who have fastened themselves onto the unions, and utterly contrary to the spirit of coöperation which is the keynote of the "New Deal."

Louis Leonard, secretary of the union. Number of employees in these plants obtained from Industrial Directory of Pennsylvania, 1930.

¹² *Collective Bargaining in the Steel Industry*, American Iron and Steel Institute, June, 1934.

Under the employee representation plan, employees are as a rule represented by men whom they know personally by years of intimate contact. . . .

Under the regime of "union labor," employees are represented by union officials, often men of little plant experience and no business training. . . .

. . . these "union labor" leaders must naturally appear to do something which justifies their existence. They do this by constantly creating dissatisfaction with existing employment conditions, regardless of what they may be; causing strikes, strife and disorganization. Without regard to possibilities of fulfillment, they often make promises as to wages, hours and working conditions, simply to maintain their following among the men, well knowing that the results which they promise are absolutely impossible of attainment. . . .

Under the employee representation plan, an employee may belong to the plan or not, as he chooses. He may, if he prefers, belong to a "labor union."

Under "union labor," no such free choice is permitted. The union demands a closed shop. A man must belong to the union or lose his job. . . .

"Union labor" desires to bring all employees to the same level, independent of ability, energy or initiative. It inevitably discriminates against superior workmen. . . .

The employee representation plan gives free play to individualism, encourages the use of the incentive system, permits recognition of superior ability, and offers employees opportunity for advancement based upon capacity for leadership, proven intelligence, production efficiency, and the like.

"Union labor" deliberately strives to prevent men from broadening their experience or increasing their usefulness. . . .

Lastly—but far from being the least important—the essential qualification for membership in "union labor" is payment of dues.

This is worthy of emphasis. Membership is based not upon intelligence, efficiency, productivity, adaptability, or loyalty to the actual undertaking in which employee and employer are engaged—simply payment of dues.

Under the employee representation plan, no large expenses are involved entailing high dues.

In short, under this plan, management recognizes the right of employees to meet and to elect representatives, to bargain collectively, and to consider all problems having to do with employee welfare, as *an inherent privilege*.

These statements and opinions must not, however, be interpreted as the universal opinion among employers of steel, either with respect to their acceptance of the principle of collective bargaining, even in a limited form, or with respect to a total rejection of true labor unions.

A few executives [quotes Daugherty]¹³ said that given a progressive, coöperative union such as they understood existed in the apparel industries, the average iron and steel plant executive, if left alone, might not be averse to trying out a collective bargaining relationship; but that the absentee owners, particularly the financial and banking groups, would never permit such an experimental concession to democratic control of labor relations.

This basic point of view, however, is fairly expressed in the attitude of the steel industry toward the National Labor Relations Act:

¹³ Carroll R. Daugherty, Melvin G. de Chazeau, Samuel Stratton, *The Economics of the Iron and Steel Industry*, Bureau of Business Research, 1937, p. 982.

Now we are faced with a vicious legislative proposal that seeks to discredit these plans [employee representation], gives legislative backing to national irresponsible labor unions and invites the closed shop . . . I repeat, it is one of the most vicious pieces of legislation that has been proposed in a long time. Whether or not this undesirable bill actually becomes a law, the constitutional rights of employees will continue, their right of freedom of choice both in employment and in selecting representatives will be protected by the steel industry to the fullest extent of our ability.¹⁴

And another executive:

The Wagner bill, just passed by the Senate, is the outstanding legislative monkey-wrench which today threatens to jam the wheels of recovery.

The enactment of this measure into law will plunge the country almost at once into a prolonged period of bitter industrial strife and litigation, such as the nation has never seen before.

The bill would place the government in the impossible position of attempting to control the most intimate relationships between employees and employers in every community. . . .

Vast numbers of employees in many great industries are carrying on collective bargaining successfully and I believe to their entire satisfaction through employee representation plans. . . .

Perhaps there has never been such a glaring example of one-sided legislation as this. Coercion by employers is prohibited, as it should be, and every form of possible restriction is placed upon the employer, but labor unions are exempt from such restrictions. They can intimidate, threaten, or exploit employees in any fashion they desire under the protecting wing of the Wagner bill.¹⁵

Accordingly, under the employee-representation system, most of the plans reserve to management the real control of the working force, including the right to hire, fire, and suspend, although a few provide for joint review of discharges except for specified causes, such as drunkenness or stealing. Many of the plans were amended to conform to the interpretations of Section 7-A of the N.I.R.A., but before this termination specifications in 85 percent of the plans provided that they should "remain in full force and effect during the term of the N.I.R.A. and thereafter may be terminated by the management or by a majority of the duly elected Employee Representatives upon three months' notice."¹⁶

The attitude of labor and the extent to which it permeates the half million or more workers and the families of which they are part are not so easy to ascertain. Labor's militant leadership, most articulate and vocal, comes from the organized trades and is in every way a reflection of national leadership, including the internal schisms, the traditional strategy, the

¹⁴ Eugene G. Grace, The President's Message, address at the 44th meeting of the American Iron and Steel Institute, May 23, 1935, p. 13.

¹⁵ T. M. Girdler, "The Outlook for Steel," an address at the 44th meeting of the American Iron and Steel Institute, May 23, 1935, pp. 7-9.

¹⁶ As interpreted by Carroll R. Daugherty, *op. cit.*, p. 1019.

use of slogans, the recriminations and suspicions. The conviction on the part of the employees of the existence of an extensive spy system is deep-rooted. The knowledge that employers may have the support of local and state governments, of police and deputies, and of the courts in case of strike is based on long experience.¹⁷ With this more or less stereotyped militancy there is, despite the limited extent of actual organization in the community, an actual calm optimism unlike earlier days, due probably to the general progress of the labor movement in the past two decades. "Things seem to have changed in the steel districts," says John Fitch after a visit to Pittsburgh in February, 1936, comparing present conditions with his findings in the original Pittsburgh Survey of twenty-five years ago.

The atmosphere is different. . . Just how thoroughgoing the changes are, how long they will last, what they mean,—all these are questions that cannot now be answered. . . Many individual steel workers have, just now, a sense of freedom that has been notably absent from the steel mills since the Homestead strike of 1892; . . . this sense of freedom is resulting in certain steps in the direction of independent collective action of a type that has been equally rare.¹⁸

After an investigation in 1934-35 of attitudes toward outside unions, toward company management, and toward governmental attempts to settle problems of labor relations, Daugherty says, "It would be a mistake . . . to believe that all iron and steel workers, or even the great majority of them, in all iron and steel companies were keenly conscious of paternalism and repression, or bitterly resented the conditions under which they were working and living, or held their employers directly responsible therefor."¹⁹ But again, "Although some men apparently gave little or no thought to the existence of espionage activities and to the arbitrary control of job opportunities, most of the workers were distrustful, suspicious, fearful and resentful at such control devices which they were convinced, sometimes with no direct evidence, were widely used."²⁰

Attitudes among the various groups of workers toward "outside unions" were described as follows:²¹

1. Native white workers were generally and appreciably more favorable toward "outside unions" than they were apparently in 1919.
2. Older foreign-born workers were not antagonistic but dubious and felt they had nothing to lose.
3. Younger foreign-born workers were violently pro-union, but some of them, "perhaps a minority" had absorbed the doctrine of individualism.

¹⁷ A new note has entered this phase of opinion by declaration during July, 1936, on the part of the Lieutenant Governor (a prominent labor leader) that relief and other protection to workers would be given by the administration in case of a strike in the steel industry.

¹⁸ John Fitch, "A Man Can Talk in Homestead," *Survey Graphic*, February, 1936.

¹⁹ Daugherty and others, *op. cit.*, p. 936.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 940. ²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 936-39.

4. Older Negro workers preferred to stick with the company unions.
5. Younger Negro workers cast their lot with the outside unions.
6. The white-collar workers believed that "outside unions are rackets."

The opinions gathered seemed to indicate that less than 5 percent were definitely revolutionary and that 95 percent were "capitalist minded," nonrevolutionary, and opportunistic. A more uniform outlook seemed to be developing as the old foreign-born and Negro backgrounds were replaced by an industrial background common to all. The majority seemed to be "organizable" in an outside industrial union should the right one come along.²² "This organizability sprang from the urge for freedom of expression, an urge made doubly powerful by the repression which, consciously or unconsciously, most of the iron and steel companies had exercised in the conduct of their welfare and labor control activities."²³

In a community so heavily weighted with foreign-born labor the workers' frame of mind resembles the ancient continental attitude of peasant to landlord: envy, distrust and adoration; veneration mixed with contempt; fear coupled with hatred; all diluted by the stoic indifference which is induced by the more or less successful effort to gain one's daily bread and rear one's family in peace. There is, however, a consciousness on the part of the laborer that he is capable of recklessness and that there is an ageless score of the poor against the rich; a willingness to accept charity and even to demand it; gratitude, but readiness for a tongue-in-cheek type of irresponsibility that to get something for nothing from the rich, from the government, from any established form of power involves no question of ethics.

THE CHANGING PRESS

Among the strongest factors for sustaining this attitude are two rather diverse manifestations of public opinion. One is the partisan attitude of the press in labor disputes—a fact that cannot escape the worker; the other, the worker's power of expression (gradually being realized) through politics and the vote. During the 1919 steel strike the Pittsburgh newspapers, then locally owned, lined up solidly with the employers against the strikers. A Senate committee concluded that reports on the strike were "conspicuously biased against the strikers." Radicalism, disloyalty, German designs, and the influence of aliens among the workers, according to the Pittsburgh papers, were responsible for the strike. They carried on the "Go Back to Work" advertising campaign, which consisted of full-page advertisements showing Uncle Sam calling on the workers in a number of different languages to go back to work and listing ten reasons why the strike would fail. Daily reports on the large numbers who had

²² *Ibid.*, p. 941. ²³ *Ibid.*, p. 941.

returned to work caused a "statistically minded union official" to conclude that if the reports were correct, 2,400,000 men in the Pittsburgh District had gone back to work where normally 50,000 were employed. Occasionally "social justice" was recommended in rather vague editorials, but the strikers' real grievances were not presented. No stand was taken on the denial of civil rights, nor was publicity given the resolution passed by the central labor body citing the abridgment of these rights. New York papers, but no Pittsburgh paper, gave publicity to the cable from Lord Northcliffe stating, "Any comparison between labor in the United States and Great Britain is irrelevant. That your men should be striking for the recognition of labor unions seems to us like going back to the Middle Ages."²⁴

Latterly, the attitude of the newspapers has been less biased, but again it must be noted that no strike comparable to the one in 1919 has been carried on. An investigator in the steel industry found that papers in large cities accorded a fair treatment to labor views during the code period, but that papers in small cities were usually pro-company. Notable examples of pro-company bias were found in the newspapers of Duquesne and Glassport, two boroughs located in Allegheny County. At the time of the threatened steel strike in 1934, the *Post-Gazette*, Pittsburgh's morning paper, ran front page editorials against the strike.²⁵ The Scripps-Howard paper, the *Pittsburgh Press*, editorially viewed the strike as a blow to recovery, at the same time that its news columns called the American Iron and Steel Institute's offer of settlement "an amazing proposal." However, it was found that the "bias [was] generally much less or much more subtle and less open than in 1919."²⁶

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND ACTION

The extent to which civil rights are denied and liberal opinion suppressed during relatively "normal" periods is difficult to determine. Individual instances of the abrogation of these rights and privileges when cited, seem to have but an infinitesimal significance; yet it is of such strands of thread that the whole cloth is woven.

The present discussion is centered in an analysis of the problems presented to social agencies as a result of the conflict between the liberal and conservative forces in the community. The practical issues within this

²⁴ Commission of Inquiry, The Interchurch World Movement, *Public Opinion and the Steel Strike*, 1921, pp. 90-151.

²⁵ *The People's Press*, December 14, 1935, reports that the *Post-Gazette* and the *Sun-Telegraph* did not print a line on J. Warren Madden's (chairman of National Labor Relations Board) courageous speech on labor's right to organize, delivered before the National Association of Manufacturers.

²⁶ Daugherty, *op. cit.*, p. 1004.

immediate field around which questions of free expression have revolved during the period covered by the study are:

1. The extent to which social agencies, schools, and churches shall be utilized for the consideration of social and economic questions by providing for discussion of those questions as part of their normal activities.
2. The extent to which outside organizations for whose programs the agencies assume no responsibility shall be permitted to use public or private buildings for meetings.
3. The extent to which staff members of agencies shall be, *as individuals*, permitted to identify themselves with liberal or radical groups which are likely to take stands on one side or the other of controversial issues.

Public schools in Pittsburgh have generally included as part of their curriculum impartial discussions of social and economic questions, such as social insurance and city government. The public buildings most frequently used for meetings are the schools. It has been the policy of the board to encourage the use of school buildings by the community as much as possible. Prior to March, 1935, the board had not committed itself to a definitely formulated policy on the use of buildings by outside groups, but during the period when the local Hearst publication was making an issue of the Youth Congress in the Y.W.C.A.,²⁷ certain "civic and patriotic" groups protested the "open door policy" of the schools. After two hearings, at which both the conservative and liberal elements in the community were heard, the Board of Education passed the following resolution:

Members of the Board of Public Education, as public officials, are sworn to support, obey and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Pennsylvania. For them to permit the use of buildings for meetings where the form of government outlined in these fundamental laws is subject to attack, would constitute a violation of this oath of office.

The public schools are supported and maintained by all people of the community and their use shall not be permitted to promote propaganda against our present form of constitutional government.

The school building should primarily and always be the community center for all legitimate social, recreational and educational activities. The Pittsburgh Board of Education encourages such use of public school buildings by the people of Pittsburgh. The Superintendent of Schools is directed to refuse all applications for permits for use of school buildings and public school grounds which are not in line with the policy outlined above.²⁸

The responsiveness of the board to pressure from conservative groups was again illustrated in the revocation of a permit granted to the Lenin Memorial Committee for a meeting in the Schenley High School in January, 1936. Telegrams signed by numerous veterans' organizations were sent each member of the school board protesting the holding of the

²⁷ Cf. *infra*, Appendix C.

²⁸ Minutes of School Board meeting, March 19, 1935, p. 337.

meeting. At the hearing called to reconsider the permit no speaker from the conservative camp appeared; with the exception of one representative from the Civil Liberties Committee those who spoke in favor of allowing the permit to stand were representatives of groups regarded by the community as radicals (League against War and Fascism, Young Communists' League, Lenin Memorial Committee, and International Workers' Order). The permit was revoked, with three dissenting votes, and following this action numerous groups in the community, including the Chamber of Commerce, passed resolutions commending the action of the board, while only a single group of citizens protested the action.²⁹ The League against War and Fascism is not permitted to use the schools, for despite protestations of the group to the contrary the League has the reputation of being communistic, or if not that, dominated by communists.³⁰

An example of a very different policy is presented by the Carnegie Library Building on the North Side of Pittsburgh which is open even to ultra-radical groups and is generally used for open meetings of the Communist Party.

The position of the University of Pittsburgh in relation to the question of freedom of speech, especially as an academic prerogative, has occupied a prominent position in public discussion and has represented sufficient news value to receive considerable press notice.³¹ The University occupies so important a place in the cultural complexion of the Pittsburgh community that its attitude must be regarded as of major significance in expressing the prevailing points of view on public questions. The issues at the university arose in relation to the academic freedom of the teaching staff and in relation to the dissolution by the university authorities of the Liberal Club, a student organization. Inasmuch as the university receives a substantial grant from the state legislature, the controversies raised resulted in the appointment of a legislative committee. The report of this

²⁹ *Pittsburgh Press*, January 22, 1936: "Telegram sent the board stating that there could be no compromise with the guaranteed rights of freedom of the press and assembly was signed by two ministers active in Council for Peace and Social Action; two members of Pittsburgh City Council; two executives of local settlements; two University of Pittsburgh professors; four other citizens associated as laymen with such organizations as Community Forum, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, League for Social Justice. . . ."

³⁰ In explaining the consistently conservative character of the school board, it may be pertinent to indicate that its members are appointed by the judges of the Common Pleas Court. This protects the board from overt political influence but at the same time tends to make it a self-perpetuating body.

³¹ In contrast to conditions prevalent a decade or more ago the daily press in Pittsburgh is no longer controlled by purely local interests. One of the three dailies is a Hearst publication, another belongs to the Scripps-Howard chain, and the third belongs also to an Eastern chain. The tendency of the press, however, with the possible exception of the Scripps-Howard paper, is to be sensitive to the dominant opinion of the economically stronger portion of the community.

committee, although it found that classroom activities were not interfered with, in general criticized the university authorities for dissolving the Liberal Club and stated that the reasons given by the corporation for refusing to grant a permanent charter for a student branch of the Pittsburgh League for Social Justice were "not substantial, and [showed] a distinct tendency to abrogate and nullify any attempt on the part of students to become engaged in activities of a liberal nature on the University campus."³²

The two reasons given for disbanding the Liberal Club were: (1) that the club sent a resolution to the officials of the university "condemning the University authorities for allowing the University Employment Office to furnish to the Pittsburgh Press, a daily newspaper in the city of Pittsburgh, forty-eight students, during a strike of the employees of the Pittsburgh Press"; and (2) "The holding of the meeting on the Mooney-Billings Case, together with the subsequent announcement by the Liberal Club that it intended to continue holding such meetings . . . the only objections to the Mooney-Billings meeting were that it was not 'open-minded discussion.' "

Academic freedom as applying to the teaching staff has a longer and more articulate tradition than does the question of free speech in student organizations, and naturally much of the legislative committee's interest, as indeed that of the community at large, revolved around the alleged infringement of this freedom by the administration of the university. Controversy centered in the reputed dismissal of Professor Turner and was concerned to a lesser degree with the action with respect to Professors Warne and Chalmers. The case of Professor Turner was indeed being studied at about the same period by the American Association of University Professors. "In discussing this definition of academic freedom," says the report in one place, "the Chancellor makes one reservation to the effect that a professor should not involve himself in heated controversial arguments that might involve the University."³³ . . . The Chancellor's further testimony revealed the fact that he does not believe the Civil Liberties Union is a useful body . . . The witness [chancellor of the University of Pittsburgh] remarks that he told members of the committee [Executive Committee of the Board of Directors] in March, 1934, that he could not go on further with Professor Turner for another year, because of his religious influence; that he had decided to give Professor Turner salary for another year, *but would not bring the matter up before the summer as the dismissal of Turner would cause too much publicity, and securing of money was a difficult problem.*"³⁴

³² Report of the Legislative Committee appointed pursuant to resolution 61, *Legislative Journal*, 1935, p. 7622.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 7619.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7619; italics are the author's.

In the case of the other two professors, the Legislative Committee reported that:

In the matter of suppression of academic freedom outside of the classroom, the Committee holds that insofar as the matter pertains to Professors Warne and Chalmers, the testimony discloses that there was interference with their outside activities, and that that interference was unjustified.

The committee reported in its records the testimony of a professor to the effect that:

There exists among the members of the faculty at the University a fear or uncertainty which arises out of two causes; first, the inadequate system of tenure, and second, discussion of social problems . . . both situations are inseparable.³⁵

Coming now to the more immediate question of free speech as it bears on the work of social agencies, the following judgment was expressed by a former staff member of one of the leading settlements as summarizing the situation: "There have always been some pressures [against participation in liberal activities] but they have been worse since the depression."³⁶ It has always been regarded as fundamental to the work of settlements that they provide a meeting place where public questions, including controversial matters, can be discussed, and where contending parties can, under unbiased leadership, evolve plans for constructive community action. This general theory has been regarded throughout the field of settlement work as underlying the policies defining the use of settlement houses. There appears to be considerable limitation upon this policy in Pittsburgh due to the exercise of personal influence of important board members. As one social worker put it, "As soon as there is any stress or strain in the local situation, the boards begin to hem in these liberal provisions."³⁷ The two factors which seem to be of paramount importance in influencing such decisions are (1) whether holding a particular meeting will place the settlement in a partisan position, and (2) whether publicity accompanying the meeting is likely to result in an unfavorable reaction toward the settlement.

In practice this works out in a variety of ways. Thus, as a rule labor unions are permitted to meet in Irene Kaufmann Settlement, except in cases of an injunction or a strike or some internal controversy, when meetings at the Settlement are suspended in order to avoid partisanship until such matters are settled. The League against War and Fascism has held meetings at the Irene Kaufmann Settlement, but when the purpose of the meeting seemed to be to denounce the newspapers, the request for permission was denied, inasmuch as the director of the settlement was an

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7622.

³⁶ Interview with staff member of a social agency.

³⁷ Interview with staff member of a social agency.

officer of the league and the board feared that "it might seem we were taking some stand on the matter."³⁸ The Brashear Association has established no definite policy with regard to use of buildings. They do not take a stand on any controversial questions as a settlement, but they will permit discussions of such questions if both sides are represented. Kingsley House strives for a similar policy, and the staff felt it was a break in their tradition when in 1934 an Armistice Day meeting sponsored by some of the younger groups in the community was called off at the request of a board member who feared that one of the speakers might be associated with an unflattering public statement about Andrew Mellon and that possible remarks of his might be seized upon for publicity purposes harmful to the institution. Workers from other settlements also voiced the opinion that the fear of publicity was often a determining factor in withholding the use of buildings.

The question which has precipitated most discussion, however, is to what extent a person employed by a social agency may participate as an individual in activities that do not find favor with those sponsoring or supporting the agency in which he is employed. The answer to this question is important not only to the individual and to the agency but to the community as well, for it is from the professional group that articulate leadership in social and economic questions frequently emerges. To stifle this leadership by permitting it free expression only in noncontroversial issues deprives the community of effective guidance when it is most needed.

As one authority³⁹ on labor problems has pointed out with relation to the avowed practice of labor espionage, the important attitude-forming factor is not whether such espionage activities are widely sponsored by industrial concerns but rather whether an appreciable number of persons believe that they are. Similarly, for professional workers in the fields of social work, religion, and education the question is not merely how much pressure has in fact been applied to discourage participation in liberal activities but also to what extent has the discretion and caution deemed necessary to avoid potential pressure throttled their freedom of expression and action. The situation does not well lend itself to evaluation from public controversies or general discussions in the press. Issues do not usually become public. It is only an "atmosphere" that is created. This may, therefore, be best interpreted by some quotations from competent practitioners in the field who hold responsible positions and from some of the lay persons in close touch with the social agencies:

³⁸ Minutes of the Committee on Free Assemblage, Federation of Social Agencies, April 24, 1934, p. 5.

³⁹ Carroll R. Daugherty, Melvin G. de Chazeau, and Samuel Stratton, *The Economics of the Iron and Steel Industry*, Bureau of Business Research, 1937, p. 997.

We [social workers] have all felt under pressure at this time to discontinue activities with the liberal groups. . . . One must be careful to choose his issues in Pittsburgh. . . . The pressure here is of a different, more terrifying type on account of the big steel interests which control the town. Most people are afraid to call their souls their own. Few of those who have liberal inclinations will take an active part for fear they may be branded as instigators. . . . In my opinion, you can talk about anything in Pittsburgh except conditions which affect the local situation.—Head of a settlement.

The situation in Pittsburgh is made more difficult by the uncertainty. If the monied people would state exactly where they stand, the air would be considerably clearer. These people don't criticize as long as the liberal or radical groups use hotels, and therefore should not criticize when they use settlement houses, community centers and schools. The New Deal activities tend to make a Republican stronghold like Pittsburgh more irritable.—Head of a settlement.

There are many people who will say liberal things across the dinner table, who say they just can't afford to 'stick their necks out.'⁴⁰—A lay person, active in community affairs.

The president of a county group work agency expressed the situation in approximately these words:

No one who was connected with industries expressed opinions freely because they did not know whether they would be reported, and feared losing their jobs.

A prominent member of the League for Social Justice tersely put it:

You can talk all you want to in Pittsburgh, except when you get to the subject of organized labor.

The significance of the Y.W.C.A. incident has already been referred to.

One expression of the prevalent feeling among social workers that freedom of action and expression are actually restricted by the social attitudes of the community's conservative and wealthy leaders is the existence in the Federation of Social Agencies of a Committee on Free Assemblage. To this body were referred from time to time complaints and controversies within this field, and its files should provide an interesting reflection of the current developments in this phase of the community's cultural life. Of immediate interest therefore is a statement adopted by that committee and the Board of the Federation of Social Agencies in January, 1937, which includes the following passages:

Responsibility of Social Workers to Their Agencies and to the Community:

The social worker is presumed to be a trained individual who has given close study to many questions in areas which vitally affect the lives of persons who make up the community. Indeed, he may be employed by his agency and supported by the community for the reason that he has special knowledge and particular skill in dealing with these questions, some of which may be highly controversial. He, therefore, has a responsibility for giving leadership to the formation of such public opinion as will result in the best good for all persons.

⁴⁰ Interview with staff member.

It is recognized that social workers as individuals, have a right to their own opinion upon any questions including those involving religion, social economics, politics. Further than that, when they speak as individual citizens, they have a right to the same free expression of that opinion as other citizens enjoy.

It seems difficult, however, for the public to disassociate completely, the social worker from the organization which employs him, and this fact constitutes a qualifying or limiting factor upon the expression of his opinion on controversial matters. This applies as well to his accepting a place as officer or leader in a group or society which is avowedly of propagandist character. Those who are opposed to the propaganda frequently confuse the organization which employs the worker with the organization which conducts the propaganda. The same is true of those who may agree with the propaganda.

The position of the social worker, by reason of his ability and the place that he occupies in the public eye, calls for the exercise of more tact and judgment than is the case with the ordinary individual who may believe in the same things. It follows, therefore, that the social worker must seek to balance the good that can be accomplished for a certain cause against the harm that may fall to his particular institution.

In the final analysis, the test is the good judgment of the social worker himself—it may be as grievous an error to speak out as to hold his tongue, but in any event, he would do well to deal with all questions as a trained observer.

Responsibility of the Board of Directors:

To the board of directors of social agencies belongs the task of formulating general policies for the agency, of providing funds to carry on the work and of selecting the executive to be the person in charge of carrying out these policies. This task of the governing board must be carried out with the full understanding of all the problems confronting the agency. Policies must be formulated on the basis of experience. Any change in the established policies of an organization, contemplated by an executive, should be fully discussed with members of the board and where applicable, the constituency of the organization.

A board member to serve efficiently must take into consideration all the elements that play on the life of the people with whom the agency is working. He must study and consider the problems faced by the individuals for whom the agency is making plans. These problems may include such things as bad housing, political corruption, a new political theory, or the type of problem which presents itself to young people in search of some way out of their difficulties.

A study of the conditions which represent the determining factors in the lives of those whom an agency serves may indicate the fact that there is a need for changing certain conditions if the work of the agency is to be effective. Real progress in this matter can be made only through the education of more people.

It is obviously outside the range of possibility for all agencies to conduct schools and classes. Therefore, more of them can participate in the process of education if their employees have freedom to study and to attend meetings in which they can acquaint themselves with the whole range of social thought. Such attendance and study must not be taken as evidence of settled conviction but merely of a sincere desire to understand. At this point in our civilization experimentation is accepted in the physical sciences; it is more difficult, however, to secure acceptance of this procedure in the field of social sciences.

It has been demonstrated that progress has been made through experimentation, of which discussion is one form. The first responsibility of board members is to

preserve the effectiveness of the agency program. Recognizing, however, that a solution for many of our problems will come only through the slow process of education, freedom of discussion on all questions should be encouraged.

It is the responsibility of the board member to understand the principle underlying the agency and to interpret the work of the agency to the community. It is also his responsibility to interpret the community to the executive and staff of the agency.

A board member should recognize that we are living in a changing world and should be the first to evaluate or have evaluated for him his agency so that he may be prepared to initiate changes of program in keeping with the times.

PRESSURE GROUPS AS A CONSTRUCTIVE FORCE FOR SOCIAL CHANGE⁴¹

The designation of any pressure groups whose purpose is to effect social change as a constructive force in social life may be subject to serious question: social change may be regarded as in itself undesirable; or it may be favored if the direction of change is acceptable—but direction is subject to personal judgment and philosophy, and these are variable. There are those who regard any pressure tactics as inherently wrong, regardless of the purpose to which they are applied. Our customary notions of how commerce, finance, politics, and education are guided recognize only “regular channels.” Of late, however, there has been developing a greater realism as to the extent to which organized pressure, rather than debate and majority vote, determine social action. Advertising campaigns are directed not toward increasing sales alone but also to the molding of public opinion on all kinds of issues from strikes to tax legislation; from child labor amendments to tariff rates. Lobbies are becoming recognized as a normal part of legislative “education,” and lobbyists are required to “register,” thus receiving recognition as a real force in public affairs. Liberty-bond campaigns, election publicity, community-fund campaigns, and a thousand and one other ways have become a recognized type of organized pressure for influencing mass action on governmental policy—legislative and administrative.

Within the scope of interest of social work the pressure method of influencing action has become naturalized as it has in other phases of social life. Because of the intimate relation that objectives and origins of social work bear to economic conditions, and standards of living, the creation and activities of pressure groups within these fields are directly in the area of social work interest as well. The broadening conception and wider operating base of social work—embracing public relief, economic security, unemployment and health insurance, labor legislation and public health—create a special interest for it in those pressure groups that direct their energies to legislative and organizational objectives in this field. This has

⁴¹ The substance of the material in this section is drawn from reports submitted by Dorothy R. Bucklin, of the staff.

come to pass in greater measure than usual because the importance of fundamental changes has become greater and because social work itself, being largely embedded in a static medium of voluntary philanthropy and legislative public service, needs the assistance of fresh points of view, new, undaunted analysis, bolder conceptions as to purposes and means.

Allegheny County has shown considerable vitality during recent years in giving rise to pressure groups and in the programs of these pressure groups. Some are local branches of national organizations; others are local groups which may or may not have their counterparts in other communities. Many have sprung up only recently, largely because of the tremendous interest in social, economic, and political questions stimulated by the depression. The groups range from those organized for discussion purposes only to those who seek to exert pressure either at the polls, through lobbies or through mass action.

These groups may be classified as comprising (1) those organized primarily for the promotion of member interests and (2) those organized primarily to promote community or civic welfare.⁴² In the first class, at one extreme are to be found organizations of business men and taxpayers, such as the Chamber of Commerce, and at the other, "rank and file" organizations, such as the trade unions and the pressure groups of the unemployed. The second class includes organizations such as women's clubs, whose energies for the most part are directed toward achieving goals hitherto unattained because of community lethargy rather than because of community opposition, and those groups, such as the Council for Peace and Social Action and the Public Charities Association, whose programs are designed each in its own way to promote the interests of the less-privileged members of the community.

Included in the classification of organizations emphasizing the promotion of member interests, direct or indirect, are the Chamber of Commerce, the Employers' Association, the Taxpayers' League, the Real Estate Board, the Building Owners and Managers Association, the Bureau of Governmental Research, and the Allied Boards of Trade. These organizations, with the exception of the Allied Boards of Trade and the Employers' Association, have formed a United Tax Conference which, among other activities, opposes additional tax levies, has supported the mayor in his stand against supplying local funds to support the W.P.A. program, and opposes increases in recreational facilities from tax funds.⁴² This emphasis on tax reduction necessarily places them in opposition to any extension of governmental services and in sympathy with the principle of providing social services through private initiative. An exception to this

⁴² Frank Skalak, Paper presented at a meeting of the Pittsburgh chapter of the American Association of Social Workers.

emphasis has been the active support given by the Allied Boards of Trade to the proposal for city ownership of the street railways. The Chamber of Commerce locally has supported the school board in the restrictions placed on the use of school buildings; was opposed to the state income tax (now declared unconstitutional) designed to guarantee adequate financial support for the schools without increasing the real-estate tax; and favored the Metropolitan Charter Plan for consolidating the city and county governments. The local chamber took no stand on the constitutional revision proposed in 1935, while the State Chamber of Commerce opposed it.

Sharply opposed to this type of organization with respect to specific programs but not as emphasizing membership interest are the trade unions, unemployed pressure groups, and, with respect to some aspects of their work, those newly-created organizations of the rank and file of wage-earning and small-salaried workers, who regard associations of business men and taxpayers as the "vested interests," their natural opponents. These include local branches of national organizations, such as the Townsend Clubs, the National Union for Social Justice (Father Coughlin's organization), and the Commonwealth Security Clubs (Third Party Movement), the League against War and Fascism, and the Pennsylvania Security League. The programs of these groups vary both in specific content and in emphasis, but a common characteristic is that they are sympathetic to higher taxes and to the limitation of the power of those in the higher income groups. In general, the "rank and file" groups want more and better governmental services. Some of them, such as the Pennsylvania Security League, are definitely committed to strong labor unions and to the protection of civil liberties as well.

Somewhat apart from these two opposing camps or groups which are organized primarily for the promotion of the members' interests are those groups committed primarily to programs for community betterment. These also must be treated in two separate categories, not so much because of a conflict of interest as because of a difference in approach and emphasis. The first group, including organizations such as the League of Women Voters and other women's clubs, the Civic Club of Pittsburgh, and certain open forums, are concerned with educating their membership concerning governmental problems like taxation, civil service, and social legislation. However, with the exception of the Civic Club they are less likely to initiate programs of their own and are more given to according hearings to candidates and to measures promoted by other groups.

The second group comprises organizations, such as the Council for Peace and Social Action, the League for Social Justice, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which seek to promote the common welfare by maintaining civil liberties and the decent existence of

the so-called underprivileged element in the community. These are in a sense "minority" groups whose adherence to the principles of freedom of speech and assembly and to the necessity for providing adequate relief must inevitably identify them with those for whom the benefits are intended.

Organizations which are affiliated with national bodies and which are therefore the local counterparts of sections of national public opinion need not be described here in detail. They include, for example, the Chamber of Commerce as one type and the League of Women Voters as another; and trade unions are still another. Mention ought, perhaps, to be made of some national organizations that are conspicuously lacking in this community, such as a Consumers' League, and Child Labor Committee. Their absence reflects the nature of public interest and opinion.

OPEN FORUMS

Pittsburgh now has two "forums" where open discussions follow the presentation of matters of public concern by authoritative speakers: the Community Forum and the Hungry Club (now more than twenty-five years old). The latter holds meetings each Monday noon in a downtown hotel; the former each Monday evening in the Schenley High School auditorium.

The Hungry Club grew out of the informal weekly luncheon conferences of the national experts employed to make the Pittsburgh Survey (1907) and local citizens actively concerned with social, political, and educational problems.⁴³ It now has about four hundred members, mostly men, including a fairly large representation from the lawyers and junior executives of some of the large business firms, "although the top executives occasionally drop in." The secretary "recently urged upon a number of influential members that they make an effort to interest more of Pittsburgh's industrial and business leaders in securing speakers for the club. Their reaction, described by a member of the 'liberal' citizens, was, 'It can't be done. These men do not believe in public discussion of any other viewpoint than their own, and they do not care to associate with those who are willing to listen to another side; nor to answer any questions which may be asked.'"⁴⁴ The club tends to be a conservative audience though willing to have the radical point of view discussed. Charles Cooper, of Kingsley House, founder of the club and secretary until his death, in 1930, was succeeded by John Weaver, also from Kingsley House; the secretary consults with a steering committee of about twenty members when matters of policy are to be decided.

⁴³ *The Hungry Club Year Book*, 1931, p. 4.

⁴⁴ John Weaver, July 29, 1934, mimeographed announcement of a League for Social Justice meeting.

Despite the fact that the club never pays the expenses of or gives honoraria to its speakers, well known persons of national and international reputations have addressed it on a variety of subjects. The topics of many speeches concern local issues, others are more remote; some of the speakers have been well-known liberals, some even radicals, such as Mary Van Kleeck, A. J. Muste, Emma Goldman, and Wilson Koch. It is perhaps significant that the highest average attendance (362) in recent years was recorded in 1928-29, when the club had a series of religious speakers.

The respect of the club for free speech and opinion was shown at the time of the 1919 steel strike, at which time the Hungry Club decided to hear from both management and labor. Also, during the coal strike in the late twenties the coal operators, who were opposed by the newspapers, stated that the Hungry Club was the only place which gave them a hearing. The policy of the club is to give no endorsement or condemnation to any idea or movement—to express no opinion, to take no vote, and to accept no commitment.

The impetus for the organization of the Community Forum came from the League for Social Justice, in 1932. With certain exceptions the meetings are attended by persons of an economic level lower than that of the members of the Hungry Club. Interest in these meetings, which are free to all, resulted in such large audiences that the group moved, in 1935-36, to an auditorium which seats some 1,200 people. More than forty clubs and civic bodies in the community, including the Chamber of Commerce and the American Legion, the League against War and Fascism, and the Pennsylvania Security League, "either formally endorsed the program or have coöperated by furnishing speakers" during the 1935-36 season.

Although many individuals have undoubtedly contributed both financially and morally to the success of this venture, especial credit for its success is given by all associated with the forum to its chairman, Bernard C. Clausen, pastor of the First Baptist Church. He maintains a fine spirit in the audience and the speakers and cultivates in them a mutual appreciation of differing points of view. The bulk of the financial support comes from subscribers; a leaflet describing the forum points out that "to preserve the Forum ideal, it is necessary to have the finances based on a wide democratic support rather than on a few large contributions." Accordingly voluntary contributions are taken at the close of each meeting.

For the most part the speakers and the subjects discussed have been somewhat removed from local conditions, except as all discussions of current economic, political, and social questions have a general application to a particular community. During the 1934 season, however, a Columbia University professor discussed the subject, "Do Ideas Have a Chance in

Pittsburgh," and in 1935 the president of the Chamber of Commerce and a history professor from the University of Pittsburgh talked about "Pittsburgh—Today and Tomorrow." At another meeting relief and W.P.A. were discussed.

A more recent development (1935-36), also under the leadership of Dr. Clausen, is the panel discussion from the radio station KDKA, Tuesday evenings from 10:15 P.M. to 11:00 P.M., which is designated the "Town Hall Meeting." These discussions are unique in radio history, for they are not prepared or censored beforehand. Since Pittsburgh people are the participants, the discussion often takes a strictly local turn. An announcement that the program would be discontinued at the end of 1935 brought enough protest to put it "back on the air" until some time in May, 1936.⁴⁵

THE LEAGUE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

The League for Social Justice has never had more than two hundred paid members, although it has a mailing list of more than one thousand. At the time of its organization it "represented every one in town who was wondering what to do next." Describing its aim, the League says: "Recognizing the urgent need for basic economic and political changes in our society, the League declares its intention to work toward the formulation and realization of a program which will promote social and economic justice."

According to its first executive secretary the members were in disagreement on details but were united in feeling that some basic change in the organization of society is necessary; and while "basic change" was never clearly defined by the group, many of its members meant the abolition of the profit system.

The functions of the League as set forth in April, 1932, were:

1. To unite those who approve its aim regardless of creed, color or class in an educational program to develop an integrated economic and political philosophy.
2. To promote the enactment of progressive social legislation in the state and nation and to vigorously oppose reactionary measures.
3. To collect facts, to crystallize opinions, and to make that opinion felt through existing organizations and the press.
4. To coöperate with local and national groups where an agreement of objectives exists.

In accordance with the first of these objectives the Community Forum referred to above was organized, a People's Institute was set up, and panel discussions for the League's own members were conducted. In the winter of 1932-33 the group sponsored the lecturers of the League for Industrial Democracy in a series of forums held at the Irene Kaufmann Settlement.

⁴⁵ *Bulletin Index*, January 2, 1936.

The People's Institute provided the following courses in the 1934-35 season: Sociology, Medical Problems, Democracy and Capitalism, and Crime and Criminals; and in 1935-36 the Development of Proletarian Literature was given. The institute conducts a speaker's bureau (not as yet a thriving activity) which furnishes speakers for trade union and socialist meetings in and around Pittsburgh and hopes to create a labor college where leadership for an effective organization of workers can be developed to serve especially in the industrial communities of the county outside Pittsburgh.

The league seems to have been more active in collecting facts and in crystallizing and publicizing opinion in its early days than it is now. In the opinion of its first executive secretary the league, which included a group of university professors and other intelligentsia, was not looked on with the same suspicion as was the Socialist Party, and it was therefore recognized by the newspapers as a spokesman for liberal opinion.

In 1934, when a steel strike was threatened, the league issued a special bulletin on *The Steel Situation* and voiced a vigorous protest, to which the newspapers gave space, against Mayor McNair's refusal to permit mass picketing. In this bulletin the Executive Committee declared: "We . . . are neither in position to, nor desirous of, declaring ourselves for or against a strike." Its sympathies were, however, hardly open to doubt. Following a résumé purporting to set forth the facts the bulletin quoted a Carnegie Steel official as saying that company unions were not true unions and committed itself to the proposition that the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers "represents a sufficiently large number of steel workers to justify its demand for recognition by the steel mill owners." The bulletin urged liberals and friends of labor to acquaint themselves with the facts and "to undertake to steer public opinion against distortion and deliberate misrepresentation of facts"; it concluded with the statement that they "must above all exert a special effort to attain a measure of that freedom in speech and assemblage which is traditionally associated with our form of government [by rallying] the support of all citizens who believe in American ideals of liberty and democracy irrespective of their economic views."⁴⁶

Such a statement, regardless of its effectiveness, reflects the difference between 1934 and 1919, when local groups, even if entertaining opinions different from those expressed in the press, were practically inarticulate.

The league claims a share in the credit for the reorganization of the Juvenile Court and for affecting certain changes in the emergency relief

⁴⁶ It was the foregoing statement, brought to the attention of the leading business men's club in Pittsburgh, which resulted in the attempted disciplinary measure against the head of a leading local settlement house by its Board of Directors, to which reference has been made elsewhere in this report.

set-up, chiefly the inauguration of the Public Relations Office. It may not be without significance that the chairman of the relief committee of the League for Social Justice was selected as the first head of the Public Relations Office.

COUNCIL FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL ACTION

The Council for Peace and Social Action, an organization of lay people and the clergy, is designed to promote united action among civic and religious groups. They have concentrated on the issue of civil liberties and joined with the League for Social Justice and the local branch of the Civil Liberties Union in issuing a statement on civil liberties following the threat of a steel strike in 1934, from which the following significant excerpts are quoted:

The gathering of strikers and sympathizers in the vicinity of plants naturally requires very careful handling, and only well-trained, disciplined peace officers, paid by the State and having no partisanship with the industries or strikers, should be employed in these situations. They should refrain strictly from provocative tactics. The gatherings of strikers are a crude but genuine expression of democracy, and attempts to forbid them have proved more irritating and dangerous than the opposite policy. Announcements by various authorities, within recent months of intent to prohibit assemblage near industrial plants, created apprehension among those who know how often language of this sort is applied in disregard of constitutional rights. . . .

We believe that the above principles should be fixed unalterably for emergencies, but that less difficult procedures are offered, with hope for a better community life, by applying the same principles to normal times.

In a democracy there can be no possible justification for interference with the right of assemblage in suitable meeting places by orderly and lawful organizations. If the President's⁴⁷ plan for determining workers' choice of representatives is to function as intended, so that no one can justly question the validity of its results, the workers must be free to organize and conduct meetings, in any type of union or group they desire. Whatever plan of representation is actually their free choice can be proved only by taking away the restrictions on meetings which now exist in some communities. Unions frequently find it impossible to rent a meeting place and are often denied permits under various pretexts, such as the refusal to grant a permit for a Sunday evening meeting, on the ground of interference with church services. Permits for indoor meetings should not be required, and places should be made available for outdoor meetings, with no more limitations on account of traffic and similar reasons than are imposed on political, religious and other gatherings. . . .

We therefore call upon the authorities of industrial communities in Allegheny County to make public declaration of a policy in accordance with these principles (quotes from Federal and State Constitutions regarding freedom of speech, press and peaceful assemblage), so that this country may have a genuine claim to the attributes of Americanism and democracy.

⁴⁷ President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Reference is to the several legislative enactments resulting from his policy on collective bargaining.

It was this body that stanchly protested the type of publicity given the Youth Congress by the Hearst papers, as well as the action of the Y.W.C.A. Metropolitan Board in the controversy over the re-engagement of one of its staff members to which reference has been made elsewhere.⁴⁸

PENNSYLVANIA SECURITY LEAGUE

The Pennsylvania Security League was launched by Stephen Rauschenbusch, in 1932-33, when as director of the Bureau of Mediation in the State Department of Labor and Industry and as chief investigator of the legislative commission on sweatshops he became convinced of the need for organizing those favoring social legislation. The leaders consider it a "practical approach to politics for organized labor and the lower middle classes," founded on the "perhaps vain hope that a new order can come without violence."⁴⁹

The original four-point legislative program of the Security League favoring the old age pension amendment, a minimum wage for women and minors, unemployment insurance and decent relief in hard times had been expanded by the end of 1935 into an eighteen-point program as follows:⁵⁰

1. State Employment Authority to give unemployed work producing things they need, and adequate cash relief where S.E.A. cannot be effective, with protection of unemployed against evictions.
2. Minimum wage law for women and minors and elimination of sweatshops by regulation of hours and conditions of labor in industry.
3. End killings and coercion of labor by forbidding private payment of deputy sheriffs and official police and by outlawing use of injunctions in labor disputes.
4. Cheaper local government through consolidation of local units and elimination of unnecessary officers; and use of taxes thus saved for schools, health and other services.
5. Real milk control to end profiteering and assure an adequate return to farmers and reasonable prices to consumers.
6. Compensation for occupational diseases and other needed improvements in the compensation laws.
7. Safety legislation for railroad workers and the public.
8. Pensions for the blind without requiring them to be paupers.
9. State housing corporation to build good and inexpensive homes for workers where needed, and government action to wipe out slums.
10. Graduated income tax in place of property taxes, for benefit of school districts, and general revision of the tax structure to transfer the burden from small property owners and workers to those best able to pay.
11. State system of obligatory unemployment compensation.

⁴⁸ Charles Douds, Secretary of the Allegheny County Branch.

⁴⁹ Pennsylvania Security League, *Constitution and By-Laws of the Pennsylvania Security League, and Its Purpose, Work and Objectives*, undated, probably 1935.

⁵⁰ Compare also p. 169, *supra*.

12. Constitutional amendment permitting old age pensions without the need for the pauper's oath.
13. Initiative, referendum and recall of elected officials, to restore to the people their right of control over the government of the Commonwealth.
14. Health insurance for all who wish to contribute, with state contributions graduated according to the income of the citizens, and allowing free choice of physicians.
15. Legislation to stop the defrauding of employees of wages actually earned.
16. Civil service system in place of political patronage for the selection of government workers and for their protection, and to ensure efficiency in the administration.
17. Lower light rates through ownership by municipalities of their own light and power plants.
18. Constitutional convention to revise the Pennsylvania Constitution so as to permit the passage of legislation on points 10 to 17 inclusive, which will not be declared void by the courts, and to give this Commonwealth an instrument of government which will provide security for the people in a day of economic change, instead of favoring the few who are wealthy.

It is worth noting that most of the eighteen points in the legislative program, although not couched in the customary phraseology of social agencies, are of the type often endorsed and sometimes initiated by these.

The executive committee of the league also adopted a fifteen-point relief program in July, 1935, after discussion with organizations of the unemployed, which called for cash relief, a 50 percent increase in relief allowances, adequate rent relief, a public works program, a State Employment Authority to give the unemployed work making things they need, and consultation with unemployed representatives over prospective changes, in hours, conditions, and work plans. Point number twelve of this relief program is of special interest to professional social workers as exemplifying the points at which the underlying spirit of a group, constructive in intention, may be completely at odds with the technical standards of professional practitioners. It reads as follows:

Case work and unemployment are separate fields and the administration should be separated. Employees of the State and County Relief Boards should be chosen on the basis of financial need where qualified. Visitors for the administration of relief should be chosen upon the basic qualifications of family raising experience.

The membership and means of financial support of an organization of this type are of considerable interest: At first, members of the league merely signed cards and paid ten cents pledging support to a four-point program. Some 50,000 memberships on this basis were claimed in 1933. This somewhat amorphous set-up was changed into a formal organization in the summer of 1934 by the establishment of local chapters. The income of the state organization during 1934 amounted to about \$600 a month, contributions from labor unions and individuals ranging in amount from one dollar to twenty-five dollars. In January, 1935, the league absorbed

the state organization of unemployed workers set up by the Socialist Party. It has been working closely with the unemployed pressure groups and with the more recently organized W.P.A. unions. The league now has a paid state organizer, as well as a paid and experienced executive secretary. Management is vested in a state executive committee composed of one member elected by each organized county and fifteen members chosen from the state at large by the executive committee.

Among the activities of the organization, in pursuance of its propaganda purposes, is the publication of *Black News*. This paper reports whether members of the General Assembly voted R (right), W (wrong), or NH (were no help) on measures endorsed or opposed by the League. Bills are endorsed or opposed in terms of the league's philosophy and popular appeals are voiced through cartoons and articles denouncing the stand of more conservative groups such as the Chamber of Commerce and individuals who represent "special privilege." A legislative news letter issued by the league (beginning in January, 1935) shows the progress of bills in the General Assembly. The subscriptions, at \$5.00 per year, increased from 65, in January, to 500, in June, 1935. Other activities of the league include conferences on subjects such as conditions in the coal areas in 1933, the need for constitutional revision, problems of relief and W.P.A. wages; also lobbying, interviewing of political candidates, and so forth. By preparing record votes and by endorsing candidates for office the league is attempting to furnish for the laboring classes a service similar to that which civic clubs have for years provided for voters of a higher economic level. Its political approach is realistic, the devices it has adopted for the information of its members are practical, and its organizational set-up fairly democratic.

ORGANIZATION OF RELIEF CLIENTS

Logically the birth, growth, and activities of associations of relief clients might well belong to the history of emergency relief in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. Here, as in many other communities, progressive changes toward a more enlightened administration of relief during the depression and toward the adoption of somewhat more decent and "American" standards of public assistance to the unemployed are attributable in a considerable measure to the work of pressure groups, chiefly composed of clients. What makes the discussion of these organizations pertinent to the more general subject of public opinion is the fact that the entire public—conservative and radical, employer and employee—had come to recognize that the depression could not be set aside as merely one of many temporary setbacks in American prosperity; that, some basic faults in the economic structure being suspected, the welfare of the group

requiring relief was more than an incidental problem of relief policy, was rather a problem of public welfare in its wider and more permanent aspect. The discussion of "fundamentals" inevitably attached itself to the problem of mass relief. Questions of Federal, state, and local responsibility, of social legislation, of free competition versus governmental regulation led to questions regarding the social order and the nature of economic-industrial society. Pressure groups concerned with issues of relief policy tended to enter the arena of social-political discussion, of deliberate campaigns to affect public opinion in these fields of thought.

Pressure groups among relief clients in Allegheny County first began to show strength about January, 1933, and continued to increase their influence until April, 1934. After that time their membership declined, although the number of groups to be dealt with increased, owing to the constant splitting off of minorities, as well as to the formation of new groups. In the summer of 1935, it was estimated that about 20 percent of the A.C.E.R.B. case load was organized for pressure tactics in about two hundred locals of twenty-four "parent" organizations. The six major groups were:

1. The Unemployed Citizens' League of Allegheny County, the largest group, led by Robert Lieberman, a socialist.

2. The Unemployed Councils of Allegheny County, a branch of a national organization identified as a "communist innocent" and in process of disintegration both nationally and locally.⁵¹

3. Allegheny County Unemployed League, identified nationally with the National Unemployed League and a state branch of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League known to be "innocents" of the American Workers' Party which is probably a shade less radical than the Communist Party.

4. Veterans' National Rank and File Committee, a branch of a national group, also a "communist innocent."

5. The Independent Unemployed Citizens' League, a local organization.

6. The Independent Citizens' League, second in size of the six, a local organization, which was formerly the majority group in the Independent Unemployed Citizens' League.

The immediate purpose of the pressure groups has been to deal with complaints about relief administration registered by their members. Their more remote purposes and programs have included unemployment insurance, an increase in relief funds, social legislation, and a housing program. Some observers have looked on these more far-reaching demands as gestures by the leaders whose support would be cut from under them if they attained merely a slightly improved level of living under relief. One of the demands which was actually achieved was that for cash relief,

⁵¹ John S. Gambs, Pressure Groups, Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board, Appendix I, p. 5, of Falconer report, 1934, in manuscript and B. J. Hovde, Interview, July, 1935.

and it is generally held that the increased satisfaction which this created among clients accounts in large part for the dwindling interest in pressure group activities.⁵² Just how much credit for instituting cash relief can justifiably be claimed by the pressure groups is a debatable question, for that change has been advocated also by the "regulars," that is, the relief agencies. Through the Public Relations Office, however, it was certainly the pressure groups that secured greater flexibility in the application of rules to individual cases.⁵³

The 1934 report on pressure group activities, already quoted, states that: "Although a number of the leaders interviewed were socialists, anarchists and communists (used in the academic sense), there was surprisingly little talk about the reorganization of society or about radical social changes and an alteration in the institution of private property."⁵⁴ The director of the Public Relations Office, of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board, in July, 1935, thought, however, that at this time more such talk was going on than formerly, but noted also a tendency among the rank and file to take a greater interest in the Democratic and Republican parties because of their growing realization that Harrisburg is the "hub of the wheel."⁵⁵ Much of the conflict between the local relief administration and the pressure groups in the early months arose over discrepancies between promises made in public utterances by state and national officers and local performance described as the "stretch out system" (insistence on exhaustion of all resources of clients, both their own and relatives', before relief, niggardly relief at that, was granted).⁵⁶ Apparently the groups now believe that conversion of official promises into action requires pressure at Harrisburg rather than at the local relief offices. Arranging hearings for the pressure groups and evaluating the merits of their requests presented numerous administrative problems to the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board. The pressure groups at first took their complaints to the district offices, but in 1934 the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board set up a Public Relations Office headed by a professor of history from the University of Pittsburgh who was sympathetic with workers' organizations. Since the central office was set up, the pressure groups have discontinued violent tactics and have demonstrated only once or twice. Settlement houses and the public schools have been used freely by the groups for their meetings. Even before the Public

⁵² B. J. Hovde, by interview.

⁵³ Nell Scott, interview with H. Alt, undated. Cf. *infra*, chap. xiv.

⁵⁴ John S. Gambs, Pressure Groups, Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board, Appendix I, p. 5, of Falconer report, 1934.

⁵⁵ B. J. Hovde, by interview.

⁵⁶ John S. Gambs, Pressure Groups, Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board, Appendix I, p. 5, of Falconer report, 1934.

Relations Office was set up, the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board was commended for its wisdom in dealing with pressure groups, and the comment made that "Allegheny County has been spared most of those scenes, which, in past decades, have made of the county a notorious battleground for the haves and the have-nots."⁵⁷ Toward the middle of 1935 most of the pressure groups were moving away from a revolutionary-proletarian type of organization and were being viewed more and more as unions of unskilled labor, since some members remained with the organizations even after they had obtained temporary jobs.

On September 19, 1935, when it was believed that direct relief would be discontinued by November 1, the State Emergency Relief Board extended an invitation to representatives of the organized unemployed to meet with it for a discussion of the situation. An impressive presentation of the problems of the unemployed was made and the following requests were presented:

1. Cash relief in every county.
2. Fifty percent increase in present relief allowances based upon the highest amount given in any part of the State.
3. Direct relief for all unemployed until they receive jobs at trade union wages.
4. Direct relief for all unemployed who refuse to participate in the W. P. A. program.
5. Immediate and vigorous action from the State Emergency Relief Board to obtain funds from the Federal Government to finance the relief program adequately.
6. A special session of legislature to provide funds for the relief program.

Since this meeting, the organizations represented have continued to consult one another, and to participate in common activity where necessary and advisable. They are at least pointing the way towards unity and away from the bitterness and division which have been characteristic of them in the past.⁵⁸

Subsequently at least half this program of constructive suggestions was carried into effect.

ORGANIZATIONS OF SOCIAL WORKERS

As in the case of recipients of relief, so with the professional staffs of relief agencies and with other social workers: the situation created by the depression forced a considerable body of them into new ways of public interpretation and propaganda. As a result changes have taken place in the theoretical outlook of many social workers, who have taken more active part in the molding of public opinion, and the formation of pressure groups within the body of the professional personnel has been initiated.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁵⁸ A. L. Willis, Consultant on Community Contacts, State Emergency Relief Board, *The Unemployed Meet the State Emergency Relief Board*, "Pennsylvania Monthly Relief Bulletin," October, 1935, pp. 29-38.

In so far as they have tended to modify opinion within the body of social workers or in the general public or have set the stage for a different and more dynamic participation on the part of social workers in the formation of effective social philosophy, activities of this nature are part of the constructive forces for change through the medium of public opinion.

Two interests were subject to this new attention of social workers: one, the employees as such, greatly augmented in numbers by the depression, drawn chiefly from among the unemployed, and sharing with other groups of workers (wage-earners or salaried), the uncertainties of employment, low pay, difficult working conditions, and arbitrary personnel practices; the other, the professional practitioners, concerned with the welfare and standards of living of their clients, forcibly brought face to face with new conditions, new mass problems, the helplessness of social work as a separate function (protected, but circumscribed) of the community, and recognizing the tremendous importance of the economic organization of production and distribution.

Prior to the depression social work opinion comprised little more than the sum of the policies of the agencies by which the social workers were employed and to which they gave leadership. Their special professional concern was largely technical and to some extent protective, akin to the professional concern of engineers, physicians, and nurses. Fundamental economic ills and social maladjustment were within the intellectual field of interest of only a minority of them and within the area of active interest of even fewer. Large measures, even in the field of social work proper, were rarely promoted, and they occupied the professional time of but a small minority. In the course of the depression both interest and activity were forced into wider and wider scope—public relief, Federal action, increased standards, improved technique in mass administration. Technical interest and political-economic thought found increasing areas of common interest.

The most important organ for the expression of professional social work opinion has been the local chapter of the American Association of Social Workers, organized about 1921. This organization, having high requirements of eligibility, has included a progressively smaller section of the employed workers as the depression brought more and more emergency workers into the field. This large body of new employees of public relief agencies, drawn often from the relief rolls, was neither professionally prepared like members of the American Association of Social Workers, nor eligible for membership in the latter. Their relative tenure, pay, conditions of labor, and more immediate kinship to the mass of unemployed, and the fact that they often outnumbered the established professionals ten to one made these new workers subject to different points of view, different leadership, and different organization practices. Following the

lead of other communities this body of workers was separately organized into the Associated Relief Workers of Allegheny County (ARWAC).

Organizations of social workers attempted to modify public opinion, therefore, as representatives both of the established profession and of the new "rank and file," with different degrees of emphasis on their status as employees, with different degrees of identification with client and wage-earning masses, with somewhat different initial philosophies, but with increasing convergence on the need for pressure, on objectives for worker and client, on the analysis of social and economic factors responsible for the persistent destitution—and with different degrees of sympathy for a new social order and for affiliation with the labor movement as a whole.

The Pittsburgh chapter of the American Association of Social Workers followed, on the whole, the earlier leadership of its national organization, carried on the usual professional functions, took active interest in the current developments of relief and other emergency measures but, while passing appropriate resolutions, did not appreciably affect public opinion or radically alter its own. A letter from one of its members, addressed to the chairman of the chapter sometime in 1934, said:

We have had so many bitter experiences with regard to the ruthless methods of employers that I have been forced to conclude that the really constructive thing the American Association of Social Workers should do is to study labor problems and throw its influence in the direction of helping to secure for labor at least some of its minimum rights. The whole matter of relief, unemployment insurance and other social legislation, it seems to me, will come after labor is given some decent recognition.

Social workers have been extremely lax and fearful in this matter, and I believe the time has come when we need to change our ways and think about where our efforts should be placed.

Will you think about the matter and consider it as a project for the local chapter?

The then chairman replied:

Of course, you must not lose sight of the fact that the American Association of Social Workers is a strictly professional organization . . . and that its function cannot be to project itself into a real fight for labor . . . All we can do after a thorough study of a particular situation, carefully checked up as to the factual basis, is to transmit our findings with recommendations to the really relevant bodies.

In contrast to this point of view the Associated Relief Workers of Allegheny County, while not nearly so energetic as some of the corresponding bodies in other cities (with which it is affiliated in a *National Coördinating Committee of Rank and File Groups*), has had a more dynamic history, starting characteristically with protests against working conditions of the staff: in one case the discontinuance of travel allowances; in another, cold office quarters and inadequate supervision. The first delegate meeting of the

new organization was held in February, 1934, when low salaries and the lack of transportation allowances were discussed. A general meeting, attended by about one-third of the field staff, followed in May.

Salaries were the issue on which the Associated Relief Workers of Allegheny County focussed their activities in the early days. Both Washington and Harrisburg, as well as the county, were notified after a general meeting in May, 1934, that a stoppage of work had been sanctioned and would take place if salaries were not raised to about \$75 per month. After an increase of five dollars a month had been granted, the organization kept pushing for further increases which finally came in January, 1935. "Recognition," oriented to the ultimate goal of collective bargaining, was included among the early objectives of the organization and was achieved after a fashion in the summer of 1934. In keeping with the general trend, membership in the association excludes executives, and, while originally limited to "professional" personnel, it later admitted clerical workers on the principle of "vertical" labor organization. Compared with similar bodies in some of the other large cities in the United States, the organization has been characterized neither by numerical strength nor by effective publicity. In March, 1936, 200 out of a possible 1,099 were active. It is difficult to say whether this is due to concentration on protective, that is, labor union, aspects of their program, or to the generally inhospitable atmosphere of an industrial, employer-controlled city.⁵⁹

Real strength in pressure groups of this kind seems to come when in addition to protective purposes the organization concerns itself emphatically with interests of the client and the general social order. In this direction, along the trail already blazed by similar bodies elsewhere, only one decisive action seems to be on record—one of considerable significance. In coöperation with the Social Workers' Association (see page 328 below) and the League for Social Justice, a "town meeting" devoted to the pressing problems of relief administration was held, in the sponsorship of which participation was elicited from the American Association of Social Workers chapter and the Federation of Social Agencies.

The trend toward militant activity by means of pressure groups is, as can clearly be seen, rather weak among social workers in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. There are, however, indications of possible strength,

⁵⁹ In March, 1936, the group considered starting a local of the American Federation of Government Employees among the "most aggressive" members of the staff. The following is quoted from a telegram of a former president of the Association: "Questionable if ever can educate average member of the staff in Pittsburgh to necessity for aggressive action—or even to become interested in own problems before they personally suffer more. Also impossible to organize with only a few Communists. No one else has zeal, courage and understanding enough to do hard, consistent, patient work. . . . American Federation of Government Employees will narrow objectives and permit more concentration on workers' needs; hence further simplify problems."

permanence, and effectiveness in at least two other organizations: one, a Staff Council composed of members of the field staff and clerical workers (excluding executives and supervisors) of the Mothers' Assistance Fund,⁶⁰ which originated in a combination of protective and professional interests—delay in pay checks and indignation over inadequacies of relief. The organization, which incidentally enjoyed the goodwill of its executive, has stressed social welfare and the interest of the client and is said already to have made some inroads on dominant public opinion as represented by the County Board responsible for the management of the agency. The other, the Social Workers' Association, has not yet done more than cut its teeth by sharing the initiative of calling the "town meeting" on relief referred to above. It differs, however, both from the Associated Relief Workers of Allegheny County and from the Staff Council of the Mothers' Assistance Fund, in that it transcends agency lines, resembling in this respect rather the local chapter of the American Association of Social Workers.

The present state of the movement as a whole, as represented by the newer organizations of social workers, perhaps may be best characterized by the recommendations contained in an article by the chairman of the Staff Council in the April, 1936, issue of *Staff News* (Mothers' Assistance Fund), for a threefold program: (1) affiliation with the National Coordinating Committee of the Rank and File Social Work Employees; (2) affiliation with the American Federation of Government Employees; and (3) active participation with professional, labor, and lay groups in a broad movement for the establishment of a civil service law in Pennsylvania.

⁶⁰ Inclusive of the service in old age pensions and the blind pensions.

CHAPTER VIII

AN EXAMPLE OF PROGRESS: THE PITTSBURGH PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Nature of the better life.—The Pittsburgh public schools.—Developments in recent years.—Handicapped children in the public schools.—Facilities for meeting special educational needs.—Vocational counsellors.—Attendance department.

THE CITIZEN of Allegheny County who peruses the foregoing pages will not feel that a true and adequate picture had been drawn of his community. The shady side of things has been emphasized: inadequate employment—yet most people do work and make a living for themselves and their families; poverty—yet most people are not “on the town” and do provide the taxes and contributions from which public welfare expenditures are financed. There are parks and boulevards, beautiful residential sections, museums, and libraries; music, celebrations, and pageants; churches and a modern public school system. Progressive legislation provides protection, relief, and justice; men and women give substance and service to those in need even though these differ in race, creed, and color. Civic pride has conquered hills and hollows, and bridges and tunnels are making Allegheny County a great city of the twentieth century. Higher education flourishes, and scientific inquiry is encouraged. In the field of social work itself, as succeeding chapters will indicate, progress has been made in the face of all obstacles, material and social. While heavy burdens of body and spirit are borne by the mass of the people, they do also have access, and increasing access, to the better life, and this should find its recognition in the picture of Allegheny County as a place in which to live.

The business of social work is primarily with those unfavorable conditions of life that interfere with independent and happy existence and with the people who find themselves in these conditions. Emphasis of the darker side is therefore not only natural, but necessary. In defining the evils which create the need for social work we do not, therefore, pretend to give a full and balanced view of social life, but chiefly that side of it—unfortunately much too large and discouraging—which demands relief and prevention. The descriptive sociologist and certainly the civic booster would include much that has been omitted, and his balance sheet will

look different. Whether those things that make for satisfaction in the civic achievements of the community are as fruitful for the mass of the people as for the favored 20 percent, it would, of course, be difficult to say.

There is room, however, for some suggestion, at least, of the nature of some of the more hopeful aspects of the community, both because they make life endurable and because they point the way in which the better life may and gradually does become accessible to the common man.

NATURE OF THE BETTER LIFE

The nature of this better life need not be defined—it will seem different to different observers or devotees of diverse utopias. Roughly, it comprises the search for greater material comforts, greater economic security, greater and more equal opportunities for advancement, free self-expression, relaxation, and recreation, and the removal of restrictions that may make one man feel inferior to another. It comprises, in different degrees for different individuals, the spiritual satisfactions and comforts that come from religion, the practice of charity, creative art, and civic labor. In briefer compass it means economic improvement, better living conditions, and a richer social life.

Access to these things has not come without effort, and the effort has been made sometimes from within the body of those affected, sometimes from the community as a true civic unit, and sometimes as an expression of the philanthropic impulse or public spirit. In any case, whatever the source and origin of the force driving to the better life, there has been a diversity of expression—material and spiritual. The common man, in his aspect of wage earner, has sought to raise wages, reduce hours, insure tenure of job; as a member of some self-conscious ethnic, racial, or local group he has sought for cultural and civic self-expression; as voter and resident he has shared in civic enterprises. In its more organized phase the community has striven for similar objectives: economic comfort and security, happy home conditions, cultural aspirations, and the more visible expressions of civic pride.

Admittedly "man lives not by bread alone," and even in seeking more economic advantages and greater, or at least some, economic security he hopes to step from the satisfaction of physical needs to those other satisfactions that differentiate the life of culture from life as merely the biological history of a particular species. Despite the paramount importance of first sustaining life before other interests can make their claim, and despite the fact, all too clear, that adequate substance for material existence beyond mere maintenance of life is neither universal nor secure, there is nevertheless much that is done by and for the body of the population that ministers directly to the needs of man as a social animal and as the

participant of a common culture. The avidity for cultural life and the tremendous pressure that is exerted by individual and community toward the expansion and enrichment of the content of life account for the irrepressible flourishing of beauty, of community spirit, of mutual helpfulness, of education, of the arts, and of civic aspiration. In its essence all this is the real life of man, which material resources serve. The true community life lies in this field rather than in the search for a living. From a perspective other than that of our particular assignment the social background of Pittsburgh and of Allegheny County should be spelled in the alphabet of its cultural and spiritual existence. The task of social work is, however, first to deal with those things that impede the striving for the better life as they manifest themselves in the form of poverty and distress. We have emphasized, therefore, not the content of the good life, but the question of its availability to the ordinary man, burdened with economic worries and hemmed in by the artificial structure of urban life.

The constructive forces for the better life are legion; they differ as to importance and effectiveness; as to specific objective, methods of functioning, timeliness, and clarity. They differ, also, as to their acceptance and definition. In so far as it has been possible to examine the more constructive forces operative in the community, those were necessarily selected that come closer to the work and programs of social agencies and public departments. Among the many things omitted from systematic study were the work of the churches, except as they sponsor social agencies or social work and are included in later chapters; the movement for better government, educational technique, and progress in penology; advancement in the arts, in literature, in city planning, and in political education. In no community, certainly not in one like Pittsburgh, can one expect unanimity as to what are desirable objectives, how they should be attained, and what are their relative values. With respect to the only community factor outside the strict limits of social work, to which, as a constructive force, some study has been given here, namely, the school system, there is little observable difference of opinion.

THE PITTSBURGH PUBLIC SCHOOLS¹

It may as well be recognized at the outset that as a constructive force and a pathway to the better life the public school is second in importance only to the economic improvement of the wage earner. Its importance is in no sense commensurate with the space allotted to it here. On the other hand, it is generally recognized in this day that as a place merely for imparting

¹ The summary which follows was prepared by Elizabeth T. Alling, of the study staff, and is based on her own observations and on some contributions by Jane F. Culbert, also of the staff.

certain elementary knowledge the school is of limited usefulness only; as a place for organizing the life of the child as a complete person, taking cognizance of physical, intellectual, and emotional needs, discovering and mitigating his handicaps and disabilities, and awakening in him all the manifold interests of the complete life, it is regarded by many as the most important social institution of our civilization. In some of these activities it overlaps the field of interest of social work, has borrowed points of view and practices from the latter, has become aware of some of its shortcomings because of stimulation from social work, and has enriched its personnel by workers drawn from social work. It is with respect to this common area of the public school and social work, which provides better opportunity for the child, that this skeletal review of the facilities of the public schools of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County is attempted. It is this aspect of the public school organization that will be further examined in discussing the service of home and school visitors in a subsequent chapter.² Theoretically, we should deal here with the public school system of the entire county; but, as shown in Chapter II, the school organization outside Pittsburgh is an administrative patchwork lacking unity or uniformity, and except in a few isolated instances does not reflect a consistent and substantial progress as does the Pittsburgh system.

It is generally conceded by those who have followed the civic history of Pittsburgh that the school code of 1911 and the subsequent reorganizations of the school system rank among the two or three most notable advances since the former Pittsburgh Survey. Not only is this achievement worth remembering as an inspiration for other advances, but also there was in its direction and process a probable significance for other fields of community action. Such an example to the community is consistent with the broadest functions of an educational system.

From 1834 until 1854 each ward of Pittsburgh was an independent school district in complete charge of its own school affairs. In 1854 state legislation made the city one school district and created the Central Board of Education but provided for authority divided between the central and the subdistrict boards. The position of superintendent of schools had been created before 1907, but the superintendent had little more than advisory responsibility for elementary schools and even less for high schools. There were sixty-one separate ward boards. This, of necessity, meant wide variation among schools and little possibility of constructive city-wide planning. Tax rates varied among districts because of differences not only in wealth but also in standards for schools; ward organization and lack of sufficient control encouraged undesirable political influence and, in many districts, political graft.

² See chapter xvi, *infra*.

It is not surprising that under such a system there were unfavorable comments on the school situation by the Pittsburgh Survey.³ It found that the schools had no accurate knowledge of the number of children for whom they were accountable; the school census was "relegated to the assessors of votes" and was "the merest farce."⁴ There had been no comprehensive study of the distribution of children, of migration, nor of geographic sources and racial make-up to help in school planning. There was no adequate machinery for enforcing attendance. Less than two-thirds of the children went beyond the fourth grade, and less than one-half to eighth grade.⁵ High school enrollment was only 5.4 percent⁶ of the total enrollment. Forty-five percent of the children in the elementary schools were above the normal age for their grade.⁷ The Survey found that first-grade classes, which often included from 50 to 75 children,⁸ had as one-fifth of their number children from eight to sixteen years of age.⁹ The Pittsburgh Survey had a part in bringing out facts about mismanagement of school finances in the state campaign for a new school code, in 1909. "A local organization, the Voters' League, uncovered conditions in greater detail and fought the issue in a successful legislative campaign in 1911."¹⁰

DEVELOPMENTS IN RECENT YEARS

The new school code provided for one board of education composed of fifteen members appointed by the judges of the Court of Common Pleas for terms of six years (and usually reappointed for successive terms as long as they will serve). By the time the survey report was published, conspicuous improvements could be reported.

We owe to another survey, made at the request of the Board of Education, in 1928,¹¹ the following summary of the major achievements of the reorganized schools up to that time.

1. Unification of sub-districts into one efficient system.
2. Raising of standards to a common high level.
3. Removal of the "wide, unnatural gap" which had existed between elementary and high schools by placing both under the single control and direction of the superintendent.
4. The inauguration of a comprehensive plan of city-wide supervision and administration by the selection and appointment of associate superintendents for the general supervision of the four districts into which the city

³ *Civic Frontage*, pp. 218-19, "The Pittsburgh Survey."

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 295.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

¹¹ *A Study of the Educational Department of the Pittsburgh Public Schools*, made under the direction of Thomas E. Finnegan, formerly Pennsylvania State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Herbert S. Weet, until recently superintendent of schools in Rochester, New York, and John W. Withers, now dean of the School of Education at New York University, pp. 34-39.

is divided geographically, and the establishment of various departments and divisions to provide for expert direction and supervision of the work of special fields.

5. Provision of building accommodations not only for the meeting of overcrowded conditions of high schools, but also for the exceedingly rapid increase in high school attendance that developed.
6. Extensive and carefully planned building program for elementary schools to remedy neglect and replace buildings which in 1914 "were in a wretched condition."
7. Adoption and beginning of reorganization for 6-6 plan of school organization.
8. Inauguration of trade school program.
9. Broadening of scope of high school curricula.
10. Beginning of health education program and provision of special educational facilities for atypical and handicapped children.
11. Introduction of adult education and recreation program.
12. Organization of the department of Vocational Guidance and appointment of vocational counsellors. Appointment of advisors of girls on high school faculties.
13. Establishment of coöperative relations between the public schools and various institutions and agencies in the city in the interests of the better education of both children and adults.
14. Provision for continuous adjustment of curricula to community needs and to the individual abilities, experience, activities and interests of children through the establishment of a department of Curriculum Study, Educational Measurement and Research.
15. Establishment of a department of nature study and visualization to use such new inventions as radio, moving pictures, etc.
16. Progress in facilities for professional education of teachers.

The commission reported that the school organization was in accordance with the best thought in the country and that the school authorities had provided a sufficiently wide range of activities and a sufficiently varied program of studies to meet the modern demands of public education.

Because of the creditable position which the schools had achieved by 1928 the commission was moved to introduce its suggestions for improvement with the following caution: "There is always more or less danger in a situation such as now prevails in Pittsburgh that the school authorities and the people generally will become too well satisfied with present conditions and relinquish the effort necessary for further improvement."¹² The brief acquaintance with Pittsburgh schools provided in the present study convinces one that in spite of several years when revenue has been reduced effort at further improvement has not been relinquished since 1928.

Major developments since 1928 as indicated by annual reports and by information given in interviews include the following:

1. Further expansion in program for providing school facilities, especially in vocational schools

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 41,

2. Marked expansion of research program including curriculum study and educational testing
3. Expansion of program for adjustment of individual children by:
 - a. More special classes
 - b. Beginning of remedial reading work in coöperation with the Child Guidance Clinic
 - c. Introduction of home and school visitors in the Attendance Department
4. Further development of the teacher training program, including careful selection of students
5. Supervision of instruction through programs of regular supervisors and such special programs as curriculum study by committees of teachers, demonstration lessons, and the remedial reading program mentioned above
6. Raising of qualifications for new teachers—four years of college preparation required for 1935
7. Expansion in the programs of adult education and recreation
8. Participation in emergency relief program of community through the help of school funds, teachers' contributions and the cooperation of volunteer agencies such as Parent-Teacher Associations, Mothers' Clubs, etc.

Some of the above, namely, expanded facilities for the education of physically and mentally handicapped children, provisions for improving the training of teachers in service, and further supervision of instruction, were recommended for immediate attention by the 1928 survey because of "relative weakness" of the school system at that time in these respects.¹³

Some facts about the children now in the schools are appropriate as a background for a discussion of services. Nothing gives a more striking picture of the changes in Pittsburgh schools since the Pittsburgh Survey than the difference in availability of the facts. It is no longer true that the school system is without knowledge of the children for whom it is responsible.

The school census, taken now by the attendance officers and the home and school visitors, during the summer, showed in 1934, 184,835 children in the Pittsburgh school district between the ages of four and eighteen inclusive, the range of usual school age. Of this number, 21,832 were under six years of age, the age set for first-grade entrance, and 33,783 were sixteen, seventeen, or eighteen years old and not required by law to attend school, leaving 129,209 of compulsory school age.¹⁴ Total school enrollment and the distribution by types of schools is shown below:

	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
Kindergarten	4,759	4,929	9,688
Elementary ¹⁵	31,445	30,409	61,854
Junior high	8,987	9,095	18,082
Senior high (academic)	10,292	10,536	20,828
Trade (junior and senior high level)	3,486	919	4,405
Continuation	31	179	210
Special ¹⁶	1,047	557	1,604

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 41. ¹⁴ Legal compulsory school age limits are eight to sixteen years.

¹⁵ Various kinds of special classes excluded.

¹⁶ "Special" includes prevocational classes, classes for the physically and the mentally handicapped.

A conservative interpretation of these figures would show high school enrollment at this time as 18 percent of the total as compared with 5 percent when the Pittsburgh Survey was made.

Within recent years many studies have been made within the school system; for example, studies of high school graduates, drop-outs, school failures, experiential readiness for entering school, and handicapped children; the school system has been coöperating with the State Department of Public Instruction and the Carnegie Foundation for several years on a seven-year cumulative study of children who were in the sixth grade when the study was commenced.

HANDICAPPED CHILDREN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

One of these studies is of special interest in connection with a discussion of social services. During the first semester of the school year of 1933-34 information was assembled about the number of "handicapped" children in the elementary and junior high schools.¹⁷ The study included "physically, mentally and socially handicapped children." Under the heading "socially handicapped" two groups were listed: "delinquent," including a wide range of subheads following terminology of juvenile court charges, and "dependent," defined as "not living with their own parents or near relatives." Information about physical condition was obtained by the school medical examiners. Statistics on the mentally handicapped were compiled from the records of the latest intelligence test available for each child (given not more than two-and-a-half years before). New tests were given where no previous ones were available. Lists of "socially handicapped" children were given by principals and teachers according to uniform definitions of the study and based on their acquaintance with the children. The study also located the handicapped children by types of schools.

The summary of the findings is quoted on page 377 from the annual report of the superintendent of schools for 1933-34.

There are still other groups of children for whom group or individual provisions would be profitable and for whom, individually, special provisions are sometimes imperative: the children with personality difficulties (many of whom would, of course, be included in the summary of handicapped children), the large group of reading failures (only part of whom would be found among the handicapped group), the group of very

¹⁷ Dr. Graham, superintendent of schools, explained that the validity of the findings is limited. The director of research, in his letter of transmittal which accompanied the study said that it revealed the fact "that the schools do not have accurate records of these children." His letter said further, "This report could well be used as a basis for an extensive study of both the problem of juvenile delinquency in the schools and the relation of other agencies to that problem."

TABLE 28
NUMBER OF HANDICAPPED CHILDREN IN PITTSBURGH SCHOOLS
BY SEX AND TYPE OF HANDICAP

	TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS
Pupils with physical handicaps	14,313	6,668 ^a	7,645
Eyes	5,517	2,616	2,901
Ears	1,605	913	692
Heart	918	433	485
Nerves	423	228	195
Speech	1,752	1,103	649
Malnutrition	5,438	1,983	3,455
Orthopedic	1,155	529	626
Pupils with mental handicaps	17,522	9,471	8,051
Intelligence quotients			
Under 50	130	84	46
50 and under 70	1,705	984	721
70 and under 90	15,687	8,403	7,284
Pupils with both physical and mental handicaps	3,908	1,949	1,959
Dependent pupils	555	307	248
Delinquent pupils	649	532	117

^a Details aggregate more than total, since for some of the children more than one handicap was reported.

superior children, not sufficiently challenged by the regular courses, and the children who in various ways are so different in previous opportunities, interests, and needs that, without special understanding, guidance, and provisions they do not achieve up to their capacity, and, indeed, often run amuck and become community problems. It is important to inquire how the schools and the community provide for these children.¹⁸

More and more, therefore, a progressive school system finds itself making numerous modifications in its curriculum and program, as it continues to find individuals and groups of children to whom a flat average and a routine scheme of education do not apply. The provision of special facilities for these atypical children is important in the first place because it opens up opportunities to a large number of children handicapped in one way or another, at a disadvantage in comparison with their fellows, and possibly faced with an unfavorable conditioning for their whole life. By the same token these special facilities may be preventing physical suffering and deterioration, home difficulties, and serious behavior problems. They undoubtedly tend to counteract juvenile delinquency. In some ways, more important still, they broaden the educational attitudes of teacher and school system and increase the general function of the school as an aid to the better life for pupil and parent.

¹⁸ Cf. chap. xvi, Pt. 2, *infra*.

FACILITIES FOR MEETING SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

The school provisions for physical examination and treatment are mentioned in another section of this report.¹⁹ The educational provisions for the groups of physically handicapped in Pittsburgh are as follows:

There is one sight conservation class for children with very defective vision. Blind children are cared for in the Western Pennsylvania School for the Blind in Pittsburgh.

Deaf children are sent to the Western Pennsylvania School for the Deaf at Edgewood. There is no further provision for children with partial hearing.

The schools provide six itinerant speech teachers who meet, weekly or bi-weekly, groups of children most needing help selected during the past semester from 108 schools.

Undernourished and anaemic children are provided for in open-air classes in two schools. (Teaching formerly provided at tuberculosis hospitals was discontinued during the past year.)

The public schools provide teachers for the children at the Crippled Children's Home and at Children's Hospital, and an itinerant teacher who goes to the homes of other crippled children.

There are 32 classes for mentally handicapped children in 24 schools. These are planned for children of sub-normal intelligence (below 75 I.Q.). Enrollment is limited to 18 by a state standard.²⁰ Pittsburgh standard is 20. Recent enrollments, as in many school systems, have exceeded standards with an average of 20.6 and a maximum of 25.

Responsibility for diagnosis of children for the classes for mentally handicapped is with the Psychological Clinic. A director who is also a physician gives physical and individual psychological examinations to possible candidates whom principals send to his office in the Forbes Street school. His assistant, a psychologist, gives psychological examinations in the schools. Some 1,200 to 1,300 children had first examinations through the clinic during the school year 1934-1935, and 50 to 60 were re-examined.

Names of children recommended for special classes are sent to the principal of the school nearest the child's home having a special class. This principal chooses the most urgent cases from the waiting list for vacancies in her class or classes²¹ (there are sometimes two classes in one building with children grouped according to ability).

Pittsburgh schools have gone further than most school systems in recognizing that the group of children of borderline or even dull normal in-

¹⁹ Cf. chap. xix, *infra*.

²⁰ The State of Pennsylvania prescribes standards and issues special certificates for these teachers in "orthogenic" classes. Twelve additional college credits and previous teaching experience in elementary schools are required. The additional college work must include courses in psychology, methods, and handwork. There is a special supervisor for these classes. She reports splendid support from the schools and generous facilities but says that the schools need "many, many more" such classes.

²¹ The total number now on the waiting list for classes for mentally handicapped is not available in the Psychological Clinic or in the offices of the supervisor of special classes, educational statistician, or Department of Curriculum Study and Research. The supervisor of special classes mentioned one school with forty children on the waiting list for its special class.

telligence are handicapped in the regular curricula. It should be noted that the study of mentally handicapped children quoted above (in the highest group) included children who are not subnormal. For this group the schools provided "prevocational classes" in elementary schools first. The classes, segregated according to sex, have half-time work in academic subjects, under a teacher required to have special preparation, and half-time in shop. Recently a plan has been started for moving these classes to junior high schools where prevocational units are being started. This transfer brings the advantages of a "promotion" to the children, of placing them with their own chronological, and often more nearly with their own social, ages, and of giving them access to a greater variety of work. For some of the children there is difficulty in the added adjustments involved. There are now eleven prevocational classes or units, five of which are in junior high schools. Boys and girls are eligible for prevocational classes if they are thirteen years old, two or more years retarded, and if they have an intelligence quotient of 50-90²² and an academic ability of fourth grade.

The number of children receiving special education in Pittsburgh schools (a total of 4,550)²³ is shown below.

TYPE OF CLASS	NUMBER OF CHILDREN
Sight conservation	8
Speech instruction	2,669
Teaching for crippled	176
In hospitals	162
Home teacher	14
Classes for mentally handicapped	708
Prevocational classes	723
Open air classes	85
Teaching for tubercular children in hospitals (1st semester)	61

During the past year the Pittsburgh public school system has co-operated with the Child Guidance Clinic in providing a much needed and unique service for some of the children who have reading disabilities.²⁴

²² There is a tendency to reduce the maximum intelligence limit with an accompanying administrative effort to make adjustments in regular classes for those with intelligence quotients over 80.

²³ This number includes 39 blind children and 51 deaf children, from Pittsburgh, who are cared for at the state schools as mentioned above. The percentage of children receiving special educational treatment because of physical or mental handicaps in Pittsburgh is still below the best but above the lowest record for comparable cities. For comparison see report published by the United States Office of Education in its *Cincinnati School Survey*, of 1935.

²⁴ Dr. Marion Monroe, psychologist of the Pittsburgh Board of Education, gave courses in remedial reading for teachers suggested as key teachers in their schools for the two previous years as part of the Child Guidance Clinic program. Beginning in September, 1934, the schools arranged for one day a week of regular service in schools.

Selected groups of children were studied, and teachers were advised as to remedial procedures. Shakespeare school has started a remedial reading class.

There are no special group provisions within the Pittsburgh schools for gifted children except the art class on Saturday mornings, taught by the director of art of the school system, for some 600 to 700 children, selected as superior by art supervisors, and the indirect service to the gifted group provided through coöperation with the Able Youth's Committee of the Civic Club of Allegheny County in securing opportunities for higher education for some of the most gifted.

In describing special education facilities in Pittsburgh it is only fair to point out the difficulties involved in meeting needs for special education. The greater expenditure required per child is one of the deterrents to special provisions in all school systems. In Pittsburgh there is the added problem caused by topography and the resulting transportation difficulties. It is very hard to make special classes available to all of the children who need them. As it is now, some children are kept out by the long walk or circuitous street-car rides involved—difficulties which are particularly deplorable in the case of special-class children.

There are other, less special, educational provisions in the school system, which help to meet the needs of different sorts of children, the availability of which often makes it possible to effect the adjustment of a child's difficulties at a critical time. Trade schools, four for boys and two for girls, are among these opportunities for children of fourteen or over.

Adjustment of the problems of particular children depends as much upon a reasonable flexibility of provisions and the desire to make adjustments as it does upon the provisions for special groups. It is doubtless true that there is wide difference in this respect among the different schools. At the administrative headquarters of the school system the willingness and desire to make provisions for the individuals and for special groups are noteworthy. There is an open-door policy when the needs of a particular child are known. Children of appropriate age are transferred from special classes for mentally handicapped to prevocational classes; on occasion there are exceptions made in the sixth-grade requirements for vocational schools, in spite of the fact that their general aim and the condition upon which they may receive Federal appropriation is the provision of vocational education for children with normal intelligence.

There is an attempt on the part of the administration to promote individual adjustments within regular classes, as well as gradually to modify the curricula in the light of children's needs when they are revealed. Some 450 to 500 children per year who are out of step in regular classes but who do not, apparently, require a special class are now given individual study

in the Department of Curriculum Study and Research. Recommendations are made to teachers on the basis of these examinations. To prevent the use of special-class facilities, especially those of the prevocational classes, as merely places to which to transfer older problem children a group test is given monthly at a central place for children referred by schools. Admission to these classes is decided on the basis of this examination, of reports from principal and teacher, and of conferences among the director of trade training, the primary supervisor, and a representative of the Department of Curriculum Study and Research.

There is no other one provision for help, not only on scholastic problems, but also on behavior and personality problems, so important as to employ teachers who are aware of individual differences, alive to what they, as teachers, can do, and who are intelligent about possibilities for help inside and outside the school system. The chances of the class-room teacher's capacity to help on personality, behavior, social, and even academic, aspects of children's needs depends partly on the size of classes and on working conditions.

A quotation introducing the annual report of the Board of Education for 1931 makes these conditions vivid:

During a period of business depression and economic distress, a larger volume of work is required of the public schools than is the case during normal times. Enrollment in the secondary schools and trade schools is increased because young people stay in school over a longer period due to their inability to find work or to attend higher institutions of learning. At the same time, the revenues required for the maintenance and operation of public schools are decreased because of a rapid increase in the amount of delinquent taxes. In consequence, the Board of Education and its administrative officers face unusual deficits of school administration.

In such times it becomes necessary to increase the number of pupils per teacher in both the elementary and secondary schools so that an increased enrollment of pupils can be cared for without increasing the number of teachers required on the teaching staff. Not only are teachers required to carry additional responsibilities of instruction in the classroom, but they also encounter the necessity of overcoming undernourishment in many children while at the same time they must sustain the children's morale on a high plane during one of the most trying periods in Pittsburgh's history.²⁵

Statistics for this year show that the average teacher load in elementary schools is 37.2, with a maximum average of 42.0 in one school. Unless there are variations which make individual loads very high, Pittsburgh is to be congratulated in keeping an average as reasonable as this during recent years. There were, however, reports of higher teacher loads in secondary schools.

Qualifications for new teachers set a minimum age of eighteen years and four years of college training; three years experience is required. Through

²⁵ Pittsburgh Board of Public Education, Twentieth Annual Report, 1931, p. 16.

their training school program Pittsburgh schools have made a commendable effort to insure, so far as possible, physical and personality fitness for teaching; first by a program of selection of students, and second by including in the curriculum study of children a biological and "a mental hygiene approach." These courses will have been taken by sixty percent of the new teachers who will enter the Pittsburgh schools (a rule limits the new teachers employed from the Training School to this proportion).

The Training School recommends that each graduate spend one summer in volunteer work with a social agency for the sake of better understanding social problems and the community resources for meeting them.²⁶

For teachers already in service, for principals and for men preparing for teaching, none of whom are served by the Frick Training School, other valuable courses in mental hygiene and social work, as well as in education and psychology, are available in the city.

VOCATIONAL COUNSELLORS

Vocational counsellors are employed, or a principal or vice-principal serves as counsellor, for educational and vocational guidance in all but one senior and junior high school, in trade schools, and in the continuation school. Peabody and South Hills high schools have also several teachers designated as teacher counsellors. Some of the regular vocational counsellors give part time to teaching. Either men or women may be counsellors, and they are usually chosen by the principal from among the faculty and from those who have made application and who have qualified for the position with the director of personnel for the school systems.²⁷

²⁶ Unfortunately, no record of such volunteer work has been elicited in inquiries of social agencies during this study.

²⁷ The following standards have been set up by the State Department of Public Instruction for School Guidance Counselling, but they have not yet been made mandatory.

Certificates for Guidance Counsellors.

Applicants for certificates in this field must hold a certificate of standard grade and present evidence of not less than eighteen semester hours of approved preparation in this field.

"The total of eighteen semester hours should be selected from the following courses, or their equivalent:

1. *General Introduction to Guidance*
 - a. Introductory course in Guidance
 - b. Educational guidance
 - c. Principles and problems of vocational guidance
 - d. Vocational guidance and counseling
2. *Specialized Techniques in Guidance*
 - a. Laboratory Psychology
 - b. Clinical techniques in guidance
 - c. Psychology of the Abnormal
 - d. Educational tests and measurements

The work of the vocational counsellors is done with groups and with individuals, and it covers a wide range of duties. Because of the differences in organization of the work in the various schools and the fact that the counsellor is responsible to the principal of the school rather than to a central supervisor, no uniform description of functions can be given. A *Handbook for Counsellors*, which provides a sort of job analysis, outlines some 150 specific functions under headings such as:

- Coöperation with agencies within the school building—principal, girls' advisor, home-room teacher . . .
- Coöperation with other agencies within the school system
- Coöperation with community agencies
- Direct contact with pupils

The counsellor's direct functions with pupils are outlined as follows:

Conduct group conferences with pupils:

1. To acquaint pupils with curricular and extra-curricular activities
2. To disseminate occupational information through occupational information classes
3. To consider occupational possibilities
4. To study educational offerings of the community (schools, libraries, museums, etc.)
5. To study requirements for success in various occupations
6. To discuss advantages of specific training and higher education
7. To study requirements for admission to special schools and courses
8. To visit establishments for the purpose of studying employment conditions
9. To study possibilities for continuing training in evening schools, correspondence courses, etc.
10. To administer intelligence and other necessary tests.

Interview and confer with pupils

1. To assist pupils in making proper vocational choices
2. To assist pupils in making future plans in accordance with future vocational and education possibilities
3. To assist in making personal adjustments (for those who have failed)
4. To assist pupils in making desired changes of courses and schedule

e. Social hygiene

f. Counselling techniques

3. *Field Studies and Applications*

a. Social case work

b. Occupations—Analysis, field studies, school applications

c. Labor and personnel problems in business and industry

d. Vocational education

4. *Organization and Administration of Guidance*

a. Organization and development of school guidance programs (Including home room, placement service and other articulations)

b. Extra-curricular activities

c. The organization and administration of vocational guidance"

The acting director of this department stated that most of the counsellors had taken special courses at some time before or since their employment. One counsellor is reported to have had summer courses at a school of social work.

5. To confer about plans to leave school
6. To acquaint pupils with provisions of the law governing school attendance, working permits, etc.

GIRLS' ADVISERS

Fifteen junior and senior high schools have also girls' advisers, four of whom teach some subject in addition to their special work or serve as activities director. After a survey, in 1932, of the duties of the various high school administrative officers by a committee of principals, vice-principals, counsellors, girls' advisers, directors of activities, and home-room teachers, the duties of the girls' advisers were outlined as follows:

The specific function of the girls' adviser is social in nature, aiming at the development of better persons through better adjustments to life. It is the girls' adviser who considers the problems of individuals and helps them to think through each one to decisions which will bring proper conduct control. It is her sphere to give help where it is needed in the development of the complete social curriculum with the view of guiding girls in the accepted social and ethical forms of living, in health upkeep, in dress and manners, in recreational possibilities, in forms of self-improvement, and in enrichment of personality.

There are no standardized requirements with regard to qualifications for this position. Candidates are chosen rather because of personality and experiential qualifications. From the incomplete information at hand it appears that the work varies considerably from school to school: from first aid and assistance in the medical examinations of girls to a more comprehensive program which also uses the social resources of the city.

ATTENDANCE DEPARTMENT

Among the most important changes which rendered the Pittsburgh school system a constructive force for the development of happier and more effective individuals in the community has been the gradual transformation of the attendance department from what was virtually a police instrument into a social agency within the school system. The present department is gradually being transformed and reinterpreted by the substitution of home and school visitors for attendance officers.²⁸

There is no doubt about the fact that the employment of home and school visitors has improved attendance work. An administrative official close to the work attributed largely to this group the credit for the fact that school attendance in January, 1935, was the highest in the history of the Pittsburgh schools. He mentioned as additional reasons more visits to children's homes by social workers and special provisions in schools during the depression. Suits against parents on account of truancy of children have been cut from "14 or 15 per week a few years ago" to "4 or 5 per

²⁸ For details see chap. xvi, *infra*.

year now," partly as a result of the work of home and school visitors, partly due to the conviction on the part of the school administration that suits accomplish little in the way of improvement.

As an adjunct to the Department of Compulsory Attendance the Pittsburgh School System has also a work certificate office. Certainly it behooves a socially-minded school system to make what final provisions it can for the children that leave the schools for work. In the past, children fourteen to sixteen years old have been eligible for employment certificates if they had completed the sixth grade. The new child labor law, passed in 1935, provides that no regular employment certificates may be granted to children 14 to 16 years of age.²⁹ Certificates may be issued to children between the ages of 16 and 18 years. Part-time certificates for children between 14 and 16 are still permitted, but hours of work are limited to three per day, since hours of work plus hours of school attendance must not exceed forty-four per week. The state law which sets these requirements provides also for their effective enforcement. The provisions are conscientiously carried out by the work certificate office, and they are well co-ordinated with the rest of the school system. The attendance officers or home and school visitors make home visits to determine need to work. The school medical examiner has an assistant, a nurse, who visits in homes and helps secure the physical corrections needed—sometimes at cost prices through health or social agencies. This is an important and far-seeing measure for according to every child fair opportunity for a reasonable schooling and for rendering exploitation of his labor more difficult.

The following is a summary of employment certificates granted in the 306 days ending December 31, 1934 (these include part-time and vacation, as well as general, employment certificates):

KIND OF CERTIFICATE	NUMBER
Limited in kind of work	35
Limited in time of work	153
Granted unlimited	1,476
REFUSALS	
Temporary	48
Permanent	1

The one placement office now left in the school system has an office adjoining the work certificate office, where children getting certificates are interviewed and given some vocational counsel and help in placement when possible. When a child's employment ceases for any reason, the Attendance Department is notified and returns him to school. The Pittsburgh schools have attempted to keep all physically able children under

²⁹ The companion Compulsory School Attendance Bill, which raised the age of compulsory school attendance to eighteen years, was not passed.

sixteen, without employment, in school. Some, whose former jobs had been discontinued, have returned to high school, stayed after reaching the age of sixteen, and graduated.

In many ways, then, as seen in these pages, the Pittsburgh public school system has earned a high place among those manifestations of community life that show a constructive orientation to higher standards. It serves the mass of the people and serves them increasingly well. If it still shows feet of clay now and then in its attitude to new Americans, to Negroes, and in its reluctant hospitality to minority opinion, its progressive achievements in affording increasing opportunities to the children of Pittsburgh make it, on the whole, a worthy example of the community's intelligent and generous civic impulses.

PART TWO

SOCIAL SERVICES AND HEALTH SERVICES

FOR ALLEGHENY COUNTY

CHAPTER IX

A PANORAMIC SUMMARY OF SOCIAL WORK IN PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY COUNTY

Scope of local social work: categories of needs met by existing agencies.
—Sponsorship and control.—Private philanthropy and tax-supported bodies.

IN THE panorama of social work in Allegheny County the observer will find the customary pattern familiar in urban American communities. All the major categories of interest discussed in Chapter I are represented: (1) concern for those in distress, more or less extreme and principally economic; (2) assistance in social adjustment for those making inadequate adaptation to their surroundings, whether economically dependent, emotionally upset, violating the penal laws, or otherwise in difficulties; (3) assistance in securing amenities of life, such as recreation and cultural activities that people seek when the basic necessities of life have been provided; (4) interest in raising the standard of life, material and cultural; and (5) the aspiration to realize a better social order whether seen in close-up or in larger perspective. As in other communities, the lion's share of work, interest, and expenditure is found in the first category, from which it tapers down to less definable or extensive activities for social reform and reorganization.

CATEGORIES OF NEEDS MET BY EXISTING AGENCIES

The instrumentalities created for serving those unable to maintain themselves unaided vary from organizations addressing themselves directly to material needs in their most manifest form to those providing assistance where the economic factor is only indirectly discernible. The services rendered in this field,¹ to be roughly designated as "Relief," are represented in Allegheny County chiefly by the following types of facilities:²

A. *Organized Services for Economic Relief*

1. Public relief agencies, county and municipal
2. Public emergency relief organizations, affiliated with state and Federal programs

¹ To be described in greater detail in chaps. xiii-xv, *infra*.

² These agencies do not all necessarily restrict their services to this function, but they at least include relief to the needy.

3. Public pensions for dependent mothers, for blind, and for the aged
4. Public provision of foster care through the Juvenile Court
5. Relief given through voluntary family case work agencies, sectarian and nonsectarian
6. Relief agencies, denominational and nonsectarian
7. Voluntary child welfare and placement agencies
8. Institutions for the care of children, aged, or otherwise dependent (including some semi-philanthropic agencies for the aged)
9. Informal or only partially organized services affiliated with fraternal and nationality groups, churches, employee benefit groups and other associations, and, in some cases, with corporations or with other employers³
10. County and municipal hospitals for general medical service and for medical specialties
11. Public physicians, employed by the county and by Pittsburgh, for home care of indigent patients
12. Medical service provided under the Emergency Relief Administration
13. Out-patient and clinic services through public and voluntary hospitals or other health agencies
14. Home nursing services, public, voluntary, and quasi-commercial (i.e., for insurance companies)
15. Custodial care for chronic patients with physical or mental ailments

B. *Adjustment (Social Case Work) Services*

Case work service for clients of public and voluntary agencies given by a variety of organizations, including those giving material relief and medical relief, family welfare and child welfare agencies, child guidance personnel, in and out of schools, courts and institutions dealing with delinquents; also in connection with leisure time and adult-education agencies, group work agencies and, occasionally, churches.

C. *Securing Minimum Amenities of Life—Cultural and Educational*

Recreational opportunities and group work offered by numerous agencies, many of them not primarily or exclusively planned for those economically dependent and financed to an appreciable degree from operating income. This group of agencies includes, for example, summer camps, the "Y" organizations, and settlements, in so far as their work is for individuals or groups of individuals.

D. *Raising Basic Standards of Life in the Community*

Responding to the objective of seeking to raise the standard of living not only of those less generously endowed with the world's goods, but also, and increasingly, of the great mass of the population, a number of social agencies, both voluntary and tax-supported, have been established in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. Services oriented to this objective may be grouped in two ways: those dealing directly with the clients as individuals or groups of individuals and those addressed in greater degree to the community at large or to successive groups conceived as community rather than as client. Types of agencies in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County most representative of this social work objective comprise the following:

1. Serving clients directly are the "Y" organizations, particularly as they offer social contacts and cultural opportunities; public health nursing through education in physical hygiene, which is always associated with nursing service, whether of the bedside or specialized kind; service to new Americans intended to awaken

³ Of these groups all but the last have been included in the study.

sympathy with and aspiration for American standards of living—material, social, and political; the field of recreation as a whole with its development of parks, playgrounds, outdoor life, picnicking, and the enjoyment of natural beauties beyond what is implied in providing necessary play areas for children in their own neighborhoods; group work opportunities and training as they are represented in a considerable section of the work of community centers, settlements, the “Y,” and so forth.

2. Services by way of community education in higher standards of living present a somewhat wider range of agency types. Much of the work of the “Y’s,” settlements, and other agencies listed above extends into this phase of objective and activity also. Educational classes given by public health nurses, neighborhood improvement activities sponsored by neighborhood houses and church centers, educational promotion of outdoor life, and the greater opportunities of appreciation of natural resources implied in the extension of public parks and camp sites are sometimes difficult to differentiate from direct client services given by these same agencies. The activities do, however, differ, both in their nature and in the objective to which they are addressed. Another large group of activities in this category is usually represented by the system of public health administration, but this is only indifferently developed in Pittsburgh and almost entirely absent in the county outside the municipal limits of Pittsburgh. The movement for better housing, which comes within this classification, is represented by a housing association and an active and far-seeing city planning commission, which is part of the municipal government of Pittsburgh; in a more indirect way the improvement of local penal institutions and the administration of justice in the lower courts, as represented by the Penal Affairs Committee of the Public Charities Association, belongs in this same category.

Many agencies, both public and voluntary, that may be found engaged in this area of social work usually overlap their neighboring fields of service: economic assistance, provision of cultural amenities to the disadvantaged, and social reform. Wise public health nursing services, settlements, “Y’s,” and other group work agencies, while offering their facilities to fee-paying clients, include in their basic program also the rendering of the same services, free of charge or at reduced rates, to clients who can afford no regular fees. Many of these agencies find their way into Community Fund financing chiefly, if not exclusively, because some of their activities are enjoyed by clientele unable to contribute its share toward operative income. Indirectly, even an official body, such as a health department, or a voluntary agency, such as the Pittsburgh Housing Association, though organized for the promotion of general community welfare, must necessarily devote its attention to phases of community life that affect primarily the underprivileged. The extension of the programs of these agencies into the field of propaganda and promotion is prompted by the fact that the basic situations which are responsible for the existing standard of living may yield, if at all, only to general measures—legislative, educational, or economic-industrial. The general character of public opinion and social thought of the community and the degree of the evils in living conditions in the community determine to a considerable extent how far interest and activities of this group of agencies are more clearly planned for the immediate benefit of the disadvantaged or for the general improvement of community standards, including that portion of the population already living on a higher plane.

E. Efforts to Build a Better Social Order

As may be expected in a community of conservative tendencies, in which eco-

conomic domination tends to control both material life and the social philosophy, direct and militant efforts toward the improvement of living conditions and a progressive emancipation of the mass of the population from its economic and social limitations do not find active and enthusiastic sponsors. Agencies whose programs are focussed on these objectives are neither numerous nor strong. Among the few agencies in this group we may count, with respect to some phases of its activities, the Pittsburgh Housing Association; also the Urban League; and some of the committees operating under the Federation of Social Agencies. These, however, probably exhaust the list of such agencies clearly comprised in the philanthropic program of the community. The small number of additional organizations that may be considered as belonging here, such as the League for Social Justice, the Pennsylvania Security League, the Forum, the various groups of Unemployed Councils and similar organizations, and the Associated Relief Workers of Allegheny County, not only do not receive their support by way of philanthropic activities of the community, but also frequently find themselves in opposition to this interest.⁴ The Y.W.C.A. and some of the neighborhood houses occupy a peculiar position in this respect. Sponsored by the philanthropic and religious interests of social leaders, partly supported by the operative income from their beneficiaries, serving primarily the purpose of providing a higher standard of living to members and clients by offering them individually richer and happier lives, these agencies have in varying degrees and at different times served to promote larger community interests through enabling groups interested in social, industrial, and political reform to carry on educational activities and propaganda.

The services and agencies roughly grouped in the preceding paragraphs give an approximate sketch in bold lines of the community response in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County to needs and aspirations that comprise the empirical definition of the scope of social work. Their activities and performance will be described in greater detail in the various chapters which follow. Suggestions for modifications of the programs of these agencies, such as may be involved in the carrying out of an integral social work program for Pittsburgh and the county, will be indicated wherever the work of these agencies is pertinent to the proposed program of social work.

There is a further group of agencies and activities, not naturally classifiable with the foregoing categories, that represents a purely technical and administrative interest. They have grown out of the inevitable necessity of coördination, technical advancement, and administrative manipulation that arise out of a multiplicity of agencies covering overlapping needs, partly overlapping clientele, and considerably overlapping interests of donors, sponsors, and lay workers. Thus, there is in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County a Community Fund which collects and allocates philanthropic contributions for the majority of social agencies under voluntary control. There is a Federation of Social Agencies which seeks to serve as the planning body through which the large number of organizations with varying and interlocking interests may avoid unnecessary duplica-

⁴ Cf. chap. vii, *supra*.

tion and interference and to enhance the effectiveness of their joint endeavor. Both the Federation of Social Agencies and the two schools of social work are in their different ways engaged in the promotion of technical standards of performance by the practitioners in the field. A Hospital Conference offers the channel through which hospitals independently financed, each in its own way, under public or private control, can carry on at least a minimum of common interests—financial, administrative, and legislative. A General Health Council is making the first steps toward a more planful coöperation of the organizations active in the field of health service. In this endeavor it is supplemented by similar activities of the Federation of Social Agencies of which the General Health Council also is a member. The Social Service Exchange serves the traditional technical needs of agencies serving individual clients. Coördinating the interests of the local community with those interests which it shares with the rest of the state and, in some instances, with the national government, there are both voluntary and official bodies. The Public Charities Association as a voluntary body may be counted among these; also the Community Councils, conducted in affiliation with the Federation of Social Agencies and the Bureau of Social Research within the Federation. The State Board of Public Welfare, the State Department of Health, and the State Emergency Relief Board, with the county administration representing its combined local, state, and Federal interests, are some of the other bodies in the list of coördinative and technical agencies that serve social work in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County.

SPONSORSHIP AND CONTROL

In accordance with the tradition which this country inherited from the English ways of life the early history of social work is rooted principally in the activities of the churches, with a rather thin foundation of public relief obligation upon the local government. Both constituent elements in the field of social work are still seen in the community. Compared with other urban areas of its size, Pittsburgh and Allegheny County probably cleave to a larger extent to the religious motivation and affiliations of philanthropy and therefore of social agencies. The expansion of public activities, on the other hand, has kept pace roughly, though on a different pattern, with other communities of the United States. Responsibility for social services in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County is divided among the following principal groups. Within the voluntarily supported practice we find:

The Community Fund,⁵ supporting wholly or in part some eighty social agen-

⁵ For constituent organizations see Appendix D.

cies,⁶ whose activities cover all types of operation defined in the foregoing paragraphs.

Hospitals⁷ and clinics, operated almost exclusively by separate individual boards or corporations, each obtaining its financial support independently, and financed, at least in part, from philanthropic contributions over and above income from operation and state subsidies.

Social agencies controlled independently by their respective boards and financed independently from income for which these boards carry responsibility. In this group may be counted as among the most important, the Y.W.C.A., Kingsley House, Association for the Improvement of the Poor.

Agencies controlled and administered by organizations whose chief objectives are not primarily in the field of social work but whose scope of service includes varying activities of a social work nature. Most important among these are the several large denominations such as the Lutheran churches, the Protestant Episcopal church, the Salvation Army, and various individual churches and church organizations more or less closely affiliated with the Catholic diocese.

The control and management of the individual agencies included in this group of voluntary organizations are of diverse kinds. Many are corporations or associations created for the particular purpose as defined by the program of the agency and may have no direct sectarian affiliations. Typical of this group are the Family Society, the Children's Service Bureau, the Children's Aid Society, the Public Health Nursing Association. Others are more or less informally affiliated with sectarian organizations or interests, though the degree and exact nature of the affiliation may depend upon the particular group or the accident of historical development. Thus the group of social agencies affiliated with the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, while controlled by separate boards, submits to a type of super-control by the Federation representing the interest of the Jewish community but is entirely independent of synagogue affiliations and is financed by the Community Fund. The Conference of Catholic Charities, guided by and, in the main, responsible to the diocesan administration, is governed by a lay board and includes only a portion of the Catholic social work activities. Individual children's institutions of the Catholic profession are in various ways and degrees affiliated with or subject to control or leadership by the Bishop of the diocese. Through their Inner Mission, the Lutheran churches, actively control and administer the work of their division of social work. Hospitals are, with few exceptions, independent organizations centered exclusively in the plant and operations of a single institution or, as in the case of some, affiliated with the University of Pittsburgh as part of the educational organization of its School of Medicine. In a few instances agencies are exclusively supported and controlled by a donor or a small number of donors who originated and

⁶ This number, as will be seen later, includes 19 branches of the Y.M.C.A., so that it may be regarded as close to 60 rather than 80.

⁷ For complete list, see Appendix D.

maintained the activity of the agency for a series of years. An example of this is the Manchester Educational Center.

As in other American communities, so here also the management of social agencies is in the hands of boards of directors or trustees. In relatively few organizations does the controlling body which has ultimate responsibility comprise any substantial numbers of persons. To all intents and purposes these several associations or corporations consist of their boards of directors. These in turn are drawn from that section of the community which represents the social and financial leadership. In view of the highly concentrated nature of the control of economic activities in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County the influence of the leading industrial and financial groups is clearly perceptible in the membership of the controlling boards of social agencies and of the Community Fund. Relatively unimportant representation in the directorships of social agencies is contributed by political parties, public officials, and governmental agencies.

Among tax-supported social work activities we have organizations controlled by municipal governments, principally of Pittsburgh, but also of McKeesport and other cities, agencies under county control, and a few directly responsible to state or Federal governments. In addition, governmental bodies also partially support a number of the voluntary agencies through direct subsidies of one kind or another. Among the organizations included in the present study is a series of institutions and hospitals, administered by the Department of Public Welfare, over which the municipality of Pittsburgh exercises control—principally those situated at Mayview. The city is also represented in this field by its health department, nursing services, and water supply and sanitation functions. The Department of Public Parks and the school system are two further municipal authorities that have heavy responsibilities in public social work. The latter is responsible for some adult education, particularly of immigrants, the home and school visiting, and the management of behavior problems in so far as they come under the truancy services of the schools.

Allegheny County is directly responsible for the Juvenile Court, financed through its County Commissioners, and for a portion of the school system in Allegheny County. Through the County Directors of the Poor indirect county control is exercised over a series of institutions situated in Woodville and over an outdoor relief system which extends to all parts of the county, exclusive of Pittsburgh.

The state of Pennsylvania conducts and is directly responsible for very few activities in the social work field in Allegheny County. To a larger extent than most states, it exercises central responsibility for certain of the major fields throughout the state. Thus, the State Department of Health

carries on certain central activities, and in connection with these a county health officer is stationed in Allegheny County, appointed and directly responsible to the state authorities, and working under the state official in Harrisburg. Some nursing service is similarly provided as will be described elsewhere. All this amounts, however, to very little more than a theoretical pre-empting of services which never can, or at least probably never will be conducted to their full extent from a distant capital. The state responsibility for custody of mental cases is exercised in Allegheny County by a per capita payment to the city and county for such patients cared for in the local institutions. Other services in which the state has a more or less direct responsibility are mothers' pensions, pensions for the blind and old age pensions. In the emergency relief machinery, state authorities have control over the appointment of personnel and rules of procedure of the county emergency administration and share with the Federal Government the cost of emergency relief. Subsidies granted by the state to certain children's institutions and to the nonsectarian hospitals are accompanied with a degree of control and supervision, but do not represent managerial responsibility, and can hardly be designated as social work carried on by the state.

With the exception of the Veterans' Hospital, which is under direct Federal administrative control and is only accidentally a local institution in that it is physically situated in Allegheny County, the Federal Government is represented in local public welfare only by subsidies of both the emergency and the nonemergency types and by the collection of statistical material through the registration of vital statistics, the Bureau of Labor statistics, and the census activities, some of which pertain to the field of public welfare.

It is true then that, generally speaking, social and health activities are locally controlled, conducted, and financed. This is almost a universal fact in agencies under voluntary management and is practically the case with respect to governmental agencies. Details concerning the significance of this localization of responsibility will be discussed elsewhere.

One additional type of management may be considered, namely, management by industrial corporations. The centralization of production and economic life in general in Allegheny County gives greater significance to corporation activities in the field of public welfare than it would have elsewhere.⁸ A complete picture of social welfare might, under normal conditions, have to take full account of the activities of these corporations. They have been given little attention during the present study; first, because they are not amenable to community control and planning in the

⁸ Cf. *Family Relief and Relief Activities in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, 1920-1931*, Bureau of Social Research Monograph 1, chap. viii.

same way in which other public and private agencies are; second, because the course of the depression had witnessed an active expansion and, later, a progressive shrinkage of the welfare activities of corporations; and third, because the description and evaluation of these services belong more to an analysis of industrial practices and corporation finance than to community planning, despite the integral and inevitable importance of the life of industry and finance in the problems of social work. It is, moreover, evident and common knowledge in the community that, while indirectly the interest of corporations in employment and the general livelihood of the working population is the same as the interest of the community itself, there are many interests of corporation, government, and citizen that are not identical.

In the pages that follow presentation of findings will be organized with a view, principally, to bring into bold relief the manner in which social work and public health activities might best be organized to meet the needs of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. Oriented to practical purposes and to proposed changes, the text will not seek to follow a pattern parallel with the groupings discussed in the preceding pages. Nor is an enumeration and evaluation of individual agencies the plan to be followed. Rather, the purpose is to focus proposed plans and changes on the following major topics: financial support of all the activities studied; the services of relief and social case work agencies; the provision of medical care; the administration of public health services; leisure time activities; social work planning and coördination; personnel and training problems.

CHAPTER X

COST AND SUPPORT OF SOCIAL WORK

Total cost of social work and health work in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County.—Public funds and voluntary support.—Support related to control.—The use of funds.—Sources of voluntary support of social work.—Community Fund support.—Organization of the Community Fund.—Public support of social work.

IN THE planning of social work it is rarely possible to disassociate its cost and the sources of its support from the objectives which it seeks to achieve and the methods by which the services are to be rendered. Even from the most technical discussions the question of cost cannot be eliminated, for the availability of financial resources is an almost absolute requisite for technical ministrations. In the maintenance of services supported by the Government concern with cost is transformed into problems of taxation. In the support of voluntary social services the problem of cost becomes one of raising funds by appeal to the philanthropic motive or such other motives as may be associated with philanthropic interest.

One of the chief concerns which guided the sponsors of the present study and which actuated the provision of funds to defray it, was the cost of social work to the philanthropic contributor. This concern took the following principal forms:

1. Are unnecessary social services being maintained, constituting therefore an improper drain upon the resources of the contributor?
2. Are services rendered inefficiently, in the sense either of quality or of excessive cost or of duplication of effort, and is there, for this reason, an unnecessary drain upon the contributor?

Other questions, less directly oriented to economy of expenditure, but equally involving questions of financial support, were also present in the minds of citizens and social workers. Are all types of need which properly fall within the scope of social work being met, even though inadequately? Among the objectives that might be comprised in a social work program of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County are those activities now being carried on the most appropriate in view of existing resources and the relative distribution of needs? Recognizing that social work is being extensively carried on through public authorities, is as much thought given

to obtaining appropriations and to the best utilization of public funds as is given presumably to the efficient utilization of private funds? In general, do the citizens of the community concerned with the support of social work realize that adequate support must be studied not only with relation to voluntary contributions but with respect to public expenditures as well?

Obviously, to answer such questions as these, it is not sufficient to make financial audits; it is impossible to arrive at a unit cost for these services which would have any significance except as an arithmetical problem. In the final analysis the cost of social work must be measured by the recognized need for its existence and by the social legitimacy of providing it. Even then there remains the problem of discovering how many of these services are properly a burden upon the taxpayer and how many are to be assumed by the voluntary offer and initiative of the philanthropic citizenry. This sort of division in turn will depend upon accepted social and political philosophy as to the functions of government and of private initiative in general and as to their functions in the field of social work in particular. Accepted philosophy differs, however, from place to place and from time to time; acceptance may, moreover, be real or only apparent, and may represent but a passing phase in the changing cultural ideas.

TOTAL COST OF SOCIAL AND HEALTH WORK IN PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY COUNTY

What does social and health service in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County cost; on what is the money spent; where is it obtained; who supports what, and why? Should the nature of support and its distribution in a future plan differ from that which has obtained in the past?

The total cost of the services with which we are concerned in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County¹ was roughly \$45,156,000² in 1934. Compared with expenditures for the corresponding purposes in 1927, \$17,059,000, this represents an increase of not far from 200 percent. Practically all this increase is represented by additional money spent for economic relief of dependent persons, as may be seen from the following summary:³

FUNCTION ⁴	1927	1934
Relief	\$4,071,000	\$33,305,000
Protective work	362,000	446,000
Recreation	2,815,000	2,858,000
Health	1,002,000	1,138,000
Hospitals	8,128,000	6,458,000
Coördination	97,000	249,000
Miscellaneous	584,000	702,000

¹ For basic tables from which were derived this and other figures that immediately follow, see Tables 34-40, pp. 389-96.

² Statistical material utilized in this chapter is drawn principally from reports pre-

Who provides the funds for these social services?

PUBLIC FUNDS AND VOLUNTARY SUPPORT

The principal classification that immediately suggests itself and that has been uppermost in the minds of social workers in the immediate past is that contrasting public support and voluntary support. The relative burden of support borne by public and voluntary sources for the maintenance of these services will be clear from the following summary:

YEAR	PUBLIC SOURCES	VOLUNTARY SOURCES
1927	\$ 6,728,000	\$10,331,000
1928	7,132,000	10,451,000
1929	7,327,000	10,715,000
1930	8,402,000	11,036,000
1931	9,060,000	11,572,000
1932	12,494,000	11,936,000
1933	24,017,000	8,738,000
1934	36,498,000	8,658,000

The significance of these figures may be made still clearer by reference to Figure 16. The importance of the relationship of these two major sources of revenue for defraying the cost of social services will appear particularly in connection with the planning of a permanent program for dealing with economic relief in the outdoor and institutional field and in the provision of medical services. For the larger problem, however, of clarifying the ultimate incidence of the cost of social services, a further analysis of these figures may be in place here. Thus, while the public expenditure, being derived from tax income, is drawn from the entire community, the funds expended by voluntary agencies come by no means entirely from philanthropic contributions. Of the \$8,658,000 derived in 1934 from voluntary sources only in round numbers \$4,533,000, or a little more than half, represents actual donations, while the remaining \$4,125,000⁵ is the sum paid in fees by clients of social agencies as consumers of these services. This amount represents operating income collected by the voluntary agencies from clients in 1934. If then we are concerned with the problem of charitable contributions for social work, the community's voluntary donors account for a little more than half the cost of voluntary philanthropic service. This, as the following summary giving the amount of expenditures from voluntary sources since 1927 indicates, is not a temporary situation but (with certain fluctuations which are accounted for below) a relatively permanent feature of the support of voluntary social work.

pared by A. H. Prasse, Elizabeth L. Brezee, Marc Feldstein, and Mildred S. Fletcher, of the study staff. For this figure add operating income, Table 31, to total, Table 34.

² See Tables 35 and 37, pp. 390, 393.

⁴ As classified for the study.

⁵ See p. 361, and Table 31.

YEAR	TOTAL EXPENDITURES	EXPENDITURES LESS OPERATING INCOME
1927	\$10,331,000	\$4,666,000
1928	10,451,000	4,353,000
1929	10,715,000	4,532,000
1930	11,036,000	4,856,000
1931	11,572,000	7,239,000 ⁶
1932	11,936,000	7,871,000 ⁶
1933	8,738,000	4,788,000
1934	8,658,000	4,533,000

Thus taking the year 1934⁷ as a basis, we see that the community expended a total of \$45,156,000 for social and health work, of which \$36,498,000 is derived from tax funds, local, state, or Federal. The amount that came from voluntary sources constituted 19 percent of the total. Not

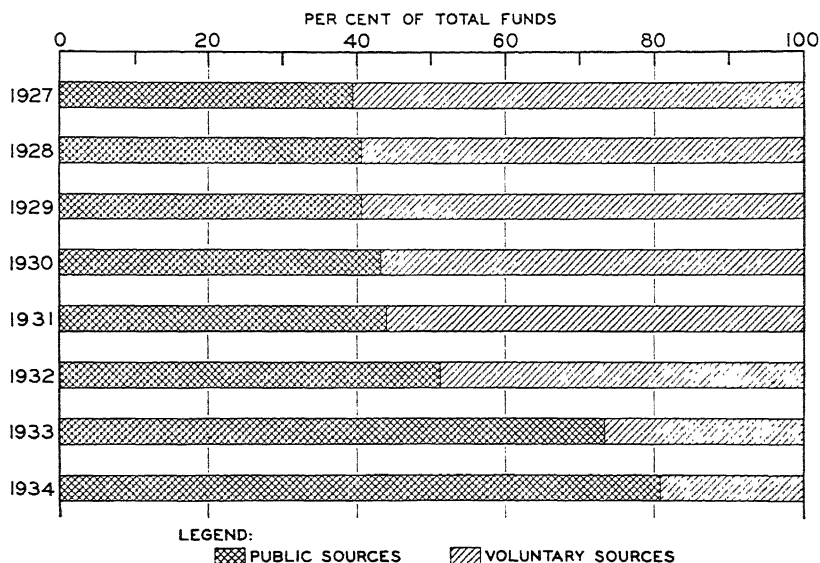


FIGURE 16

DIVISION OF FUNDS FOR SOCIAL AND HEALTH WORK BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SOURCES, 1927-34

⁶ Includes expenditure of funds raised in emergency campaigns. See p. 374, *infra*.

⁷ In the present analysis, and whenever practicable in the course of this study, the year 1934 is used as a base, first because it represents the latest figures available at the time of the study, second because it represents a sort of settling down into depression-determined programs which give some indication of relative permanence. In the case of hospital figures, as will be seen later, the latest financial figures available were for 1933. Therefore it has been necessary occasionally to combine these figures for 1933 with figures for other fields of operation for 1934. Despite the recency of these latter figures, so great were the difficulties of obtaining accurate data that discrepancies still may be found, resulting from the task of fitting together statements obtained from various sources.

all this portion came from the contributors, however. The sum of approximately \$4,125,000 of these voluntary funds represents operating income or fees paid by beneficiaries, mostly in payment for hospital service. Thus, contributions proper constitute about 10 percent of the total expenditures for social work. Even this amount, however, does not represent the true share of the burden borne by the philanthropic contributor.

What ratio of the amounts expended from funds other than public funds does actually come from contributions and what from other types of sources can be stated only approximately. Expenditures and income—even taking account of deficits incurred—do not exactly coincide, and with inadequately organized financial data obtainable, no balance sheet up to the best standards of auditing can be constructed. Basing calculations on classified sources of income (which originally checked to within about \$19,000 with expenditures from voluntary sources for 1934) we see that income from endowment, representing the contributions of past benefactors, deficits incurred, representing actual expenditures but not income, and miscellaneous forms of income accounted for about one-quarter of this sum, leaving as apparent contributions less than $7\frac{1}{2}$ percent of the total expenditures, public and voluntary (Tables 29 and 31).

SUPPORT RELATED TO CONTROL

On the face of it, this would mean that, small as it is in proportion to the total, the sum of some \$3,364,000 represents the philanthropic offering of donors individually interested in social work. The voluntary contribution of so large an amount might justify the exercise of some authority over its expenditure and therefore over the policies of agencies that are its beneficiaries. The question whether the dominant opinion which controls public policies and agency programs is truly representative of community interest has already been discussed. The right to control the work of agencies that inheres in the body of its supporters may, however, be a somewhat different type of question. That those responsible for the other nine-tenths of the funds which do not come from these contributors should have an influence over plans and policies goes without saying. The propriety of having public official and average voter represented in the planning body—in some respects, therefore, of the Federation of Social Agencies—will be considered later. In view of the relatively small share of the financial support of the total social work program borne by voluntary contributors (some 7 percent of the total), the relationship between donation and control may well be subject to critical analysis.

Donation is distributed among a number of groups: wealthy individuals, average middle-class citizens, corporations and business firms, employees. Control is vested almost entirely in boards of directors whose members

are drawn mainly from the body of wealthy individuals, with a sprinkling of middle-class professionals and a practically negligible representation of employees or the working class at large who constitute the main body of the community. What proportion of the bona fide philanthropic contributions comes from those who as board members determine policies and administration of social agencies? We have only suggestive information on this point derived from data for Community Fund agencies. A total of 1,288 board members in these agencies⁸ made a total of 891 contributions amounting to about \$700,000, or roughly one-third of the amount received by these agencies from the Community Fund in 1934. If this is typical of all agencies, whether in the Fund or not, it would seem that the persons actually in control of the work of voluntary social agencies, recognized as the molders of public opinion within this field and therefore, to a considerable extent, of operations in social work agencies under public control as well, contribute between 3 and 4 percent of the total amount expended for social work operations in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County.

Of the other groups of contributors Community Fund data permit further estimates. In 1934, 23.1 percent of the income came from corporations whose contributions are in the nature of business expenditures, directly or indirectly for value received. Their influence over policy making is potentially controlling in view of the far-flung representation they enjoy on governing bodies of private agencies through officers and important stockholders acting in the capacity of private citizens, but within the limits of impartiality laid down by the essentials of human nature. Fully 13.3 percent of Community Fund income came from employee groups—presumably subject to no greater coercion or manifesting no less community interest than other contributors acting under the power drive of campaign pressure. But this group is to all intents and purposes entirely unrepresented in the control and policy making of voluntary agencies.

A rough tabulation of these sources and of other sources recorded in Table 31 would give an array somewhat as follows for income of agencies in the Community Fund in 1934:

SOURCE	PERCENT OF TOTAL INCOME
Income from all sources	100
Endowment and investments	4
Operating income	19
Government aid	3
Community fund collections from	
Corporations	15
Board members	21
Employee groups	9
General public,	
through Fund and direct	29

⁸ For two of the agencies, Raphael Temporary Home and the Y.M.C.A., only amounts are known rather than number of contributions or number of board members.

These ratios would be somewhat different in non-Fund agencies, in which operations yield 27.2 percent (as against 18.7 percent in the Community Fund agencies), investments 11.7 percent (as against 4.4 percent), while contributions, large and small, amount to half of the total income. The hospitals present a different picture, with voluntary contributions constituting only 6.4 percent of the income, counting all sizes and sources of donations.

In this respect Pittsburgh and Allegheny County differ little from other urban communities in the United States. This is all in keeping with the traditions of charity. The more fortunate members of the community give of their time, goodwill, and possessions to those in need, and naturally they determine where to give, how much to give, to whom and under what conditions to give. But neither the traditions nor the psychological motivations of giving any longer correspond to the nature of the modern community, to its mode of life, its social theories, and its *modus operandi*.

Do these facts, then, have any particular significance for social work? What questions do they raise with respect to the objectives and policies of agencies and the organization of the managing bodies of associations responsible for social work activities? Does it mean anything that the control of practically the entire body of voluntary social work rests in the hands of some 1,300 persons consisting, with negligible exceptions, of the representatives of industrial and financial control, the wealthy minority characterized by the greatest conservatism in political, economic, and social philosophy? Are there enough exceptions to this characterization to render it only partially true—that is, are there many influential leaders in this group who are of a liberal opinion in economic and social thought? May it be assumed that the influence of this group, which determines policies of voluntary social agencies, also affects the operative ideas of agencies under public control sufficiently to warrant the inference that they practically govern the ideology of all social and health work? Is it legitimate to attribute any importance to the fact that at the cost of some 3 to 4 percent of the total social work expenditure, a relatively self-perpetuating group tends to determine the nature of the use of the entire expenditure? Does the leadership exercised by the group thus guiding social work policy represent true public opinion, the real community will, the best interest of client beneficiary and general citizenry? Are instances numerous or only sporadic where, as in the case of the Y.W.C.A., failure to renew the contract of an employee may be attributed by a considerable section of the community to her interest in radical organizations and to the corresponding threat of a possible loss of income to the agency from its conservative contributors? Does the circulation of warning by the

Employers' Association of Pittsburgh, in 1921,⁹ to potential contributors of the Y.W.C.A., known as a liberal-minded and progressive organization, represent a sporadic and unusual occurrence, or is it significant of the type of control of policies of social agencies that may likely occur from so uneven a weighting of its management with members of the upper social and economic stratum? Is there a basis in these facts for some change in the organization of control of at least such important agencies as the Community Fund so that others beside the minority representing wealth and social position shall have substantial representation on its Board of Directors? Some adjustment in this direction is at least indicated, and some recommendations will be submitted later in this chapter. When a readjustment of social agencies requires dissolution of some and a merger of others and when among the difficulties faced is the danger of antagonizing persons of influence whose loyalty to the agencies affected is in the way of proposed changes, do these facts have any bearing on the chances of proceeding with plans impersonally devised?

THE USE OF FUNDS

In the analysis thus far emphasis has been placed on the sources of funds and their significance. No question has been raised as to the validity of the allocation of funds. Where campaigns for funds are organized by some particular agency or group of homogeneous agencies, such as Y.W.C.A.'s, hospitals, the Salvation Army, and the like, it is only necessary to give an interpretation of the agency's work that is both honest and attractive and that establishes the necessary harmony between objectives of the agency and motives of the potential contributor. The prospective donor can decide whether his interests and the purposes of the agency agree, and he is in a position to estimate the relation between his interest and his resources. The establishment of federated or centralized financing has materially changed this situation. Community Fund financing is a comprehensive method in which the several distinct objectives of many individual organizations and kinds of work are pooled, and despite conscientious efforts of interpretation the donor must give in bulk and take the whole pattern of purposes on faith. He is, so far as his philanthropic intentions are concerned, giving *carte blanche*. He does the same when he pays his taxes, unless he scrupulously studies appropriations, attends public hearings, and studies public budgets. In a way contribution through the Community Fund is not very different from paying taxes. Moreover, the contributing public, in a Community Fund such as that of Pittsburgh now comprises varying types of divergent and even contradictory interests. In 1934, for example, impersonal entities, such as corporations, contributed nearly one-quarter of the amount raised by the Community Fund. Employees,

⁹ Cf. chap. vii, *supra*, and Appendix C.

who in any realistic view of modern life cannot be regarded as having entirely the same perspective and interests as corporations, contributed more than 13 percent. A total of 290 corporations contributed the 23 percent of the funds, while employee contributors numbered not less than 55,000 and accounted for somewhat over half the sum attributed to corporations. Perhaps the 760 gifts designated as "special," representing the largest donors and contributing close to 29 percent of the funds collected, might be grouped with the corporations from the standpoint of social interest and economic outlook. Thus, more than 50 percent of the Fund collections is derived directly or indirectly from persons representing wealth, another eighth of the total from employee groups, and the remaining less-than-three-eighths from the general mass of professional persons, salaried workers, employers, employees, and a variety of other sources. Though the portion of funds for all social work that comes from philanthropic sources is relatively small, the proportion of the latter derived from the wealthy constituent of the community is large. Again, while this share in the philanthropic funds is great, the control that large donors exercise over policies and administration is far larger still.

It is generally agreed among those having experience in the financing of social work, both laymen and professionals, that the specific factual content of the appeal to the contributor has not nearly so much bearing on the success of a campaign as does organization and the psychological technique of breaking down "sales resistance" of the potential contributor. There is greater similarity between philanthropic campaigns and campaigns of any other type than there is between philanthropic campaigns and the process of imparting objective information on the validity of a social work program. By and large there has been little change in the nature of appeals by Community Funds. Roughly, it is the charitable motive that is held in the foreground, to which are added to a lesser degree the religious motive, the love of children, and to a less distinct but more pervading extent, the desire for security against subversive forces and the prevention of crime and criminals. By and large, also, it is assumed by the public—and this assumption is largely reflected in the unity of appeal emphasized by the existence of Community Funds—that all these objectives are somehow integrated in the body of agencies constituting the Fund into a "community program"; that objectives and activities are the same from year to year with such changes only as may be occasioned by increase in need or in population, or by the absorption, as in more recent years, of certain functions by public agencies.

Yet the ends to which voluntary contributions have been put and the relative use toward these ends of public as against voluntary funds have been changing in recent years. Thus, in 1927, 40 percent of the amount

expended for social work both public and voluntary, excluding income from operations, came from voluntary contributions; in 1934 less than 11 percent (Table 29). This is a striking change, but it may not, on the face of it, signify any change in the content of privately supported social work. More significant is the fact that in 1927 voluntary contributions accounted on the same basis for more than 44 percent of the amounts expended for relief, while in 1934 these funds accounted for not more than 5 percent. May it be properly assumed that in appealing to the general public for funds for the support of philanthropic activities of a Community Fund, the same appeal is justified when 5 percent of the amount goes to serve economic distress as was when almost half the total amounts collected were used for that purpose? On the other hand, taking the same two years for

TABLE 29

EXPENDITURES FOR SOCIAL AND HEALTH WORK, PUBLIC FUNDS AND VOLUNTARY FUNDS, BY FUNCTION, 1927 AND 1934

FUNCTION	COMBINED PUBLIC AND VOLUNTARY FUNDS (EXCLUDING OPERATING INCOME)	VOLUNTARY FUNDS (EXCLUDING OPERATING INCOME)	
		<i>Amount</i>	<i>Percent of total income</i>
All purposes			
1927	\$11,194,000	\$ 4,466,000	39.9
1934	41,031,000	4,533,000	11.0
Relief			
1927	3,834,000	1,695,000	44.2
1934	33,112,000	1,670,000	5.0
Protection, children			
1927	362,000	84,000	23.2
1934	445,000	142,000	31.9
Recreation			
1927	2,303,000	843,000	36.5
1934	2,491,000	747,000	29.9
Health			
1927	929,000	241,000	26.5
1934	1,062,000	374,000	34.5
Hospitals			
1927	3,293,000	1,136,000	34.5
1934	3,322,000	1,086,000	32.7
Coördination			
1927	97,000	97,000	100.0
1934	237,000	237,000	100.0
Miscellaneous			
1927	376,000	370,000	98.4
1934	362,000	277,000	75.2

comparison (the former completely antedating the depression, the latter well beyond the lowest point of depression, but within the settled program of depression programs of social work), 32 percent of funds expended for child protection came from voluntary sources, as against 23 percent in 1927—an increase of approximately one-third; for recreation, a somewhat decreased percentage; for health, an increase of about one-third—26 percent, 34 percent; while in the field of coördination, total amounts have substantially increased, the entire amount, however, coming from voluntary sources and practically none from tax funds.

Thus far the figures considered bear on the relative importance of voluntary, in contrast to public, funds in the expenditures for the several types of social work, such as relief, recreation, and so forth, considered separately. Their importance in these several totals has obviously diminished in the past decade. Taking the total voluntary contributions as a unit, rather than the specific purposes for which funds were used, and comparing the distribution of allotments within this total with corresponding expenditures type by type, from public funds, we find that a somewhat different picture emerges. For public funds, for example, Table 30, page 369, shows that, whereas in 1927, 37.9 percent of these funds were spent for relief, more than twice that proportion, 86.2 percent, went for relief in 1934. Within the voluntary funds no such change has occurred. The distribution of these funds among relief, recreation, child protection, and so forth, remained (as is shown in Table 30) practically the same in 1934 as in 1927. If, therefore, the appeal for voluntary support of social work in the community leaves out of consideration all the work financed from tax funds, no substantial deviation from the 1927 plan is necessary. Such an attitude must reflect, however, a restricted horizon which assumes that voluntary social work is all that counts, whereas it has been shown that in 1934 private agencies were responsible for not more than one-tenth of the total expenditure for social work in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. If we are to assume, on the contrary, as we shall in the subsequent discussion of social planning, that the community's social work includes both public and voluntary activities and must recognize the paramount importance of the former, it will seem inevitable that the nature of expenditures to which private funds are put should adjust itself to a perspective of this total community burden. Voluntary effort would then concentrate on those activities in which public bodies seem to be least effective or least well established, voluntarily giving up, as fast as seems practicable without hardship to clients, those activities in which voluntary agencies have been reduced to a negligible percentage.

In later sections of this report recommendations are presented for the assumption by tax funds of the cost of all medical relief, whether in the

TABLE 30

COMPARISON OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURES AMONG THE MAJOR FUNCTIONS OF SOCIAL WORK IN 1927 AND 1934, PUBLIC AND VOLUNTARY FUNDS

FUNCTION	PERCENT EXPENDED FOR EACH TYPE OF ACTIVITY FROM							
	COMBINED PUBLIC AND VOLUNTARY FUNDS		PUBLIC FUNDS		VOLUNTARY FUNDS EXCLUDING OPERATING EXPENSES		VOLUNTARY FUNDS INCLUDING OPERATING EXPENSES	
	1927	1934	1927	1934	1927	1934	1927	1934
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Relief	34.3	80.8	37.9	86.2	37.9	36.8	18.7	21.5
Protection, child	3.3	1.1	4.1	0.9	1.9	3.1	0.8	1.6
Recreation	20.4	6.0	21.6	4.7	18.9	16.5	13.1	12.9
Health	8.3	2.6	10.2	1.8	5.4	8.3	3.0	5.2
Hospitals	29.4	8.1	32.1	6.1	25.4	24.0	57.8	48.7
Coordination	0.9	0.5	...	...	2.2	5.2	1.0	3.6
Miscellaneous	3.4	0.9	0.1	0.3	8.3	6.1	5.6	6.4

form of free hospital beds, free dispensary service, or other medical attention beyond the means of the patient. These recommendations have already been accepted by the Citizens' Committee sponsoring the present inquiry and informally by those intimately concerned with the conduct of hospitals and dispensaries. Should the changes proposed in those recommendations be realized, it will mean that voluntary contributions now raised for defraying the major part of hospital and dispensary services to nonpaying patients in voluntary hospitals will no longer be necessary to the present extent. Inasmuch as these amounts are practically equivalent to relief, for they represent free services to those economically unable to meet medical costs, it will mean the removal of a further substantial area of expenditure of private funds for those in economic distress and still further increase the ratio of private funds used for recreation, health, coördination, and child protection as against expenditures for economic relief. In the total community picture, therefore, the importance of private funds for the time-honored "charitable purposes" will thus be further reduced.

Will private philanthropy recognize this fact for the further study of the best use it can make of voluntary contributions or will it strain to hold its own within the framework of its traditional plans for expenditures and struggle to retain as far as possible the same proportions expended for relief as for other purposes because of its powerful appeal to the charitable motive of the contributor? Will the leaders of philanthropy clearly recognize its changing functions and boldly go forth to seek support for these functions whatever they happen to be? For changes are bound to come in other phases as well as in the relative position of economic relief. In the field of recreation private enterprise still accounts for about one-third of the funds expended, although the amount spent has been diminishing. The movement for public support of all recreation activities is strong and growing. The time may be near when these also will be largely tax-supported activities having voluntary funds used only for special purposes.

In the preceding analysis we have used financial figures for 1934 as the basis of calculations and inferences as if they had a certain finality, especially compared with data for 1927, a typical pre-depression year. It is important for generalizations, such as those which may determine the future plan of social work in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, to disavow too great a finality for these 1934 figures and yet to recognize such relative permanence as they may have. It is assumed here and in other parts of this study and established with a degree of probability arising from the economic history of Pittsburgh and the country as a whole that a very substantial amount of unemployment will continue to characterize the economic life of this country for years to come. Both because of this con-

tinuing and relatively high degree of unemployment and because of the accumulation of unemployable persons a sizable proportion of the population will continue to be economically dependent from time to time.¹⁰ A community relief problem will continue to exist, therefore, which, if not as high as it was during the lowest point of the depression, will be sufficient to take the relief problem entirely out of the scope of management by philanthropic funds. Relief as a whole may, therefore, be regarded as a function for public support. It is assumed, further, that it is probable and a matter of sound government and sound policy that tax funds will be expended by public authorities, not through private agencies. The transitional period during which tax funds were expended in that way is gone or on its way out. Social workers as a body are no longer in favor of public subsidy for private social work enterprise. For the hospitals of the community we are recommending a form of public subsidy by per diem payments as a transitional measure, and the immediate inauguration of public control and supervision that properly go with it.¹¹ We are recommending more general public ownership and direct public responsibility for medical institutions. It is recommended that the expansion of public health services shall be chiefly through governmental agencies, not by expanding the services of private associations.¹² To the extent that these changes and points of view are reflected or forecast in the amount and distribution of expenditures for social work in 1934, as compared with 1927, there is, therefore, a degree of finality assumed for these figures. For this same reason, however, they also have decidedly tentative aspects. A substantial amount for the care of free patients was still drawn from private funds in 1934. It is assumed that in time this will be modified. It has been suggested that recreation will become increasingly a public service, as will public health nursing and public health administration. Even child protection is rapidly being taken over by the children's court and in its less obvious phases by the public school system. Until these changes are realized, voluntary funds will be used for these purposes in proportions not far different from those of 1934. It is important that the present data shall be used as stimulation and evidence for the need of analysis and re-analysis of the entire field of social work, its objectives, sources of support, management, control, personnel, and technical specialization. Details of voluntary financing should take account both of the existing situation and of indicated trends.

SOURCES OF VOLUNTARY SUPPORT OF SOCIAL WORK

Voluntary social agencies derive support from (1) contributions, (2) endowment and investment income, (3) government aid, and (4) income

¹⁰ Cf. chap. xv, *infra*.

¹¹ Cf. chap. xviii, *infra*.

¹² Cf. chap. xix, *infra*.

TABLE 31
SOURCES OF INCOME OF FUND AND NON-FUND SOCIAL AND HEALTH AGENCIES, 1929 AND 1934

SOURCE OF INCOME	INCOME FROM EACH SPECIFIED SOURCE OF							
	ALL SOCIAL AND HEALTH AGENCIES		AGENCIES IN THE COMMUNITY FUND		AGENCIES NOT IN THE COMMUNITY FUND		HOSPITALS ^a	
	<i>Amount (thousands of dollars)</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Amount (thousands of dollars)</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Amount (thousands of dollars)</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Amount (thousands of dollars)</i>	<i>Percent</i>
	1929							
Total income	11,256	100.0	1,074	100.0	3,759	100.0	6,423	100.0
Voluntary contributions	3,115	27.7	886	82.6	1,956	52.0	273	4.3
Investments and endowments	973	8.7	24	2.2	311	8.3	638	9.9
Government aid	541	4.8	18	1.7	71	1.9	452	7.0
Operation	6,182	54.9	98	9.1	1,249	33.2	4,835	75.3
Other sources and deficits	445	3.9	48	4.4	172	4.6	225	3.5
	1934							
Total income	9,495	100.0	3,082	100.0	1,514	100.0	4,899	100.0
Voluntary contributions	3,265	34.4	2,192	71.1	757	50.0	316	6.4
Investments and endowments	732	7.7	135	4.4	177	11.7	420	8.7
Government aid	837	8.8	101	3.3	59	3.9	677	13.8
Operation	4,125	43.4	577	18.7	412	27.2	3,136	64.0
Other sources and deficits	536	5.6	77	2.5	109	7.2	350	7.1

^a Figures for 1928 and 1933, respectively. Montefiore Hospital is included with the hospital, although it was a Community Fund agency in 1934.

from operation. The proportions of support coming from these sources differ somewhat among the several classes of agency, as may be seen from Table 31, page 372. Figures are given for 1934 and for 1929, the latter being the first year in which there was full-fledged operation of the Community Fund.

Contributions provide the largest source of income except in the case of hospitals, where operating revenue is by far the largest. The most significant change in the sources of income from 1929 to 1934 is the decrease in operating income of the hospitals, which accounts for most of the decline of that form of revenue. The decrease in endowment is not so great as one might expect. The amount of voluntary contributions does not differ greatly in 1929 and 1934, but it provides a larger percentage of the total income of 1934. Income from grants by public bodies increased during this period both absolutely and relatively, though its distribution among city, county, and state has not changed much. In 1929, 8 percent of public funds appropriated to private agencies came from the city, 6 percent from the county, and 86 percent from the state. In 1934, 10 percent came from the city, 6 percent from the county, and 84 percent came from the state. All of the public appropriations for hospitals came from the state with the exception of \$25,000 appropriated annually by the county to the Tuberculosis League Hospital.

The support of the non-Fund agencies,¹³ which spent about half as much in 1934 as did the Community Fund agencies and drew about one-third as much from contributors, concerns the present study principally as it affects the general planning of social work rather than intrinsically as a problem of financing. Some of these agencies have considerable endowment and other assured procedures for obtaining support. With the exception of the hospitals, the agencies outside the Fund do not constitute a distinct group but are integrated for social planning with the Federation of Social Agencies. The hospitals, which had a net loss in 1928 of \$224,600 and of \$350,000 in 1933, present the most serious problem in financing. Their difficulties are discussed more fully elsewhere.¹⁴

COMMUNITY FUND SUPPORT

Next to the tax-supported social agencies, the Community Fund represents the most important community-wide system of support for social work (exclusive of hospitals). Joint financing of social work was not seriously considered in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County before 1920. When interest in coöperative financing did arise, it came not from the social agencies themselves but from the contributing public as represented

¹³ For a list of these agencies, see Appendix D.

¹⁴ Cf. chap. xviii, *infra*.

by the Chamber of Commerce. At first, considerable opposition to federated financing was encountered, and the establishment of the "Welfare Fund," later known as the "Community Fund," did not come about until 1928. As seen in retrospect, the opposition was largely an expression of the general separatist attitude that has been typical of the community. When the Community Fund was established, its relationship to the general program of coördination was affected by the fact that it was set up entirely outside the already existing Federation of Social Agencies. A deep-seated difference in attitudes on the issue of central financing among the agency members of the Federation made this separate set-up seem necessary, although in form and structure the Fund duplicated the Federation, especially since in all cases members of the Fund have been members also of the Federation.

It is important for the understanding of the present situation to recognize that opposition to central financing has not yet completely disappeared, although the strength and influence of the Community Fund have shown remarkable growth. There can no longer be any question of its permanence and importance within the field of voluntary financing in Allegheny County. In view of the reluctant acceptance of joint financing in this community, the achievement of the Fund in its six years' existence is a remarkable one. In the first year of its activity twenty-seven agencies were included, and in 1935 there were some seventy budgetary units. By 1934 it provided roughly half the funds available to voluntary agencies (including hospitals).¹⁵ The year 1932 shows the greatest increase in agencies and budgets, owing largely to the admission of the Federation

TABLE 32

AGENCIES ADDED AND DROPPED, AND CHANGES IN BUDGETARY AMOUNTS OF COMMUNITY FUND, 1929-35

YEAR	NUMBER OF AGENCIES ADDED	INCREASES IN BUDGETARY AMOUNT	NUMBER OF AGENCIES DROPPED	DECREASES IN BUDGETARY AMOUNT	TOTAL AMOUNT SECURED BY COMMUNITY FUND
1929	28	\$ 827,118	...	...	\$1,169,865
1930	4	79,848	...	...	1,554,319
1931	10	185,737	...	...	5,489,521 ^a
1932	22	3,182,584	1	\$ 1,545	2,481,324
1933	2	10,101	...	...	2,189,425
1934	4	16,731	1	15,400	2,047,440
1935	3	24,630	1	88,660	2,207,061

^a Represents the effect of the first emergency campaign.

¹⁵ The hospitals have not shown a very great interest in any joint financing, whether for the hospital group by itself or as part of the Community Fund.

of Jewish Philanthropies, the Conference of Catholic Charities, and the Allegheny County Emergency Association. Table 32 shows the growth of the Community Fund.

The total amount secured by the Community Fund increased from \$1,169,865, in 1929, to \$2,207,061, in 1935.¹⁶ Two separate factors are responsible for the increase, namely, the addition of new agencies and the increase of allotments to members. The former is indicated in Table 32; the latter is shown in part in a tabulation, prepared recently by the executive of the Fund, giving the change in the budgets of twenty-four agencies that have been members continuously since the establishment of central financing in 1928. The totals are as follows:

1928 Income of individual agencies prior to establishment of the Community Fund	\$ 598,990.00
1929 Actual payments by the Community Fund	789,494.00
1930 Actual payments by the Community Fund	959,000.18
1931 Actual payments by the Community Fund	1,345,027.15
1932 Actual payments by the Community Fund	1,618,752.47
1933 Actual payments by the Community Fund	1,028,923.65
1934 Actual payments by the Community Fund	1,016,307.51
1935 Actual payments by the Community Fund	1,035,833.72

Another indication of the more general acceptance of the Community Fund is the decrease in the percentage of "designated" gifts. In 1929 about 20 percent of the gifts were designated. Thereafter each year shows an even decline, only 5 percent of the total amount having been designated in 1933. The decline in the practice of designation is a symptom favorable on the whole to central financing as such. Along with the decline of designated gifts, less money has also been given directly to the constituent agencies in voluntary contributions.

These data give some indication of the growth of the Community Fund in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County—in size, in importance, and in community acceptance. It may be assumed that in so far as social work other than medical service provided by hospitals is financed by voluntary contributions, the Community Fund will be increasingly its principal channel of collection and allocation. This fact imposes upon the Fund the obligation to consider and to study some of the fundamental questions to which we have already alluded. It should strive to attain a clear understanding of its own proper sphere of activity as related to public agencies, it should consider whether the purposes which its constituent agencies serve are in themselves sound and whether the allocation of funds is in

¹⁶ The 1931 figure shown in Table 32 includes the results of the special campaign held in April to meet emergency demands; a similar campaign in May, 1932, was considered as a separate emergency campaign, the results of which were not included in the total reported for that year. Actually, this total rose to \$5,196,530 and reflects the large sum entered under "increases in budgetary amount."

TABLE 33

EXPENDITURES BY FUND AGENCIES^a (INCLUDING GOVERNMENT AID AND OPERATING INCOME) FOR THE MAJOR FUNCTIONS, 1929-34

FUNCTION	1929		1930		1931		1932		1933		1934	
	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent
Total	\$1,075,000	100.0	\$1,637,600	100.0	\$2,458,900	100.0	\$5,940,800	100.0	\$3,067,000	100.0	\$3,046,800	100.0
Relief	469,000	43.6	651,300	39.8	1,072,100	43.5	3,976,300	66.9	1,302,900	42.8	1,156,500	37.9
Protection	61,300	5.6	65,400	4.0	75,200	3.5	86,100	1.4	90,300	2.8	100,100	3.3
Recreation	103,000	9.6	147,100	9.0	300,200	12.1	765,100	12.9	637,800	20.7	731,600	24.0
Health	268,100	25.0	285,400	17.4	375,400	15.2	455,300	7.7	408,500	13.3	409,000	13.4
Coordination	140,000	13.0	177,900	10.9	235,400	9.5	246,000	4.2	235,900	7.7	248,700	8.2
Miscellaneous	33,600	3.1	310,500	18.9	400,600	16.2	412,000	6.9	391,600	12.7	400,900	13.2

^a Does not include Montefiore Hospital.

keeping with major plans and trends of social work in the community as a whole.

Pittsburgh has succeeded no better than other American communities in clarifying nor has it even seriously attempted to clarify the theoretical significance of central financing in all its aspects and relationships. At first Community Funds were regarded on the one hand as more efficient instruments of financing and on the other hand, as means of conveying a sense of responsibility for a social work program to the entire community. Social work, including all forms of relief, had seemed to be a voluntary undertaking—the special obligation of a wealthy minority. Statistics show, indeed, that governmental expenditures even in those earlier years were greater than was generally realized; but Community Fund drives have tended to emphasize the voluntary or philanthropic aspect of social work, while at the same time they have extended financial responsibility to a community-wide sponsorship. In view of a fast-spreading area of public operation it is not so clear now that the services performed by Community Fund agencies truly represent a proper obligation of the entire population, which already is carrying its main burden on the tax lists. Relief, by far the largest item in the cost of social work, is passing from private to public bodies. It is also clear from Table 33 that, even within the Community Fund, the relative allocation of funds has gradually changed so that a smaller proportion is now allotted to relief as compared with other forms of social work. The public should be prepared for this new tendency in the ratio of services, and the appeal for funds should as speedily and frankly as possible explain the shift of emphasis from relief services to these other tasks. Support must be intelligent and willing if it is to be certain, even at the cost of a reduction in the absolute totals.

These general considerations should guide not only the publicity for raising funds, but also the allocation of sums raised. The relative claims of existing social agencies or of agencies to be created will have to conform to the trend of the times. No permanent ratios can, of course, be set up as having perpetual validity, but the agencies supplying services within their several areas will have to study not only the needs which they themselves would choose to meet but also whether community life indicates any necessary changes in relative needs for the different major social work functions. Because no community may be sure of what these ratios must be or how fast they must change, it is increasingly important that the task of agency budgeting and the task of community planning for social work be more and more intimately combined. Allocations to major groups as well as to individual agencies should reflect social planning arising from discussions within divisions of the Federation of Social Agencies and in the proposed budget committee described elsewhere.

For the present, certain tentative principles, as they are slowly emerging from changing practice, may be suggested as possible guides for the immediate future. Community Fund resources may, for example, be regarded as appropriate for providing relief of certain types which are recognized as necessary but not yet provided by public agencies. This would seem justified, however, only if the constituent agencies of the Fund carry on appropriate educational propaganda to the end that public departments may be brought to assume their responsibilities. Relief from private sources may be justified in cases in which technical eligibility for public relief cannot be established and for purposes of social experimentation. Private relief in the form of institutional care for the aged and for children seems, in the light of persistent tradition, to be desirable practice for the present, since considerable time may elapse before this type of service can be performed adequately by public authorities. The use of voluntary funds for social case work services to deal with personal disorganization under various circumstances would seem to be necessary for a considerable time to come. Private funds might continue to provide for group work activities and recreational and educational facilities for the purpose of providing more amply for these fields in which, though tax funds are already in use, there is room for indefinite expansion. Service of this type is especially important for persons of limited economic resources who cannot afford the fees required in many of the recreational agencies and who must depend upon the free recreational opportunities provided by voluntary agencies until public facilities are reasonably sufficient for the equal service of the entire community. The efforts of those allocating funds raised from voluntary sources should be directed to the increased provision of leisure time activities to those of lesser economic resources.

In the health field Allegheny County will require the supplementation of public services by private sources for a considerable time. In this field, however, the temptation is great to perpetuate the practice of rendering these services with voluntary funds rather than to carry on the necessary educational work for the achievement of comprehensive public health service. Deliberate provisions should be made within this field on a planned budgetary basis for propaganda and pressure for the establishment of a county health department. Much of the responsibility for service given directly by voluntary hospitals and nursing associations should be transferred to the public as soon as possible, and larger amounts of voluntary funds should be expended for health education and mental hygiene.

Private financing is required also for the necessary development of coördinative agencies. The Community Fund, Federation of Social Agencies, Hospital Conference, and General Health Council should

provide the leadership in propaganda and educational activities in this field. For a long time to come these expenditures will only with difficulty be assumed by governmental bodies, and they should therefore receive generous private support.

It has been a generally accepted principle that funds raised by annual campaigns should be utilized for maintenance purposes alone, not for capital account expenditures. Maintenance according to this definition includes a reasonable amount of repairs and improvements but no new construction. In several ways, however, new construction and other capital account undertakings are inseparable from the general task of the Community Fund's financing. New construction involves permanent maintenance. Therefore, plant expansion independently of assured maintenance expenditures should be restricted within limits that do not strain the capacity of the Fund to provide current budgets.

A strict observance of the theory that the Community Fund resources are not to be used for capital account expenditures may on the other hand cause funds raised by joint financing to be used for the support of plants which are inadequate or even dangerous to health or safety. To continue indefinitely the provision of maintenance for plants of this type may be an indictment of the entire social work planning body, particularly of the Community Fund. The time may come when the Fund must assume responsibility for setting a limit to its willingness to support plants dangerous to health, life, or living standards. If such a stand is taken by the Fund, it implies automatically the necessity either of excluding such an agency or institution or of stimulating appropriate bodies to take responsibility for the raising of capital funds. Both the social planning machinery and the Community Fund itself should give special study to the problem of inappropriate physical plants of its agencies and to the planning of necessary campaigns for capital expansion, even though the Fund officially may not undertake such campaigns itself. Besides stimulating, it might actually advise and assist in campaigns for capital expansion.

Up to a certain point a Community Fund should also feel responsible for obtaining accurate records of the capital accounts of its constituent agencies. These consist in buildings and plants and in endowments and investments; their maintenance and security involve indirectly the allocation of Community Fund expenditures, especially as they are taken into consideration in calculating what part of a total budget may be derived from capital and how much of it must be borne by central financing.

Probably the most effective way of handling the problems involved in capital accounts is to assign the study of the subject, together with other matters that require long-range planning, to the new budget committee.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY FUND

The Community Fund is a corporation whose members are "delegates, successors to the subscribers to the application for the charter" who are known in their assembled capacity as the "council." The council consists of two representatives of each member agency—one professional, the other lay—two delegates of a selected list of civic organizations, and a number of delegates at large, "not in excess of the number of participating social agencies, elected annually by the campaign workers and contributors present at the final rally" of the Fund campaign. Theoretically, provision is made to obtain a wide delegate membership in the council constituting the main body of the corporation. Social agencies, civic bodies, trade, commerce and labor organizations, and the contributing public are all represented in the membership of the council. Actually, however, it is far from true that the council participates in the affairs of the Fund; the real management of the Fund is in its board of directors.

The extent to which the general public may be conscious of the representativeness of the Fund depends upon the composition of its board of directors. In some communities board membership is afforded to sectarian federations, to Negroes, and occasionally to geographical areas of the community. This is not necessarily desirable, except possibly with respect to the inclusion of Negroes. More substantial representation for labor unions and for public agencies should, however, be provided for by the increase of the number of persons on the board of directors, if necessary, from twenty-one to thirty or more. Representation of public officials is important because of the increasing scope of the activity of governmental bodies in the field of social work, which necessitates the constant building up of the common interests between public officials and private citizens interested in the field. The importance of labor union representation lies primarily in the fact that it represents the working population and therefore the major potential clientele of social agencies and a continuous interchange of ideas with its representatives is exceedingly important to keep programs of social agencies realistic. Another reason is that this may be one method by which the psychological distinction between the donor and the beneficiary may be reduced and the unpleasant phases of the practice of charitable giving and receiving may be dissolved in a sense of coöperation that disregards class and wealth. There is still another reason, namely, the importance of giving the body of voters, the majority of whom are members of the working class, an interest and a channel of information which will enable them to exercise their suffrage in such a way as to secure the increasingly clean and efficient administration of those social services that are conducted by public bodies. A truly civic conception of the functions of the Community Fund demands increasingly that the

governing body be a representative public group. The relatively small financial responsibility for social work actually borne by the group now practically administering the affairs of voluntary agencies should also have some influence on the reorganization of the representative base of the Community Fund.

The present board reflects the leadership of the givers of large sums and simulates an oligarchy rather than a democratic form of control. This over-representation of the large donors parallels the unusually large percentage of Community Fund income that comes in Pittsburgh from this source. Possibly because of the uneven distribution of wealth in this community that proportion may be appropriate. It is a symptom of a commendable attitude that a relatively smaller amount comes from the employee division of the Community Fund campaign than in many other communities. This probably reflects a less coercive fund-raising machinery with respect to corporation employees in Pittsburgh than exists in some other places. The income of the working population in any community is such that contributions for philanthropic purposes can be justified mainly on the grounds that it has value in the building up of community consciousness. The informed contributor to the Community Fund may become an intelligent voter for efficient administration of public welfare activities and an active worker on agency and Fund boards and committees. These values can be attained only if the employee group develops goodwill and friendly understanding of the purposes and activities of the Community Fund. Friendly understanding is jeopardized if coercion is used to obtain support, and it is safer to bend over backward and raise a lesser amount from this source, than to antagonize the mass of the population and citizenry.

The Community Fund as at present set up provides for the following functions:

1. Acceptance and separation of member agencies
2. The determination of agency budgets and of a total campaign goal
3. Campaign organization
4. Publicity
5. Stewardship and control of finances
6. Visitation of agencies by lay representatives for the maintenance of contact, mutual interpretation, and report to the Budget Committee

These functions are distributed among the Board of Directors of the Fund and the following standing committees: Budget Committee, Publicity Committee, Finance Committee, Campaign Committee, and Visitation Committee. Administrative service to these committees is channeled through the executive director of the Fund, who appoints and supervises the necessary staff. The duties of the committees may be briefly outlined as follows:

The Budget Committee receives agency budgets prior to the determination of the campaign goal. Before subcommittees appointed for the purpose hearings are held at which the agencies, through such representatives as they choose, explain the nature of programs as related to the budgets submitted. The subcommittees transmit to the main committee the budgets as submitted, with their recommendations. The Budget Committee reports to the Board of Directors of the Fund its own recommendations and the total campaign goal is then based on the budgets as recommended by them. Final action on the campaign goal and on the budgets is made by the Board of Directors. Appeals from the recommendations of the Budget Committee may be presented by individual agencies directly to the directors of the Fund and even to the General Council. The nature of the work of this committee and proposals for its modification will be considered later.

The principal task of the Campaign Committee is the actual organization of the annual campaign along the usual lines that have become familiar in community chests in the past decade or two.

The Finance Committee has responsibility for the investment and disposition of funds and for recommending to the Board of Directors from time to time changes in allocations to the individual agencies as these may be requested subsequent to the adoption of the general budget. Some modifications in the functions of this committee are implied in the proposed reorganization of the Budget Committee described later.

The work of the Publicity Committee is largely concentrated in the duties arising out of the annual campaign. A special publicity staff is employed which has the responsibility for campaign publicity and for such other year-round interpretation as has gradually grown into routine procedure in the history of the Community Fund.

The Visitation Committee (previously called the Endorsement Committee) consists of lay persons appointed each year. Through such subcommittees as may be found practicable this committee visits each of the affiliated agencies of the Fund annually, acquaints itself with the nature and objectives of the agency, its methods of procedure and quality of work. The consolidated report combining statements on the individual agencies is submitted by the Visitation Committee annually to the Budget Committee and is used by the latter in its task of allocating funds. To this committee also is assigned the task of reporting on agencies that apply for admission to the Community Fund group. The annual report of the Visitation Committee is not and cannot be a critical appraisal of agency programs and of their relation to the total community program, and for that reason it is not a very practical guide to the Budget Committee. The committee represents, however, a most useful method of interpreting the

work of social agencies to an increasing number of contributors and representative citizens. Gradually a larger and larger number of contributors become informed of the work of the agencies and can serve more intelligently on committees or campaign assignments. The fresh and unconditioned point of view of these lay citizens frequently results in valuable suggestions, not only with respect to the general value of an agency, but also with respect to matters that usually would be regarded as within the scope of technical procedure. It is, moreover, a test of the very important obligation of the social agency not only to maintain a program of social usefulness but also to justify that usefulness to the general public rather than to the technically trained few. The annual visit by this committee gives an opportunity for the agency to re-examine its program, improve its mode of interpretation, and to take stock of the value of its objectives. For maximum usefulness the work of the committee should be related to, but not displaced by, the work of the reorganized budget committee for mutual enrichment and greater effectiveness.

Most of the modifications in the functions of these committees are related to the problem of social planning and are discussed elsewhere in connection with the proposed reorganization of the Budget Committee. Even the methods provided for the acceptance of new agencies in the Community Fund may profit by a greater integration with the task of the reorganized committee. The limitations upon the effectiveness of a lay Visitation Committee in passing on the advisability of admitting a new agency are almost self-evident. Referral of new applicants to the Federation of Social Agencies is the logical procedure in such cases; but this has not been a matter of routine, and it does not seem that a thorough consideration of all pertinent community interests has gone into the decisions with respect to the acceptance of new agencies.

Even greater lack of planning is apparent in connection with the process of discontinuing agency membership in the Community Fund, particularly in cases in which the Fund has taken the initiative. Recent cases, such as that of the Counsel Service Society, have shown the danger, as well as the difficulties, of passing upon separations without some impersonal and routine considerations through an appropriate standing committee and with adequate consideration of both social planning and budgetary problems. Separation and acceptance are integral parts of planning and should be comprised in the duties of budgeting and planning bodies.

One of the most intangible factors in the support of social work and one that takes on paramount importance in central financing is the public attitude to the Community Fund as a whole. This is a composite thing that must be studied on many fronts. The attitude of the "big givers" has always been a special concern of those responsible for federated financing,

and it needs little discussion. Both the large individual contributors and the corporations may perhaps have been regarded with too unflattering an assumption that their donations are not free gifts, an expression of goodwill, but a form of mild coercion. Many of the acts and considerations of policy of the Fund or of its member agencies in the course of the year seem to be devised with a view to whether they might jeopardize continued generous support by these two types of large contributors. While it is true that in many instances this policy is based on sound (and sad) experience, there is no proof that this is universally the case. True philanthropic interest, a kind of sportsmanship, or even cold reason may sufficiently motivate the large contributors, whether they are persons or corporations, to justify a less fearful and over-anxious regard of their sensibilities in community financing. The proceedings of the Conference on the Mobilization of Human Needs held in Washington in September, 1936, should give reasonable assurance on the practical side for this assumption. If, on the other hand, the motivations of big givers are of the kind suggested by this unflattering anxiety over their sensitive attitudes, it is probably better for the welfare of the community to carry on its voluntary social work on a smaller scale but with policies for social action free from control.

The attitude of employee contributors has been touched upon already, and the relative freedom of community financing in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County from undue coercion of employees has been mentioned. Public opinion of the self-conscious county communities has been studied by the Fund authorities, and has been given considerable attention, sometimes with marked success, at other times less fruitfully. It is worth while to draw attention, however, to the peculiar factors represented in this general public attitude by the foreign-born groups. The staff worker responsible for the study of this phase of life in Allegheny County¹⁷ makes some useful observations on this subject. With regard to the purpose, use, and philosophy of a Community Fund, she says, the foreign-born showed confusion of mind and occasionally a good deal of cynicism. Social workers are likely to assume that the aims and principles of social service should appeal to any right-minded person when they are effectively presented. In some instances willingness to contribute to community welfare campaigns is presented as a test of loyalty to the adopted country. Today, for instance, by means of solicitation in each industrial plant new Americans are being asked to contribute to the Community Fund. But the foreign-born tend to regard this rather as a tax which it would not be expedient to refuse to pay.

It should be borne in mind that the majority of foreign-born are men

¹⁷ Mary E. Hurlbutt; chap. vi, *supra*.

and women of peasant background. Since they have been living in America, they have had little opportunity to understand American traditions of philanthropy. It is evident from consideration of the immigrants' fraternal societies that the principle of "mutual aid" is much more familiar to the immigrant and therefore more likely to be implanted by him in the minds of his children than are the concepts typical of American social service. Mutual aid as developed in the lodges always has specifically defined purposes. Every member who pays dues or holds a policy under specified conditions is entitled to help in some definitely defined form. Moreover, receipt of benefits from the fraternal organization carries no stigma or loss of status but comes like the payment from an insurance policy. Finally, the lodges are democratically governed, and the decisions reached, therefore, commend themselves as just to the rank and file of members.

It was found that questions regarding relief frequently caused bewilderment and criticism, although, according to the reports secured, the present system of cash relief according to specified rates seems to them much more satisfactory than the earlier relief in kind and more reasonable and dependable than the kind but unpredictable ways of voluntary agencies.

If contributions to the Community Fund carried similar implications of accustomed reasonableness it would seem an intelligible institution to the average foreign-born man and woman. Almsgiving, the European peasant understands and is apt to feel rather scornful about. Relief provided from government sources is likely to fall into a very different category in his mind. In many European countries it is felt that the ruler should take care of his people in times of distress. The American Government seems to inherit this rôle in the minds of many, particularly those whose experience has included familiarity with pension and insurance systems, long established in some European countries. There, again, if eligibility can be established, relief is a right, and the government is conceived of as a sort of beneficent parent, actively concerned in the well-being of every citizen. American ideas of philanthropy and of public relief have, in the past at least, been motivated by very different concepts, and many of our ideas are puzzling and meaningless even to educated Europeans. Hence, carefully planned educational work, psychologically adapted to meet the immigrant's traditions, will be required before new Americans are likely to be deeply interested in local social work problems.

PUBLIC SUPPORT OF SOCIAL WORK

Governments, whether local, state, or national, do not treat social work as a unit. The services that may be considered as belonging in the category of social work are distributed among departments or bureaus in a

variety of ways depending upon the local administrative system in effect. The problem of financing public social work, therefore, merges into the problem of general governmental and municipal financing and is part of the fields of government, politics, and taxation. Considering the importance of the sums expended, the study of public financing of social services becomes an unavoidable, if difficult, problem, that must be faced by the citizenry interested in social work. At the present time facts with respect to the total of these expenditures and the methods by which they are determined are only partially known and even less well understood by social workers. Appropriations for public health, for example, are made in Allegheny County by the county commissioners, by the City of Pittsburgh, and by each of the one-hundred-odd separate, political subdivisions in the county, each in its own individual way. No central reporting system exists through which these may be compared and totaled. In so far as social work expenditures are part of a school program, data may be obtained for the city of Pittsburgh and for those parts of the school system in the rest of the county that are under the direct control of the county school organization. Without special inquiry they cannot be obtained, however, for a great many school districts independent of the county system. Allegheny County and Pittsburgh budgets contain sundry items for health and social service, distributed among many departments or as special appropriations. It has been only by dint of considerable labor that some approximation to the total for these expenditures for the city and county governments and for some of the other political subdivisions was made possible.¹⁸ There are, moreover, state and Federal funds of considerable size expended in the county in addition to these local appropriations. No machinery exists, however, and no plans are under way by which current figures of this type could be made available to the social work body as a whole so that plans of coördination of public and private social work and the proper support and interest of the citizens with respect to these expenditures might be organized within the entire territory of Allegheny County.¹⁹

No rule of thumb is available by which one may judge the proper amounts and distribution of public appropriations for social work. Only when the needs of the community can be estimated, the legally available resources of local, state, and Federal governments discovered, and the facilities of voluntary agencies calculated as part of an integral plan of service, will intelligent budgeting of tax funds for public welfare be made

¹⁸ The files of the Social Study contain an extensive report of the many difficulties encountered by our special investigator of finances and management in an endeavor to collect and collate the information. In the end only indifferent success can be recorded.

¹⁹ A distribution of various public funds used for outdoor relief will be found on p. 396, *infra*.

possible. Records of the past, in so far as they exist, can give but little guidance. Thus, in 1927, prior to the depression, tax funds were used for social services in the following amounts and proportions:²⁰

	AMOUNT	PERCENT
Total	\$6,728,000	100.0
Relief	2,139,000	31.9
Child protection	278,000	4.1
Recreation	1,469,000	21.6
Health	688,000	10.2
Hospitals	2,157,000	32.1
Miscellaneous	6,000	0.1

By 1934 we find not only new types of expenditures but so complete a dislocation of amounts because of distress following upon the depression that percentages retain little significance and give less guidance. Only

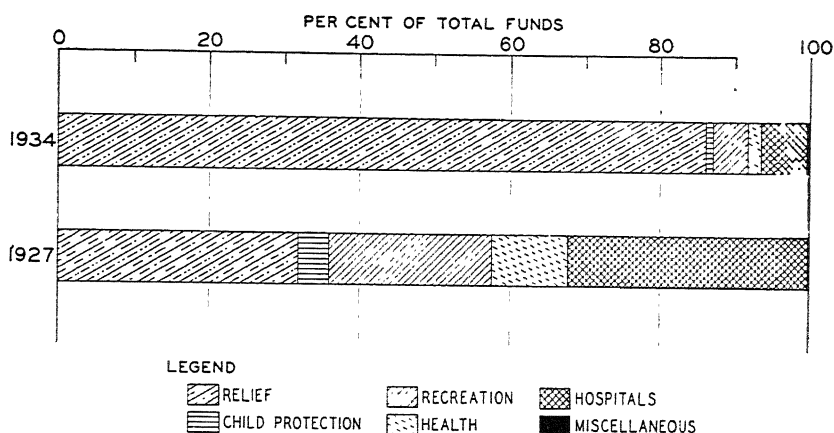


FIGURE 17

DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURES FOR SOCIAL AND HEALTH WORK BY FUNCTION, 1929-34

meticulous and continued study of changing needs and resources will be of help—resources both public and private. Expenditures for social and health work from public sources were distributed as follows in 1934:²⁰

	AMOUNT	PERCENT
Total	\$36,498,000	100.0
Relief	31,442,000	86.2
Child Protection	303,000	0.9
Recreation	1,744,000	4.9
Health	688,000	1.8
Hospitals	2,236,000	6.1
Miscellaneous	85,000	0.3

²⁰ For details see Table 35, p. 390.

In view of the fact that nearly 90 percent of the funds for social work come from public sources, it is particularly important that the budgets of public bodies be carefully studied by all those interested in the work, that they be given extensive publicity and discussion, and that support for necessary appropriations by public bodies be organized wherever desirable. This means a stimulation of true public hearings in connection with budgetary proposals instead of hearings planned merely to meet the technical requirements of the law or designed only as a method of dealing with controversial subjects. Public authorities might well abandon their restricted official observance of the requirements of the law and take the initiative by inviting all organizations and persons interested in certain budgetary units to participate in a true discussion of these budgets. On the other hand, such official initiative can only be counted upon if the interested citizens, either as individuals or as members of boards and as executives of agencies, show their interest by study and discussion and urge upon the public authorities the value of public hearings. It should be part of the routine duties of executives and boards of privately supported agencies to study all public budgets pertaining to their field and to make the necessary preparations for assuring the discussion of those budgets, first, among themselves as agencies, groups of agencies, or divisions of the Federation of Social Agencies, and secondly, after such study, before the public authorities and at budget hearings.

There are at least three sets of local bodies with whom public budgets ought to be discussed in addition to those coming before the state legislature and executive departments: the city of Pittsburgh and the municipalities within the county constitute one group; the county commissioners, another; and the directors of the poor, a third.

There are, in addition, numerous nonlocal bodies under state and Federal government that also provide funds—some regularly, others under a variety of circumstances. Sometimes these appropriations are made under emergency conditions; at other times they result from administrative allotments or legislative action. Always they tend to be haphazard and of dubious adequacy unless consistent attention and follow-up is given by interested citizens and agencies. As we shall see in connection with the history of outdoor relief in the depression years,²¹ between fifteen and twenty different public sources provided funds for relief in amounts ranging from \$575,294, in 1927, to \$29,673,420, in 1934, and constituting of all funds available for these purposes from both public and voluntary funds from 32.7 percent, in 1931, to as high as 97 percent, in 1934.²² These funds came at various times from as many as six Pitts-

²¹ Cf. chap. xv, *infra*.

²² For details see Table 39, p. 395.

TABLE 34

EXPENDITURES FOR MAJOR FUNCTIONS OF SOCIAL AND HEALTH WORK, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SOURCES COMBINED, LESS OPERATING INCOME, 1927-34^a

FUNCTION	EXPENDITURES FOR EACH SPECIFIED FUNCTION IN							
	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
	In thousands of dollars							
Total	11,194	11,485	11,859	13,258	16,299	20,365	28,805	41,031
Relief	3,834	3,721	3,791	4,442	7,563	12,289	20,896	33,112
Protection, children	362	405	390	440	405	377	368	445
Recreation	2,303	2,773	2,905	3,479	3,302	2,562	2,491	2,491
Health	929	941	961	1,037	1,042	1,118	1,085	1,062
Hospitals	3,293	3,293	3,293	3,293	3,322	3,322	3,322	3,322
Coordination	97	92	173	206	264	243	233	237
Miscellaneous	376	260	346	361	401	454	410	362
	Percent							
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Relief	34.3	32.4	31.8	33.4	46.4	60.3	72.6	80.8
Protection, children	3.3	3.6	3.2	3.4	2.5	1.9	1.3	1.1
Recreation	20.4	24.1	24.4	26.2	20.3	12.6	8.6	6.0
Health	8.3	8.2	8.7	7.8	6.4	5.5	3.8	2.6
Hospitals	29.4	28.7	27.6	24.8	20.3	16.3	11.5	8.1
Coordination	0.9	0.8	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.1	0.8	0.5
Miscellaneous	3.4	2.2	2.9	2.8	2.4	2.3	1.4	0.9

^a Compiled from Tables 35-36, pp. 390-92.

TABLE 35
EXPENDITURES FOR MAJOR FUNCTIONS OF SOCIAL AND HEALTH WORK, PUBLIC SOURCES, 1927-34

FUNCTION	AMOUNTS IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS									
	THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS SPENT FOR SPECIFIED FUNCTION IN									
	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934		
Total expenditures	6,728	7,132	7,327	8,402	9,060	12,494	24,017	36,498		
Total given as grants to private agencies	488	542	542	559	827	884	894	843		
Relief	2,139	2,099	2,134	2,654	3,374	7,500	18,977	31,442		
Family, noninstitutional	575	657	622	974	1,600	5,865	17,356	29,673		
Children, noninstitutional										
Direct support	533	449	487	440	514	588	555	575		
Grants	...	4	4	4	4	4	8	9		
Children, institutional										
Direct support	...	...	...	62	62	59	53	51		
Grants	15	30	28	27	30	31	33	36		
Aged, institutional										
Direct support	1,014	957	991	1,127	1,117	873	913	1,076		
Grants	2	2	2	16	16	13	16	15		
Institutions, other										
Grants	...	...	...	4	31	67	43	7		
Protection, children	278	315	294	332	300	252	232	303		
Recreation										
Direct support	1,457	1,823	2,000	2,512	2,395	1,733	1,779	1,743		
Grants	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	1		

TABLE 36

EXPENDITURES FOR MAJOR FUNCTIONS OF SOCIAL AND HEALTH WORK, PRIVATE SOURCES LESS OPERATING INCOME, 1927-34

AMOUNTS IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS									
FUNCTION	THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS SPENT FOR SPECIFIED FUNCTION IN								
	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	
Total expenditures	4,466	4,353	4,532	4,856	7,239	7,871	4,788	4,533	
Relief	1,695	1,622	1,657	1,788	4,189	4,789	1,919	1,670	
Family, noninstitutional	577	549	557	707	3,246	3,890	1,129	876	
Children, noninstitutional	87	73	89	98	107	151	154	170	
Children, institutional	694	688	712	692	600	533	450	443	
Aged, institutional	309	290	283	270	210	191	164	172	
Institutions, other	28	22	16	21	26	24	22	9	
Protection, children	84	90	96	108	105	125	136	142	
Recreation	843	947	903	964	904	826	709	747	
Health	241	253	273	349	354	430	397	374	
Hospitals ^a	1,136	1,136	1,136	1,136	1,086	1,086	1,086	1,086	
Coördination	97	92	173	206	264	243	233	237	
Miscellaneous	370	213	294	305	337	372	308	277	

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION									
FUNCTION	PERCENT OF TOTAL EXPENDED FOR EACH SPECIFIED PURPOSE IN								
	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	
Total expenditures	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Relief	37.9	37.3	36.6	36.8	57.9	60.9	40.1	36.8	
Protection, children	1.9	2.1	2.1	2.2	1.4	1.6	2.8	3.1	
Recreation	18.9	21.7	19.9	19.9	12.5	10.5	14.8	16.5	
Health	5.4	5.8	6.0	7.2	4.9	5.4	8.3	8.3	
Hospitals	25.4	26.1	25.1	23.4	15.0	13.8	22.7	24.0	
Coördination	2.2	2.1	3.8	4.2	3.6	3.1	4.9	5.2	
Miscellaneous	8.3	4.9	6.5	6.3	4.7	4.7	6.4	6.1	

^a Based on information for 1928 and 1933.

TABLE 37

EXPENDITURES FOR MAJOR FUNCTIONS OF SOCIAL AND HEALTH WORK, PRIVATE SOURCES, INCLUDING OPERATING INCOME, 1927-34

AMOUNTS IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS										
FUNCTION	THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS SPENT FOR SPECIFIED FUNCTION IN									
	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934		
Total expenditures	10,331	10,451	10,715	11,036	11,572	11,936	8,738	8,658		
Relief	1,932	1,901	1,919	2,041	4,397	4,971	2,097	1,863		
Family, noninstitutional	601	619	620	781	3,295	3,949	1,177	922		
Children, noninstitutional	112	95	108	115	119	160	165	188		
Children, institutional	801	796	807	781	677	588	510	505		
Aged, institutional	338	314	307	296	255	231	205	218		
Institutions, other	80	77	77	68	51	43	40	30		
Protection, children	84	90	97	107	106	125	136	143		
Recreation	1,355	1,450	1,422	1,540	1,403	1,210	1,019	1,114		
Health	314	336	424	441	462	503	449	450		
Hospitals ^a	5,971	5,971	5,971	5,971	4,222	4,222	4,222	4,222		
Coördination	97	93	174	207	267	246	236	249		
Miscellaneous	578	610	708	729	715	659	579	617		

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION										
FUNCTION	PERCENT OF TOTAL EXPENDED FOR EACH SPECIFIED PURPOSE									
	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934		
Total expenditures	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Relief	18.7	18.2	17.9	18.5	38.0	41.6	24.0	21.5		
Protection, children	0.8	0.9	0.9	1.0	0.9	1.0	1.6	1.6		
Recreation	13.1	13.9	13.3	13.9	12.1	10.2	11.7	12.9		
Health	3.0	3.2	3.9	4.0	4.0	4.2	6.0	5.2		
Hospitals	57.8	57.1	55.7	54.1	36.5	35.4	48.3	48.7		
Coördination	1.0	0.9	1.7	1.9	2.3	2.1	2.7	3.6		
Miscellaneous	5.6	5.8	6.6	6.6	6.2	5.5	6.7	6.4		

^a Based on information for 1928 and 1933.

TABLE 38
EXPENDITURES FOR RELIEF AND FAMILY WELFARE, PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SOURCES, 1927-34
Amounts Given in Thousands of Dollars

YEAR	PRIVATE SOURCES FROM				PUBLIC SOURCES FROM						FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
	TOTAL EXPENDITURES	TOTAL		ALLEGHENY COUNTY	AGENCY FUNDS	AGENCY EMERGENCY ASSOCIATION	CITY	COUNTY		STATE	
		Amount	Percent of public and private					Directors of Poor	General		
1927	1,176	601	50.5	601	...	28	188	190	169	...	
1928	1,276	619	48.5	619	...	28	187	244	198	...	
1929	1,242	620	50.0	620	...	26	158	243	195	...	
1930	1,755	781	44.5	781	...	337	215	231	191	...	
1931	4,895	3,295	67.3	1,286	1,989	361	688	263	288	...	
1932	9,814	3,949	40.2	1,523	2,426	497	614	811	3,440	503	
1933	18,533	1,177	6.3	903	274	1,148	845	371	5,304	9,688	
1934	30,695	922	3.0	773	149	1,840	383	316	4,948	22,186	

TABLE 39
SOURCE OF PUBLIC FUNDS FOR RELIEF AND FAMILY WELFARE, PERCENT DISTRIBUTION, 1927-34

YEAR	PERCENT OF PUBLIC FUNDS FOR EACH YEAR FROM				
	ALL PUBLIC FUNDS	COUNTY			FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
		CITY	<i>Directors of Poor</i>	<i>General</i>	
1927	100.0	4.8	32.7	33.0	29.5
1928	100.0	4.1	28.6	37.2	30.1
1929	100.0	4.2	25.6	38.9	31.3
1930	100.0	34.6	22.1	23.7	19.6
1931	100.0	22.6	43.0	16.4	18.0
1932	100.0	8.5	10.4	13.9	58.7
1933	100.0	6.6	4.8	2.1	56.0
1934	100.0	6.8	1.2	1.0	74.1

TABLE 40
EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC OUTDOOR RELIEF, 1927-34

	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Total	\$575,294	\$655,850	\$620,972	\$973,593	\$1,599,835	\$5,864,900	\$17,357,061	\$29,673,420
Federal	...	...	...	...	...	502,831	9,688,376	22,185,762
A.C.E.R.B.	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,756,000	15,481,000
R.F.C., C.W.A., R.W.D.	...	...	...	...	...	502,831	2,932,376	6,704,762
State	169,491	197,734	194,502	191,068	288,328	3,440,098	5,303,706	4,948,000
Pensions (mother's, blind, old age)	169,491	197,734	194,502	191,068	288,328	332,000	248,000	450,000
First Talbot Act	...	...	...	...	...	1,592,954	...	...
A.C.E.R.B.	...	...	...	...	...	1,504,000	4,933,000	4,498,000
Highway Department	...	...	...	...	...	11,144	122,706	...
County	190,033	243,663	242,471	230,631	263,035	811,504	372,498	316,284
Pensions (mother's, old age)	190,033	243,663	242,471	230,631	263,035	311,504	372,498	316,284
Road repair	...	...	...	...	...	500,000	...	...
City	27,683	27,524	26,095	337,153	360,595	496,808	1,147,582	1,840,297
A.C.E.A, A.C.E.R.B.	...	...	...	200,000	75,000	332,247	538,732	512,415
Bond issue work relief	...	...	...	94,917	204,933	32,722	459,375	1,261,142
Schools	...	...	2,029	13,995	55,550	109,162	96,251	39,147
City physicians	...	...	15,068	16,269	17,238	15,479	21,971	15,591
Quarantine relief and burials	15,020	15,012	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pastor treatments	6,513	4,037	2,998	4,997	3,891	4,789	7,440	8,461
Directors of the poor	6,150	8,475	6,000	6,975	3,983	2,409	3,813	3,541
Outdoor relief	188,087	186,929	157,904	214,741	687,877	613,659	844,899	383,077
District physicians	172,223	170,514	142,509	198,547	668,000	583,000	781,378	328,000
Burials	14,264	14,758	13,825	14,316	15,227	22,994	53,879	43,646
	1,600	1,657	1,570	1,878	4,650	7,665	9,642	11,431

burgh municipal allocations, five county funds, four state funds, and several Federal designations. No expenditures for health, hospitals, recreation, or institutional care are included in these amounts. Thus the extent, importance, and range of public support clearly exceed, at least quantitatively, that of voluntary support of social work and leave no justification for the meager attention that social workers have given to budgets, appropriating bodies, and technical procedures of the public authorities sponsoring work in their field. Even if 1934 be considered as an atypical and extreme year in this respect, the time is not far off when the attention of lay and professional citizens interested in social work must be directed to the effective and economical disposition of public funds, even more than to that of voluntary contributions, through the work of individual agencies, groups of agencies, the Community Fund, and the Federation of Social Agencies.

For our present purposes specific financial support from public sources is of particular interest in the fields of public health administration, care of the sick, and outdoor relief. Further details will therefore be found in later chapters dealing with these subjects.²³

²³ Cf. chaps. xv, xviii, and xix, *infra*.

CHAPTER XI

PLANNING AND COÖRDINATION OF SOCIAL WORK

Functional planning and coördination as duties of agencies and of coördinative bodies.—Planning for special groups of socially disadvantaged.—Coördination of social work, related to planning.—Federation of Social Agencies, its organization and services.—Bureau of Social Research.—Committee organization under the Federation.—Budgeting and social planning.—Sectarian bodies for planning and coördination.—Community councils for local planning and coördination.—Pittsburgh City Community Councils.—County Councils.—Agency attitudes toward Community Councils.—Personnel of the Community Councils and relation to coördinative agencies.—Summary, evaluation, and recommendations concerning Community Councils.—Interpretation and publicity for social work as a part of social planning.—What newspaper readers were told.—What the public was told over the radio.—What was told the public through various channels.—The newspaper as an outlet for social information.—The radio as a channel for public information.—Class publications.—House organs of social agencies.—Other channels for social work interpretation.

THERE HAS been a tendency during these years of expansion of community chests and councils to assume that coördination and planning of social work are largely synonymous; that both are the natural functions of councils of social agencies and central financing, that the perfect union of these two coördinative activities will spell all that is significant in the planning of social work for a community. This assumption implies that the programs and functions of social agencies themselves are self-justifying; that by and large all necessary functions in the field of social work are being performed; that if gaps are discovered, further coördination or the creation of a new agency is indicated. To many it implies that the work of voluntary agencies is all there is to social work, while public agencies constitute merely "resources," or "problems," or else part of the civic environment, such as fire and police departments. That, on the contrary, the tasks of social work are defined by the changing conditions, economic, social, political, cultural, of a living and variegated community, responsive to forces both within its own local history and current in state and national affairs, has only slowly permeated the functional agencies or their coördinative instruments—councils and chests.

Planning has been to a considerable extent merely adjusting mosaics of social agencies, each occupying its allotted space in an existing picture, each autonomous as to existence and program. Planning as a continuous study of changing community needs, an evaluation of existing services, a revamping of programs, a proposal of new services and elimination of obsolete ones, planning in full recognition, if not acceptance, of the changes in a changing world is a task still but little familiar to "coördinating agencies" in social work.

Because, however, coördination as practiced by these agencies does have an aspect of planning, whether by conference or by financial budgeting, and because they have achieved a certain degree of planning in the larger sense as well, they are often regarded as pre-empting that function altogether. Agencies responsible for specific services—relief, medical care, recreation—tend to cleave to the performance of these services and to leave responsibility for community planning, even with respect to their own types of service, to councils, chests, or other organizations. The adaptation of agency services to needs must suffer if it is assumed that coördinating agencies can carry a greater responsibility for planning than they can possibly accept and if the agencies focus their attention too intensively on their allotted service task. In the chapters which constitute the major portion of this part of the report planning is the center of attention, planning of social work functions within their particular fields: relief, personal adjustment, child care, care of the sick, public health administration, leisure time activities. Such planning must primarily be the task of the organizations that have direct operative responsibility for the tasks of social work. The coördinative agency need not, of course, nor can it shed all responsibility for planning. It provides the machinery through which the agencies can implement and promote their plans; it is a transmitting agency that interprets planning from one type of service to another; it may initiate plans and introduce them to agency groups in so far as its own contacts, its research activities, and the imagination and energy of its staff provide the impetus. It may also, and experience cumulatively shows that it should, translate lay ideas and those emerging in other fields—politics, government, economics, psychology, and public opinion—into stimulation for far-sighted planning by the social agencies of the community.

Whatever success a soundly balanced division of planning functions between chest or council and operative agency may bring about—and to this much of the present chapter will be devoted—there are other varieties of planning that require a different approach and different implementation. They include in addition to coördination and its corollaries: (*a*) planning for special groups of the community that suffer social handicaps

(b) geographical or neighborhood planning, and (c) the effectuation of planning by sound and adequate interpretation of social work to the community at large.

PLANNING FOR SPECIAL GROUPS OF SOCIALLY DISADVANTAGED

Two types of social handicap (distinct from individual handicaps, physical or mental) have been given special attention in previous chapters: foreign birth or culture and racial difference. What instruments does the community provide for planning the social work needs of the groups that present these handicaps? What considerations underlie the possibilities of progress in this sort of planning?

The modern American community is faced by a difficult paradox in this field. Its form of government imposes the theory of absolute legal and social equality, based on a philosophy of which equalitarianism is the corner stone, but the government actually is conducted by people whose tradition and legal system set apart and favor those in control of property. The theory says there must be no underdog—economic, racial, or ethnic—but individual ambition and group interest drive us to deny in practice what we avow and demand in theory. Out of this paradox grow two methods for combatting the discriminations imposed upon foreigner and Negro. One is the promotion of organized strength within these groups—which necessarily fosters an intensification of the differences, but which makes for moral strength and self-respect in the disadvantaged group; the other attempts on the part of the group in control to help remove the very discriminations and handicaps to the minority groups which they themselves impose. Both methods are actually in use, advocated and supported by diverse persons; both methods have dangers, as well as advantages. Reference has been made to the first of these ways in enumerating some of the cultural organizations and social activities of the nationality communities.¹ The second method is exemplified in our field of interest by certain social agencies devoted to the interest of “new Americans” and of Negroes, specifically the International Institute and the Urban League.

The full significance of these agencies and an estimate of their importance in the community may be apparent only after considering certain characteristics of a large section of social and health work as it now exists. In the realm of social services, as well as in the community at large, discrimination abounds—more against the Negro than against the foreigner, but appreciably against both. This represents the greatest and bitterest paradox of social work and the severest reflection upon its voluntary sponsorship. For discrimination by race, color, creed, or nationality is the very antithesis of charity, and the favoring of one group more than

¹ Cf. chap. vi, *supra*.

another is the ultimate contradiction of social work unless the favored group is the more disadvantaged, the least well-conditioned. When a social agency conducts its policies with observance of and within the framework of existing prejudices, it gives itself the lie as an institution established to serve those most in need—the weakest and most defenseless. It is quite possible, then, that if social work were true to its purpose, there would be but little necessity for an International Institute or an Urban League.

The benefits that social agencies may offer to clients can be classified under four principal headings: economic relief, medical aid, social case work, leisure time opportunity. In each of these fields discrimination is practiced, especially against the Negro, less against the foreign-born. The latter find that they are restricted more in the professional fields, with regard to politics, commerce, and social acceptability.

In the provision of economic relief, discrimination is not so obvious. The family societies and child placement services, both public and voluntary, are notably free from prejudicial practices, except in the frequent acceptance of differential standards of assistance. There is, however, a pronounced inferiority in the standards of direct care to Negro children in existing institutions organized exclusively to serve them, while practically all other children's institutions² exclude Negroes. In the field of medicine severe restrictions are practiced, some by omission, that is, by failure to provide obviously important clinical and hospital services,³ some by relative exclusion of an informal kind, manifested in the percentage distribution of Negroes in voluntary hospitals, others by the practical refusal to grant professional opportunities to Negro physicians and nurses in medical institutions. The practice of social case work shows relatively the least discrimination in relief agencies, in medical social work, in the Juvenile Court, and in children's case work agencies. The principal omission in this field lies in the inadequate extension of services and personnel to render them commensurate to the greater needs of the Negro.

Similarly, the unequal service to the foreign-born group results, as has been pointed out elsewhere, from the failure of case work agencies to give deliberate thought and study to the culture of their ethnically varied clients or to employ properly prepared personnel equipped with acquaintance and understanding of the ways and traditions of old-country life. In the leisure time field, where the differences between client and general public are least apparent, the discriminations inherent in general public opinion are given wider sway in the control of the policies of social agencies. Examples of this practice have been given elsewhere.⁴ The result is that the Negro child and adult lack opportunities of wholesome

² Cf. chap. xvii, *infra*.

³ Cf. chap. xviii, *infra*.

⁴ Cf. chap. vi, *supra*.

recreation, indoor or outdoor, public or voluntary, to an extent far more serious than an already severe shortage of such opportunities for the general public necessarily prescribes. In some parts of the leisure time field, particularly in summer camp facilities, where economic relief, health service, and group work coincide, the discriminatory omission of opportunities for Negro children is a condition bordering on disgraceful.

The foreign-born and their children do not suffer by comparison with the Negro. They seem in fact, from a superficial view, to be even better off than their American fellow citizens. Settlements and community centers make much of the obviously picturesque differences of culture than can be visualized in plays, pageants, and musical festivals and can be woven into the programs of group work agencies.

For the immigrant group—the new Americans—no central outstanding agency has provided a type of planning and leadership which would assure the maximum benefit of community resources and the most effective removal of the social handicaps under which these newcomers and their children labor. So far as planning for this group has been crystallized at all, the International Institute may be regarded as the most important factor, though it is far from having fully developed its potentialities in this direction. International Institutes—of which there are two in Allegheny County, one in Pittsburgh, and one in McKeesport—are planning and interpreting agencies and also service agencies. Service comprises group work with cultural objectives,⁵ and individual treatment for persons or families experiencing difficulties of adjustment.⁶ Planning activities revolve around the influencing of other social agencies for a more suitable adaptation of their work to the special needs of the foreign group (which in turn renders the latter more receptive) and interpreting old and new Americans to each other for more fruitful and coöperative work.

The origin of International Institutes dates back to the strenuous period of speedy Americanization which preceded the World War and was accelerated by it. They owe their beginnings to efforts for building up a helpful program on behalf of foreign-born women and girls in 1912 under the leadership of Edith Terry Bremer of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association. The Pittsburgh International Institute was organized in 1918, gained its first support from the National War Work Council, and was an activity of the Y.W.C.A. organization.⁷ War conditions soon gave these programs a new turn and greater impetus. By reason of the nature of its leadership the International Institute never fell into the error of compulsory Americanization. The healthful development

⁵ Cf. chap. xx, *infra*. ⁶ Cf. chap. xvi, *infra*.

⁷ At the time of this study the International Institute was still conducted within the Y.W.C.A., although plans for its separate maintenance were being discussed.

of its ultimate program has suffered rather from the too-generous opportunity afforded it in the War days of giving direct service to a large clientele and from the availability of practically unlimited resources at that time.

This orientation of the Institute into service channels has made it one of the most valuable social agencies and has given opportunity for developing and utilizing much knowledge about immigration programs, ethnic groups, and local resources. The same fact, however, has kept it from serving the community as guide and mentor in long-range planning for a comprehensive program of service to new Americans. There is, therefore, no concerted, unified, coöperative planning for a goal of greater integration of new and old Americans in the community, of more effective service to the former by agencies designed for the community at large. In the plans for creating a more effective instrument for this purpose, as recommended by the present study,⁸ the International Institute is recognized as having the greatest assets and potentialities of any agency active in the field; but without a substantial reorientation of its program these potentialities may prove sterile and deceptive.

For the Negro a far better adapted and more pointedly effective planning body has come into being in the form of the Urban League of Pittsburgh. While not without inadequacies and while it has made some futile efforts to provide both service and guidance, the Urban League gives promise of fulfilling its mission more directly and fruitfully.

Historically the Pittsburgh Urban League has risen, indeed, from a recognition of need for specific service. A committee bearing the name "Council for Social Service among Negroes," was organized within the Associated Charities to sponsor the employment of a Negro worker for service to Negroes in the Associated Charities under a committee that was to operate in the same manner as district councils or district committees of that association. This Council was transformed into the Urban League, in 1918. The present Urban League program does not include family case work services, placement for children requiring care away from their own homes, the management of orphanages or other children's institutions; it takes no responsibility for care of aged Negroes, for conducting hospitals, clinics, employment agencies, summer camps, convalescent homes, or other recognized social services. Its chief activities are educational, promotional, and interpretative. It does, however, carry on group work activities, particularly recreation. The logic of this exception is not quite clear. There is no obvious reason why this form of service activity is any more justified than relief or case work. It may be pointed out that leisure time opportunities are among the greatest needs unmet for the

⁸ Cf. chap. xxi, *infra*.

Negro population. But the question is not whether any particular service is more justified than another, but whether any service, except for experimental or demonstration purposes, can make enough of an impression upon the total need to justify the diversion of available funds from the League's primary function of study, planning, interpretation and promotion. A service program may, in fact, create an unhealthy sort of complacency on the part of the community, a sense that things are being taken care of because services needed by the Negro are apparently being supplied by an organization for Negroes.

This tendency to regard the special agency as the sole instrument of service and to lose the sense of obligation to and responsibility for democratic—and philanthropic—inclusiveness is strikingly illustrated by a statement quoted by the executive of the Urban League in a communication submitting certain observations to the sponsors of the present study.⁹ The statement, quoted in part below, is contained in a letter dated February 28, 1934, signed by Grace L. Stoakes, chief probation officer of the Juvenile Court:

The service of the Juvenile Court to its colored wards has been seriously handicapped because of insufficient colored personnel properly equipped to do the work. Our two colored workers (both women) are both carrying extremely heavy loads and they both realized that it is humanly impossible for them to cover the ground.

Do you think it would be possible for us to have, through your League, the assistance previously offered? (A colored male probation worker to be paid from private funds but to be officially recognized as an officer of the Court.) I am sure Judge Schramm would consider the League's offer and I can assure you it will be a fine service to the colored children of this community.

The situation gains additional significance from the fact that the Urban League is a member of the Community Fund, as are several voluntary case work agencies intended to serve children, that both the court and the league are in the Federation of Social Agencies, that the budgets of the Urban League and the case work agencies concerned are examined and granted by the same body.¹⁰ Having established an Urban League, social agencies seem to take it for granted that they "needn't bother" any more with the problem of the Negro, overlooking even that all-important compass by which their own ships are constantly navigated, the budget. Mr. Moss's comments in the letter in which the above quotation occurs, indicates the continuing obligation that social agencies seem to have despite the

⁹ Addressed by R. Maurice Moss, executive secretary of the Urban League of Pittsburgh, on behalf of the Association of Negro Social Workers, to Isabel P. Kennedy, secretary of the Citizens' Committee on the Social Study, pointing to certain conditions in Negro juvenile delinquency and the need for more professional service in that field.

¹⁰ The unsatisfactory organization of the Community Fund's budgetary system as related to social planning is discussed in some detail in chap. x, *supra*.

existence of the Urban League or even more because of it by reason of the assistance that it may give to their own work among the Negro contingent of their clients. "There is no such thing as Catholic delinquency or Negro delinquency," he says, "and no reason to treat each separately save in the relatively minor details of placement, religious training. . . ."

The validity of this theory underlies the social planning characteristics of the Urban League, and its program serves therefore to advance the attainment of equal opportunity for the Negro to access to the benefits of community life. Its chief instruments are research,¹¹ education, and publicity. These activities and the necessary "community organization" and group pressure required for the realization of programs makes the league an essential instrument for social work planning for the socially handicapped. It has demonstrated its capacity for this type of service and needs but to extend and enrich it through more generous financial resources than are now afforded it.

COÖRDINATION OF SOCIAL WORK RELATED TO PLANNING

The history of social work in the past half century is replete with efforts to introduce order into the charitable activities of communities and states. Overlapping and interference became frequent as the concentration of population and the natural processes of imitation multiplied the separate agencies endeavoring to give service. Situations occurred again and again in which the interest of the client seemed to be in danger of being crowded out by the multiplicity of efforts in his behalf by competing organizations. This increase in the apparent interest on those requiring help did not necessarily make for greater efficiency, nor did the multiplicity of agencies insure against gaps in the provision of services really needed. In some cases there developed instead the tendency to demoralize and pauperize the client and at the same time to neglect his basic interest. Order and planning became as important as the rendering of services.

Efforts to introduce system into the situation occurred in local communities and in state and national bodies. Community attempts of a discernible nature have tended to take on somewhat similar form in the Anglo-Saxon countries since a beginning was made in London by the establishment of the Charity Organization Society in the third quarter of the last century. In recent decades in this country coördinating instruments have taken the form mostly of councils of social agencies or of community chests.¹² Under whatever name and in whatever form they appeared, the chief functions which they have attempted to perform are:

¹¹ An impressive list of nearly thirty studies conducted under the sponsorship of the Urban League, in Pittsburgh, is in the files of the Social Study.

¹² The task of central financing is discussed in chap. x, *supra*.

1. Fitting together of the programs of agencies, that is, coördination
2. Filling of gaps by stimulating the creation of new agencies or the expansion of functions of existing ones
3. Building up solidarity in the family of social agencies for more effective public interpretation and for participation in social reform
4. Encouraging improvement in professional standards and personnel
5. Inaugurating or expanding study of community conditions
6. Introduction of common services, particularly of the type represented by the Social Service Exchanges

These functions have become so well known in the field of professional social work that they require no further elaboration.

The earliest movements for coördination in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County focused upon the creation of individual agencies that were to emphasize coöperative action as one of their functions, but which later, as activities in their immediate areas developed, lost this emphasis. Such were the Women's Christian Association, organized in 1868 under the leadership of Dwight Moody, and the Association for the Improvement of the Poor, organized in 1875. In general, this was also the history of the Family Society.

In 1891, some twenty years after the first Charity Organization Society was established in the United States, and again in 1898 unsuccessful attempts were made in Pittsburgh to establish a similar agency. The Civic Club, to which belongs the credit for many forward-looking community plans and which had been back of the 1898 proposals, tried again to bring churches and charitable agencies together, in 1907, and brought about the appointment of a committee of fifteen to federate the philanthropies of the city. As a result the Associated Charities was created in 1908 as an agency for coördinating philanthropic endeavor. Like most agencies of its kind the Associated Charities soon began to narrow its coördinative functions and to undertake the task, which it had first disavowed, of actually supplying material relief to families under care, and it soon became a case work and relief giving agency.

A central council of the Associated Charities, intended to be the general instrument of coördination, was organized in 1909 and it continued some form of existence until 1917, having an agency membership which at times reached seventy-five. As one of its first activities the new Associated Charities established the Social Service Exchange, through which co-operation in behalf of individual clients was made possible. Unfortunately, even this necessary coöperative service succumbed to the community's special genius for "flocking apart" and sometime after 1915 a separate social service exchange was organized by an opposition group under the name Coöperative Welfare Association.

The present Federation of Social Agencies was organized in 1922

through the effort of forward-looking social workers who saw the absurdity of having two social service exchanges and who felt the need for more extensive coöperative action. Its first task was the combination of the two exchanges and the maintenance of this activity continued to be its primary interest until 1925. It became evident, however, that coördination was essential along many other lines and that to achieve it, executive leadership was essential. In 1925 an experienced worker in the field of community organization was engaged as executive and in a period of eight years built up many coöperative activities. Its history during the ensuing decade shows how difficult is the struggle to translate the theory of coöperation into fact.

In 1928 the Community Fund (then called the Welfare Fund) was organized as a further effort to coördinate voluntary social work principally by means of joint financing. Many communities, recognizing the inseparable relationship between joint financing and coördination of agencies, as well as the inevitable bearing of these upon the planning of the community's social work, have integrated in one way or another federated financing and the functions of a council as a planning agency. There has always been strong opposition, as we have seen, in the history of Pittsburgh's philanthropy,¹³ to all forms of coöperative effort, and there was even stronger opposition on the part of some of the more powerful social agencies to participation in joint financing. Nevertheless, the Fund has grown and prospered and has had its inevitable effect on coördination and planning. It has introduced new problems, however, because of the difficulties involved in adjusting its functions to those of the Federation of Social Agencies,¹⁴ because it inevitably emphasized the separateness of voluntary from tax-supported activities, and because it has tended even more than has the Federation of Social agencies to crystallize the *status quo* of organized voluntary social work by virtually endorsing the existence and programs of its constituent agencies.

FEDERATION OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

The future planning of social work in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County must to a considerable extent become the obligation of the Federation of Social Agencies. In this task the constituent agencies of the Federation must share responsibility, but guidance and leadership will have to be concentrated in the administration of the Federation. To render this achievement possible at least three conditions are essential.

First, that social agencies, both public and private, shall recognize the

¹³ Cf. chap. x, *supra*.

¹⁴ Its form of organization is actually parallel in many ways and seems to have been constructed on the theory that it was to carry on a considerable part of the work for which the Federation had been organized.

value of coöperative and of coöordinated action; that they shall seek to participate through the Federation in joint studies of needs and services in their respective areas, in efforts to analyze and coördinate their respective functions, and in developing significant areas of joint activity. To achieve this end the Federation as an organization and with regard to its personnel, lay and professional, must enjoy the confidence and the willing coöperation of social agencies, of public officials, of the Community Fund, and of the community as a whole. In the light of previous history this is no easy goal to reach. No rules can be laid down for its attainment, and the extent to which it is realized will reflect to determination and the capacities all lay and professional social workers in the community.

The second essential is that the Federation shall successfully represent the common interest and aspirations of social work and of its constituent agencies, whether this be in relation to the press, public officials, legislators, board members, or to the clientele of the agencies themselves. To a considerable extent this representative capacity of the Federation depends on the organization of its committees. Special and standing committees, as they already exist or as they may be created, constitute the channel for carrying out this function.

The third essential is appropriate structure in the organization of the Federation.

Organization of the Federation of Social Agencies.—Unlike the Community Fund and individual agencies, the Federation is not incorporated. Its members are “agencies carrying on civic or philanthropic work in Allegheny County,” and total membership in October, 1935, numbered 127.¹⁵ The members are represented by two delegates each, one of whom is the executive officer and the other a lay director or member of the advisory board. The delegate body includes in addition not more than thirty delegates-at-large. Ten of these are elected each year for terms of three years. The purposes of the organization are stated in its by-laws (adopted May 26, 1931), as being, “to promote coöperation among the social agencies of Pittsburgh and vicinity for improvement of social conditions and to develop an adequate welfare program.” In pursuit of these objectives the by-laws define the activities of the Federation to be “research into social conditions and social facilities, undertaking the promotion of group thinking and joint planning, appropriate measures for the raising of standards of social service, and the development of public understanding and support of social work.” A board of directors consisting of thirty-nine persons is entrusted with the management of the affairs of the Federation, thirty of them to be chosen from the delegates of the member agencies and nine

¹⁵ This number is not permanent but does not change much from year to year.

from the delegates-at-large. Of the latter, three must be directors of the Community Fund.

Membership is attained by formal action of the Board of Directors and payment of an annual fee of \$10. There is no technical definition of what constitutes an agency and certain anomalous situations occur, such as the holding of a membership by the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies itself, while each of its affiliated agencies also is a member. Public bodies, regardless of the size or importance of their activities, have the same rights and the same representation as do the smallest and most specialized agencies. With the exception of the provision that three members of the Board of Directors chosen from the delegates-at-large must be members of the Community Fund board, no provision is made by which representation is assured to other important bodies in the field of public relief, recreation, and health. In this respect the situation is similar to that in the Community Fund, both organizations having structures based on the assumption of inherent equality of social agencies.

Two ways of adjustment seem possible: one, a definition of social agencies which allows a reasonable increase in the number of representatives of public agencies; the other the deliberate inclusion on the board of directors of the Federation of representatives from public social work. It is true that they do not now clamor for representation. Deliberate efforts are desirable, therefore, on the part of the Federation of Social Agencies to bring them into greater participation. Probably one-third, at least, of the Board of Directors of the Federation should represent public social work in one form or another. In time it may represent more. Provisions for a readjusted representation of this kind may be made either by revision of by-laws or informally by change of practice.

The operative machinery of the Federation as set up clearly reflects its objectives and activities as described in its by-laws. In addition to the usual officers there is provision for an executive secretary who is "in full charge and control of the entire work of the Federation, subject to the approval of the Board of Directors. Such staff members as may be appointed by the executive secretary work under his direction."

In accordance with the generally accepted patterns of such bodies the Federation comprises "divisions" and service departments. The divisions consist of agencies declaring themselves interested in a particular field of social work. Agencies may be members of a division without holding membership in the Federation. For instance, of the forty-four agencies belonging to the Group Work Division in 1935, eight were not members of the Federation. Of the sixty-eight organizations included in the Child Welfare Division, twenty-nine were not members of the Federation. The divisions determine their own programs and policies and carry on their

activities through councils composed of a lay and professional representative from each member agency and members-at-large chosen at the discretion of the council. The division councils elect their own officers, and the chairmen become ex-officio members of the board of the Federation. Divisions are served by division secretaries appointed by the executive secretary and responsible to him. The services of the division secretaries are available for consultation on problems confronting individual agencies.

The actual organization of divisions has taken place in relation to successive developments in the community. The first division to be organized was that dealing with group work activities. This division was in a sense successor to the Girls' Conference, which was created in 1929, later absorbed the Boys' Work Council, and eventually became the Group Work Division of the Federation. The division secretary recently directed a large recreational and leisure time service that was made possible through work relief funds and municipal appropriations. This division has maintained close relations with the City Department of Recreation and has helped to organize public support for its budget. It has also developed the Camp Council which includes representation from all the agencies that conduct summer camps. It is one of the best illustrations of standard-making potentialities of the Federation. Standards for camp costs and program essentials have been worked out, and joint purchasing for them has been discussed by the Community Fund. No change seems necessary in this regard, since both orientation and procedure are in keeping with the best practice.

The Child Welfare Division was organized in 1930, subsequent to a study of child welfare which was conducted by the Federation in 1929 with funds supplied by the Community Fund. A full-time secretary was employed for the division, in 1933, who has been developing a program of activity with children's agencies and institutions. Sixty-eight agencies are members of this division, forty-five of whom conduct institutions for the care of dependent children. Among the activities of the division have been the development of institutes on problems of child behavior attended by members of boards of directors and staffs of agencies; conferences with staff and committees to confer on problems arising in the institutional care of children; service to public departments in assisting to develop standards of personnel and service. In accordance with recommendations already transmitted by the Social Study this division is to be replaced by a Family and Child Welfare Division. This represents a deviation from traditional organization in councils of social agencies but is in accordance with technical developments in the field of dependency and social case work and is in keeping with changes proposed elsewhere in the programs of the local agencies. The technical problems of case work agencies that

offer assistance to families or to individuals, to adults or to children, or that undertake responsibility for the placement of children in substitute homes are so similar that much more constructive development can be effected by minimizing what is in the main an historical difference rather than an actual one in modern social work. An additional reason for the combination of the family and children's field rests in the development of the public relief system and the administration of social security legislation. The already existing mothers' assistance service is, for example, unquestionably in both the family and child welfare field. Dependent children are to be found as clients of the public relief activities and among the clients of the Juvenile Court.

The principal block of specialties in this field of case work service is represented by the institutions for children, which present peculiar problems of their own. This special need should be recognized by creating a section on institutions within the Family and Child Welfare Division. From the standpoint of the size of the task involved in the coördination service to institutions this section might easily be regarded as an independent division. However, the institutions need coördination and clarification of program, not only with regard to each other, but even more with regard to agencies dealing with people in their own homes.

In addition to a section on institutions, certain technical interests in this field may require the development of special committees or groups within the proposed division. At the present time the following groups or committees represent a minimum requirement for technical development.

Sections or conferences on:

1. Problems of relief
2. Case work practice
3. Child care institutions and agencies
4. Institutions and agencies for the care of the aged

In some communities a division on health activities comparable to the other divisions already mentioned carry on the coördinating functions within the field of medical care and public health. The existence in Pittsburgh of the General Health Council and of the Hospital Conference¹⁶ preclude the necessity or even the desirability of a formal health division in the Federation of Social Agencies. On the other hand, neither of these agencies has developed its own field very far. They have to a very limited extent, if at all, developed working relations with other social agencies active in the field of medical care or health. As yet the Federation has more natural and effective contacts with many health agencies, such as the Public Health Nursing Association and the Bureau of Vital Statistics of the Health Department. It is desirable, therefore, that the Federation

¹⁶ See chap. xviii, *infra*.

continue to participate actively in the further development of the health work in the County. To this end it is proposed¹⁷ that a nursing committee or council be organized, that the Bureau of Social Research continue its activities in the health field, that hospital social workers be affiliated with the Federation and that, in general, aid be given in the development of unity in that part of the field in which social work and health services have common interests. For those members of the staff of health agencies who carry on health education, or service activities in the homes of the disadvantaged, such as visiting nurses and hospital social service workers, this relation might be achieved through a section of the Family and Child Welfare Division. It is further suggested for this purpose that a member of the staff of the Federation be assigned to devote a stated block of time to the development of the Federation's interest in medical care and public health, this person to establish liaison relations with the Hospital Conference, the General Health Council, and other agencies as the natural growth of common interest may render possible.

SERVICES OF THE FEDERATION OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

The Social Service Exchange.—This Exchange was the most important factor in the early organization of the Federation and constitutes the most continuous single service that has been carried on. It has an advisory committee of representative agencies using the Exchange. The traditional function of the Exchange is well understood and is being carried on in the usual way. A fairly extensive use is made of the Exchange by agencies in the case work field, but the number of other agencies using it should be considerably increased. Moreover, more emphasis is needed on the use of the information so secured for sound coöperative planning for service to individuals. Further efforts might also be made to interest nonprofessional agencies in the use of the Exchange. Improvement of the mechanical efficiency is contemplated, and the possibility of using it as a means of compiling basic service statistics is being considered by the Research Bureau of the Federation.

The Bureau of Social Research.—The Bureau was organized in 1929 and financed for the first three years by the Buhl Foundation. It has functioned from its inception as a department of the Federation of Social Agencies and has become integrated with its social planning program. At first its activities tended in the direction of sociological inquiries on the border line of social work, such as census-tract studies, general population studies, and statistical inquiries in kindred fields. With the assumption of responsibility for the central registration of social work statistics in connection with the statistical service of the United States Children's Bureau, a closer approxi-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

mation to practical social work research took place. Occasional special inquiries on the distribution of services of agencies made at the request of the Community Fund and finally the undertaking of the Health Appraisal Study brought the Bureau into still closer association with the type of research directly related to social planning activities. A considerable amount of material arising out of the Bureau's studies has been published in its bulletin and in several valuable monographs. The Bureau has been practically indispensable to the Social Study, the activities of which are entirely related to social work planning.

There is an advisory committee of the Bureau. It has not, however, been very successfully integrated with its operations. The membership is composed of persons interested in social research at the universities or connected with research programs in business or financial institutions.

In Pittsburgh, as elsewhere, the Bureau of Social Research faces certain alternative possibilities with respect to the extent to which it may become a bureau for the scientific study of social conditions or a technical bureau subserving the organizational needs of the Federation. In the light of its relation to the organization of social work it must primarily serve the latter purpose, while relating itself to the maximum extent possible to scientific inquiries into the social and economic life of the community. This general principle carries with it several implications. First, that the Bureau need not have a large permanent professional staff for social work research. It should rather expand from time to time as the needs of special research projects may demand. Projects should in the main come out of the experience of agencies and be submitted by them to the Federation of Social Agencies as research proposals. Selection of such projects should constitute an administrative choice on the part of the Federation before they are handed over for technical pursuit to the Bureau of Social Research. The personnel required for projects should be recruited as the tasks may require, and to the maximum extent the personnel in the agencies whose special experience might qualify them for such work under the direction of the technical staff of the Bureau should be utilized. Research budgets, therefore, should be flexible. Some arbitrary amount should be allotted annually as a revolving fund, this amount deliberately to be kept low subject to expansion as projects seem justified. A goodly portion of additional funds may be provided merely by the transfer of agency personnel to research projects.

These details of organization, important as they are in an administrative review of the Federation machinery are, however, of relatively less significance than the larger question of the relation of research to social work planning.

Research as related to planning.—Theoretically the importance of research

has been recognized in social work as it has in industry, in government, and in other fields of social endeavor. In the practical application of this theory certain difficulties arise which are still far from being solved. First, for practical application the benefits of research seem so remote that budgeting bodies find it consistently difficult to devote the dollar to research when an alternate investment in food, shelter, or direct services seems a possibility. This is a fundamental difficulty, in dealing with which little success can be expected while alternatives for expenditures for direct services exist and while the support for both is obtained by appeal to the public. It is for this reason that so much research is financed from special funds or by foundations. As a department of the Federation of Social Agencies the Bureau of Social Research was organized and at first supported exclusively by funds contributed by the Buhl Foundation.

Having once hurdled the question of funds, we find that the problem of a suitable program is perhaps even more difficult. One of the many factors involved in this difficulty is the growth of central coördinating agencies. These bodies have tended to absorb many of the functions previously exercised by the individual agencies. This has been true particularly of those agencies which, in addition to direct service, carried on studies of living conditions, and of special problems of the poor, such as housing, extent of illness, delinquency, and so forth. The history of the family social work movement, for example, and the Charity Organization movement manifest as much activity in this field of study as in particular succor given to the individual clients. Family agencies have gained their peculiar place in the field of social work as its typical representatives and in a sense its spokesman by the combination of these functions of research and direct assistance. To a lesser degree, but otherwise in similar fashion, children's agencies, settlements and neighborhood houses, and public health nursing organizations have shared this characteristic. As the creation of "chests" and councils inevitably forced coördination and planning prominently into their function, research as an auxiliary to planning tended more and more to become the natural and necessary activity of these central agencies. The content of research as thus gradually absorbed by coördinating agencies tended at first to be of a technical nature in which uniform statistics, measurement of volume of expenditures, geographical distribution of services and various aspects bearing the combined interests of social worker and sociologist were prominent. Theoretically, there seems to have been no reason for the discontinuance of research into living conditions by the outstanding service agencies in the field. Actually, the tendency for setting up research organizations under different auspices and the corresponding processes of budgetary allocation imperceptibly thinned the research activities of the service agencies in favor of the coördinating

bodies. This movement was further abetted by the growing interest of service agencies in case work technique.

On the other hand, there seems to have been no tendency for these central agencies to take over in the same way or with the same sense of conviction the studies of living conditions that characterized the earlier stages of the history of case work agencies. Research concerning living conditions, therefore, as the foundation, justification, stimulator, and guide of social work is in danger of disappearing because its older practitioners are dropping it and because central research bodies, more clearly geared to technical points of view, have not taken it on and may not be in a position to do so.

It is not difficult to agree that certain parts of the research task properly belong to a central bureau, in this case the Bureau of Social Research. By and large, the content of the program of that Bureau has been logically sound within this area of technical research, dealing with administrative and organizational questions of social work and with matters lying on the borderline between social work and sociology. As reported, for example, in April, 1931, work in process at that time consisted in the following:¹⁸

1. Continuation of the work of registration of Social Statistics and analysis of same.
2. Continuation of work on population studies on basis of Census of 1930.
3. Appraisal of City Health Work.
4. Coöperation in a study of Juvenile Delinquency on the North Side by a sub-committee of the Pennsylvania Committee on Penal Affairs under the chairmanship of the superintendent of city schools.
5. Two projects in pure research in connection with courses in Social Research in the Department of Sociology, University of Pittsburgh.
 - a. The development of an objective terminology and system of classification of social case records.
 - b. Experimental development of a method of scoring socio-economic status of families.
6. Theses under way in the Department of Sociology, University of Pittsburgh.
 - a. Methods of Caring for Children of Employed Mothers.
 - b. The Negro Woman Domestic Servant in Pittsburgh.
 - c. Personnel Aspects of Social Work in Pittsburgh.
 - d. Public Recreation.
 - e. The Marginal Man.
 - f. Five Factors in Church Unity.

In the proposed reorganization of the program of the Bureau of Social Research, as submitted November 15, 1935, the program as outlined calls for:¹⁹

¹⁸ Bureau of Social Research of Federation of Social Agencies, Interim Report, April, 1931.

¹⁹ "Plans for the Reorganization of the Bureau of Social Research and the Social Service Exchange of the Federation of Social Agencies" (Addenda to the Report of the Director of the Bureau of Social Research for the months of September and October, 1935).

1. Registration of Social Statistics
2. Health and Vital Statistics
3. Population and Demographic Statistics
4. Crime and Delinquency Statistics
5. Administration of Social Service Exchange
6. Secretarial, Drafting and Photostating

For the purpose of carrying on projects such as necessarily arise from the daily problems of social work agencies, modifications of this program will naturally take place, with a corresponding expansion of the staff as funds and projects may justify. No real difficulties other than those involved in obtaining and holding a competent staff of skeletal dimensions in addition to the basic personnel for the carrying on of routine activities are involved in this phase of the Bureau's program. Wider contact and more integrated coöperation with educational bodies, such as the School of Social Work and the Department of Sociology, of the University of Pittsburgh, the Carnegie Institute of Technology, and the Bureau of Business Research, should be worked out so that a certain cross-fertilization between the social sciences and the practical problems of social work may be carried into the program of research, to the benefit both of practical application and of the vitality of academic pursuit.

The central difficulty of providing for the study of living conditions remains, however, unsolved. This cannot be taken over by the Bureau of Research, which has no direct service responsibilities and no field contacts with actual services of the agencies. On the other hand, no agency can competently carry on research work in its own field without the technical advice and guidance of experienced research workers. It is the agencies that have the direct field contacts. It is with them that the urge for study and recognition of problems demanding study must, it seems, remain, with the Bureau of Social Research merely as general stimulator in the background. A possible solution to the situation seems to lie in the nature of the program proposed for the new case work agency which is to replace the present Family Society and the two children's agencies.²⁰ It is the feeling of the staff of the Social Study (the word "feeling" is used advisedly, since it concerns a problem which is unsolved in any community) and it is the unanimous judgment of the Advisory Committee of the study that a very substantial part of its program and therefore of the budget of the new agency should be devoted to the study and interpretation of general living conditions, of the nature and extent of poverty and its accompanying disadvantages for the community as a whole, and for the various divisions of the community into which the administration of the agency is to be divided. This function may, indeed, be no more inherently

²⁰ Children's Aid Society and Children's Service Bureau. For further particulars see chap. xvi, *infra*.

related to the social case work program proposed for this agency than to the program of relief agencies under public administration; but the historical antecedents of the proposed agency and the access that it may have to direct knowledge of living conditions through the program of social case work and child welfare assigned to it may place it in a strategic position to carry on a continuous and scientifically sound program of research into this basic aspect of social work—the standard of living of the mass of the population. While it may, and in fact must, use the facilities and technical advice of a central research bureau such as is now an integral part of the Federation of Social Agencies, it must carry on its own research work, seek its own problems, be sensitive to the conditions which require inquiry and interpretation, and be responsible both for the promulgation of its findings and for the consistent creation and development of public pressure to give effectiveness to social plans that may arise from these findings. If such an agency cannot come into existence and develop vitality and a comprehensive sense of obligation of this type, it is not clear to us how this type of research can be conducted nor how the fundamental justification and demonstration of the need for social work can be brought to public attention.

COMMITTEE ORGANIZATION UNDER THE FEDERATION

A very considerable part of the work of the Federation is carried on directly by the executive secretary or by standing committees. The Committee on Public Affairs has studied current legislation and has been able to express the judgment of the member agencies on the desirability of proposed bills. A somewhat amorphous Intake Committee has provided opportunity for discussing the relations of case work agencies with respect to their intake and to problems of "referral." Special committees have been organized as occasion demanded in the community. The Committee on the Morals Court, for example, was organized to advise the mayor. Committees were appointed in connection with requests made by the Community Fund for reports on the advisability of admitting or retaining agencies in the Fund. Important special activities of the Federation have been of assistance in planning the Social Study and continuous active coöperation with the field activities of the study during its entire course.

In addition to the standing committees in existence, the Committee on Professional Training with representatives from the two schools of social work and the Community Fund is suggested as a means of securing better development of training facilities in the community. This committee will be concerned with the content of a shared curriculum for the two schools and the promotion of informal affiliation, in order to bring to the student the best facilities of each institution regardless of his formal registration.

The policy of agency fellowships with regard to hours, rates of stipend, and educational controls needs to be clarified. Better facilities for field work should be made possible in the agencies already interested and in certain agencies that are not now included in the training program. The situation with regard to professional training seems to demand for some time, at least, the creation of a neutral but interested body in which the academic interests of professional training and the field interests of the agencies can be properly combined.

A Committee on Legislation is proposed for a dual purpose: partly to carry out the necessary statutory changes required for some of the recommendations of the Social Study; independently of the study, to carry continuous responsibility for the formulation and drafting of legislative measures for improving existing legal provisions and for building up a more sound and modern system of welfare laws.

Such a committee should consist principally of experienced and public-spirited lawyers who would be willing to give for some time a generous portion of their available hours to the specific task of legislative drafting, with the advice of the professional workers in whose fields these changes need to be made. Whether it will be necessary to employ legal assistance for this purpose depends upon the way in which the work of the committee may shape up from time to time. For its continuous operation no paid executive service would seem to be necessary. For the immediate future considerable statutory revision is involved in a number of the recommendations of the study. A special professionally competent body of interested lawyers is necessary to help carry out these recommendations in their legislative phases.

Budgeting and social planning.—One of the most obvious facts in the planning and coördination of social work in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County has been the limited capacity for these ends demonstrated by the two chief agencies upon which, above all others, rests the obligation both for planning and for the maximum exercise of coördinating function, namely, the Federation of Social Agencies and the Community Fund. The Federation, because of its generally recognized fundamental purpose, the inclusiveness of its membership, the character of the work of its various divisions and service departments, and its actual demonstration and achievement, necessarily must be regarded as the chief single instrument for social planning. It is a commonplace, however, that planning cannot be dissociated from the financing of social work and therefore from those processes of budgeting through which the programs of agencies are inter-related with their support. It is necessary, therefore, to find some way by which social planning can be integrated with budgeting, whether in public social work or in activities supported by voluntary funds.

Conversely, in a community where so large a proportion of agencies have been combined in a financial federation the budgeting of constituent agencies cannot be separated from the inherent planning of social work implied in those budgets, and a way must be found, therefore, by which consideration of the individual budgets of member agencies of the Fund shall be related to the total social work program of the community—which means the work of public, as well as of voluntary, agencies. Neither of these clearly desirable situations exists in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. The Federation has had no access to the budgeting of the Community Fund agencies and has taken little active interest in the budgeting of public departments; the work of allocating funds to member agencies of the Community Fund proceeded upon principles practically exclusive of any sense of a community task. Each agency's budget is considered "on its own merits," which means in comparison with allocations of previous years and expenditures of preceding blocks of time. There seems to have been lacking a realization of the fact that the agency is serving a community function. They are just agencies with programs, budgets, staffs, and boards, and with statistics of performance and of expectation. Clearly the first and most important objective for organized social work is to effect some plan by which these leading agencies can be brought within the scope of effective planning, and can develop coöperation. While theoretically both agencies recognize this, they have given little proof of being willing to find or capable of finding an effective method through which to combine their responsibilities and their opportunities.²¹ In order to deal with this fundamental problem it was decided to call a series of conferences under the auspices of the Social Study for consideration of common problems of the Community Fund and the Federation of Social Agencies as they touched upon the purposes of the study. A number of sessions were held with representatives of both groups and the staff of the study. From the very beginning the members of both bodies recognized the paramount importance of the problem of agency budgeting and concentrated their attention upon the processes involved and upon the proposals for substitute plans. The plan which finally was adopted for an experimental period to extend to the termination of the Social Study provided for a joint committee of the Community Fund and the Federation of Social Agencies to be designated as a budget and planning committee.²² Half its

²¹ See discussion of Community Fund in chap. x, *supra*.

²² As first submitted, this proposal called for a joint committee of the two bodies; but with both agencies still laboring under the handicap of institutional consciousness, technical objections were raised to a joint committee "which could be a committee neither of one nor of the other," and a compromise was agreed upon by which this new committee was to be technically a committee of the Community Fund. When the plan eventually was accepted for permanent operation, differences of opinion still

membership was to be appointed by the Fund and half by the Federation; it was to absorb the previous functions of the budget committee of the Fund and add to them new duties pertaining to the function of social planning. The committee was to be a permanent year-round body, rather than merely a pre-campaign organization. It was to pass not only on allocations but on re-allocations after the campaign and throughout the year, as developments of the work might require. It was to have the full-time services of a trained worker on the staff of the Federation, who would provide the necessary information by which budgeting and social planning could be combined in the work of the committee. In this manner it would be possible for the committee to give continuous study of special problems of agency functions as they might be involved in budgetary problems, and the budgets of constituent agencies of the Fund would be considered in the light of activities of other voluntary agencies not members of the Fund and of the public departments which carry by far the largest burden of social and health work in the community. The final formulation of this proposal stipulated that the staff of the committee should consist of the executive director of the Fund as secretary of the committee, and the budgetary specialist referred to, assigned from the personnel of the Federation, to act as recording secretary. It was assumed that, among other qualifications, the special fitness of this person would come in part, at least, from continuous contact with the activities of the various divisions and committees of the Federation of Social Agencies and in part from such special studies and intimate observations of the work of the agencies and of community problems as might naturally arise from service to a committee concerned with budget and planning.

It was recognized that the scope of this committee's work as outlined would naturally entail certain re-alignments within the organization of the Fund, as well as of the Federation. Thus the finance committee of the Fund would virtually cede its present function of passing on supplementary requests on the part of the agencies to the newly formed budget committee, while final approval of all such matters would still rest with the board of directors of the Fund. The executive of the Federation would become ex-officio a member of the new committees, while, reciprocally, the executive of the Community Fund would be expected to participate so far as possible in the discussions of the various divisions of the Federation of Social Agencies.

The scope of activities of the Federation of Social Agencies, as it is carried on at present and as it may expand if the recommendations of the

obstructed the adoption of a joint committee. The permanent plan, therefore, in which the essentials of this proposal were retained, left the budget committee technically a part of the Fund organization.

study are adopted, does not represent the maximum of desirable activities by such an agency. Many other activities might legitimately be suggested. Any agency must, however, be regarded as an organic body which must develop its functions as it grows in strength, acceptance, skill, and experience. Even the recommendations made as immediately workable require time for reasonable maturing. To suggest the immediate acceptance by the Federation of all possible functions that such an agency might logically perform would be to weight it down with duties and functions to which it should grow gradually.

It will be noticed that in most fields covered by the Social Study some recommendations have been made which involve the Federation of Social Agencies. Many of the recommendations to be carried out will have to depend on the gradually expanding and maturing activities of the Federation. It may seem, according to the number and importance of recommendations in which the Federation is involved, as if that body were regarded as the exclusive channel through which changes in the organization of social work in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County can be carried out. It has not been the intention of the study to give this impression. The primary responsibility for social work is with the agencies which have been established to perform it. The fact that some agencies have not modified their program to keep up with the changes in social and economic life, that some of them are not practicing the highest standards in their respective fields, that the number and complexity of agencies serving the field does not represent the maximum of efficiency, that the Federation includes among its functions that of educational propaganda for higher standards, greater efficiency, and more complete coöperation among agencies does not remove from the individual agencies the obligation to carry their own responsibility for improving the work in their respective areas. The agencies may no more impose upon the Federation duties that are inherently their own and hold the latter responsible for their own shortcomings than the Federation may exercise the responsibility for all leadership or take the blame for all failure of agencies to move with the spirit of the times.

As one of the sponsors of the Social Study, the Federation of Social Agencies will inevitably be expected to make active and persistent efforts to carry out the recommendations of the study, in so far as the community is willing to accept them and to put them into operation. The Federation may no more than other agencies, however, be regarded as necessarily accepting all these recommendations or as being under imperative obligation to see them put into effect. It may itself refuse to accept recommendations made by the Social Study in so far as its own functions or objectives are concerned. The Federation, like other agencies, is one of the channels for carrying out those recommendations that either the Citizens' Com-

mittee sponsoring the study or groups of agencies may approve. It should not shoulder the entire responsibility for making the proposals of the study a reality nor accept the blame for its failures. It is not, in this sense, the residuary legatee of the Social Study of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, though it is the hope of the staff of the study that the agencies constituting the Federation, its board of directors, and staff will find its recommendations sound, suitable, and practicable.

SECTARIAN BODIES FOR PLANNING AND COÖRDINATION

There are two sectarian organizations that have occupied an important and active part in the planning of social work in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. These are the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies and the Conference of Catholic Charities. The former has had a continuous existence of some twenty-three years, was active in the formation of the Federation of Social Agencies, and became a member of the Community Fund on January 1, 1932. The Conference of Catholic Charities, as such, has existed only a few years. Individual membership in the Federation of Social Agencies preceded its entry into the Community Fund, which took place in January, 1932. There are special problems with respect to the relation of these sectarian coördinative bodies to the general program of social planning and joint financing that have not yet been clarified. There are no universally accepted principles and practices by which to be guided. Each community must reach its own decision and must depend in part upon its own history of relationships.

With respect to the question whether separate sectarian coördinating bodies or even separate sectarian agencies are needed in any community there is also no universal agreement. As the relative importance of private social work diminishes in comparison with that conducted under public auspices, the scope of operation of sectarian groups also diminishes. In some fields this fact may result in the discontinuance of some sectarian agencies or in their combination. Specific recommendations on this point are contained in Chapter XVI.

It may be ventured, in general, that for some years to come, at any rate, the activity of sectarian bodies within the field of social work will continue for several reasons. Sectarian groups do not differentiate between the organized practice of religious worship and the organized practice of charity and will therefore continue to maintain some activities which express and manifest this conception, such as the support of orphanages and the distribution of relief. The modern concepts of social work may, moreover, be better interpreted to the considerable body of church members through their own church organization than more directly. In some cases in which a church organization conducts a variety of programs comprising

both social and religious activities it has attempted to finance all or part of the social work by Community Fund membership, while retaining the responsibility of independently financing the religious or cultural activities. There is no uniformity, however, in the extent to which this division has been practiced, especially as religious activities are often combined with racial or "nationality" interests. Thus, in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County Y.M.C.A.'s in the main are in the Fund; Y.W.C.A.'s, with one exception, are not in the Fund; and Y.M.H.A.'s are entirely outside the Fund.

It is generally accepted as a principle of financing and coördination in social work that when the activities of an agency are purely of a religious or sectarian type and when they represent purely cultural aspirations of a special group for the promotion of separatistic racial or national groups they should remain clearly outside community financing and be included only partially in coördinative processes. These matters are of particular interest in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County with respect to the Jewish and Catholic groups.

The distinctly cultural, religious, and nationalistic activities of the Jewish group are separately organized and maintained. The Federation of Jewish Philanthropies has included only activities that may legitimately be considered as within the scope of social work. The several agencies composing the Jewish Federation represent the traditional forms of social work specialties, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, active community organization to obtain lay interest and support in these activities. In accordance with recommendations made elsewhere in this report a reorganization within the constituency of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies should provide for a greater identification of interest of those component agencies with similar agencies constituting the membership of the general Federation of Social Agencies. Thus, the Irene Kaufmann Settlement is already an integral part of the group work field; the Montefiore Hospital similarly takes its place in the hospital outpatient and medical social work fields; the new, combined case working agency should similarly comprise a section of the field in which corresponding nonsectarian agencies are active. This would lead to a more independent identification of these agencies with corresponding divisions of the Federation of Social Agencies and with the Community Fund. The coördinative functions of the Jewish Federation should by contrast be emphasized rather in those areas of interest in which the cultural and nationalistic objectives of the Jewish group express themselves. This would involve the independent consideration of the budgets of the three large Jewish agencies (Irene Kaufmann Settlement, Montefiore Hospital, and the reorganized case work agency) with similar agencies in the non-

sectarian field rather than their complete inclusion in a total Federation budget previously and independently reviewed by the Jewish Federation itself. The areas within which the Jewish Federation may most appropriately continue responsibility for budgetary revision would comprise those agencies whose work has a close affiliation with Jewish cultural activities.

An even smaller scope of separate coördinative activities is indicated for the field of Catholic Charities. Actually there is a very limited field of coördination practiced in Catholic social work at this time, principally because the most active services and those nearest to the religious interest of the Catholic population are represented by the care of the children in institutions and outside. Further developments in the special field of children's care may represent, therefore, the maximum special organization needed for the Catholic group within the social work field.

Of the remaining coördinative bodies, Community Councils will be discussed below. The relationship of the Hospital Conference and the General Health Council to social work planning are dealt with in connection with medical services and public health administration. The Public Charities Association, which has had an important function in the development of social work planning and coördination in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County in the past, may be able to substitute for its local functions in this field of activity another important one, that of representing the interests of Allegheny County, together with those of other communities, in the state capitol, Harrisburg. Its local services in Allegheny County are at present chiefly in the field of penal affairs in which it carries on the work appropriate to a local agency.

COMMUNITY COUNCILS FOR LOCAL PLANNING AND COÖRDINATION

The inherent importance of Community Councils as experiments in social planning and community action within the field of social work has been complicated in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County by differences of opinion, conflicts of purpose, shifting fortunes of the councils themselves, and the reciprocal repercussions upon one another of depression events and council management. What community councils ought to be or do, whether they spell assets or liabilities, and toward what goal they ought to be assisted are questions on which no complete agreement can be found among those whose activities or experience would seem to entitle them to judge. The field worker²³ to whose lot it fell to make a final synthesis of the findings and opinions on councils resorts to a fable:

²³ Elizabeth T. Alling, assisted by Dora Einert. The following report is based largely on their findings.

THE BLIND MEN AND THE ELEPHANT

There were once five blind men who stood by the roadside every day, and begged from the people who passed. They had often heard of elephants, but they had never seen one; for, being blind, how could they?

It so happened one morning that an elephant was driven down the road where they stood. When they were told that the great beast was before them, they asked the driver to let him stop so that they might see him.

Of course they could not see him with their eyes; but they thought by touching him they could learn just what kind of animal he was.

The first one happened to put his hand on the elephant's side. "Well, well!" he said, "now I know all about this beast. He is exactly like a wall."

The second felt only of the elephant's tusk. "My brother," he said, "you are mistaken. He is not at all like a wall. He is round and smooth and sharp. He is more like a spear than anything else."

The third reached out his arms and grasped one of the elephant's legs. "Oh, how blind you are!" he said. "It is very plain to me that he is round and tall like a tree."

The fourth was a very tall man, and he chanced to take hold of the elephant's ear. "The blindest man ought to know that this beast is not like any of the things that you name," he said. "He is exactly like a huge fan."

The fifth was very blind indeed, and it was some time before he could find the elephant at all. At last he seized the animal's tail. "O foolish fellows!" he cried. "You surely have lost your senses. This elephant is not like a wall, or a spear, or a tree; neither is he like a fan. But any man with a particle of sense can see that he is exactly like a rope."

Then the elephant moved on, and the five blind men sat by the roadside all day, and quarreled about him. Each believed that he knew just how the animal looked; and each called the others hard names because they did not agree with him. People who have eyes sometimes act as foolishly.

To paraphrase—there were once many blind men who stood by the roadside every day and begged (raised money) from the people who passed. They had often heard of elephants called Community Councils, but they seldom saw them, for, being busy, how could they? But, since most of them had touched at least one elephant, they thought that they knew just what kind of animal he was.

One of them happened to put his hand on the elephant's side. "Well, well!" he said, "Now I know all about this beast. He is exactly like a wall." He might have thought it was part of a Temple of Coöperation to be built.

Another felt only of the elephant's tusk. "You are mistaken," he said, "I have felt him and he is not at all like a wall. He is round and smooth and sharp. He is more like a spear than anything else." He seemed to be filled with fear and distrust.

One man was very tall, and he chanced to take hold of the elephant's ear. "The blindest man ought to know that this beast is not like any of the things that you name," he said. "He just waves in the air. He is exactly like a huge fan." He did not think it worth troubling about.

The fourth man was very blind, indeed, but good at feeling, and it was only a short time until he found the elephant. He seized the animal's tail. "O foolish fellows!" he cried. "You have surely lost your senses. This elephant is not like a wall, or a spear; neither is he like a fan. But any man with a particle of sense can see that he is exactly like a rope. I can tie my interests on and get him to pull them."

Then the elephant moved on, but the blind men sat by the roadside all day and quarreled about him. Each believed that he knew just how the animal looked; and each called the others hard names because they did not agree with him. People who have eyes sometimes act as foolishly. And the councils? Some of them were white elephants, and they have passed on. But a few of them are trees, round, with some roots, but not yet very tall, because they are still young. If these councils can be given the time, nourishment, and cultivation they need, they may bear fruit.

More than in the case of any other agency the essential nature, the character of the problems, and the possible future of community councils are inseparable from the circumstances of their genesis. The peculiar effect of emergency measures, combined with attempts to realize ideals of community organizations, gave these councils an early history which influenced their subsequent fortunes. It is therefore necessary to trace some of the early steps in the formation of the councils.

Community Councils, in Pittsburgh, were created to meet an emergency in the administration of relief and in its impact on public opinion. The idea of these Community Councils seems to have been the contribution of the Federation of Social Agencies to the dilemma of the relief crisis which aroused the entire city during the winters of 1930-32. The minutes of the Federation Board, for December 16, 1931, record discussion of the emergency and a decision to call together a group for the purpose of conferring on ways of coördinating community resources for the emergency. The minutes of a later meeting of the board refer to a request of this group addressed to the Community Fund, to the Federation of Social Agencies, and to the Allegheny County Emergency Association²⁴ to effect district organization in Allegheny County; several proposals as to method are mentioned.

According to these minutes the director of the Community Fund suggested an informal set-up of local committees in many sections of the county which might offer each community a chance to voice its own feeling about the local situation; he cited the newly formed Homestead Relief Committee as an example, and said that these local relief committees might form a substitute for a central council and could be designated as a part of the Allegheny County Emergency Association machinery.

²⁴ For the function of this body in the emergency relief program see chap. xiv, *infra*.

The minutes continue:

The board members in discussion agreed that the real problem is to organize community relief resources most effectively and to bring in all the smaller streams of relief so they will count for most. As a starting point in the solution of the problem, the executive secretary of the Federation suggested that, with the consent of the Group Work Division, the Board offer the services of Miss Isabel P. Kennedy [then secretary of the Group Work Division] to take charge of the community organization in whatever plan is developed.

Miss Kennedy presented a tentative plan for such organization:

PLAN FOR COÖRDINATION OF COMMUNITY EFFORTS IN THE PRESENT EMERGENCY

- I. To create an Emergency Community Council composed of representatives of the Allegheny County Emergency Association, the Federation of Social Agencies, and the Welfare Fund, to which shall be added the chairman of Neighborhood Units when organized.
- II. Creation of a city and county districting plan for the formation of Neighborhood Units composed of representatives from all agencies and groups in the neighborhood, interested in problems arising out of the present emergency.
- III. The Neighborhood Units as established should appoint local chairmen who shall represent these Units on the Community Council.
- IV. The purpose of this organization shall be:
 1. To discover and correlate the existing resources.
 2. To estimate the existing needs.
 3. To consider and recommend future action necessary to meet the needs.

Organization of councils proceeded in true high-pressure emergency style as we have come to know it in the many war-time organizations twenty years ago and more recently in the N.R.A. and in the Emergency Relief Administration.

The City was divided into eighteen districts. In each district a community meeting was called to which were invited all the members of the local welfare organizations, representatives of city-wide organizations working in the district, members of Boards of Trade, churches, schools, lodges, business men, in short, representative citizens of the community. A speaker, appointed for the purpose, explained to the meeting the advantages of community coöperation and organization, in the present crisis, and a tentative plan of organization was suggested. . . . An organizing committee of ten or more representative local persons was appointed to report back at a later date. This group drew up a constitution which gave the name of the district council, outlined the area of the district as indicated by topography and community interest, and stated the object as bringing together all social forces of the district for more effective service to the community. Membership was made up of two classes, delegate members representing organizations or groups carrying on civic, religious, educational or philanthropic work in the district, and members-at-large, chosen from residents of the community who were outstanding because of their service in behalf of general community welfare. In no case were the members-at-large to exceed half the number of delegate members. The officers were to be Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Recording Secretary. There were standing committees, the chairman of which, together with the officers, formed the Executive Committee.

A second meeting was called in each district after the meeting of the Organizing Committee to present the tentative constitution and slate of officers. Upon approval a central office location was selected and secretarial service furnished to the councils through the Work Relief Program of the Allegheny County Emergency Association.

The district offices act as local clearing stations and the secretaries serve as information centers and keep the machinery of the councils going.

Each community was left free to elect a chairman of its own choice, and no effort was made to force it to confine its work within a model outline, but each district was allowed to build a constitution to fit the local situation. The same latitude was allowed in the appointment of committees, and each community has its own committees on relief, housing, health, recreation, gardening, employment, loans and mortgages. The chairmen of these local committees became members of a corresponding city-wide committee.

The central council is composed of the chairmen of the eighteen districts, the chairmen of the city-wide committees, the executives of city-wide agencies connected with all aspects of the emergency situation, and six representatives from each of the boards of the Welfare Fund, the Emergency Association, and the Federation of Social Agencies.²⁵

Sixteen councils were organized within a month. Assuming that such organization was desirable, its accomplishment within that length of time was an achievement of no mean order. According to various reports the meetings of these early councils were well attended, not only by lay people, but by social workers; people felt that vital issues were being discussed.

There is still a difference of opinion as to whether the councils helped or hindered the private agencies, which were called upon suddenly to expand their relief program to an almost impossible extent. The Allegheny County Emergency Association, on the other hand, seems to have thought these councils very useful in interpreting to local people the relief possibilities and procedure. According to one prominent sponsor of the councils, discussion in council meetings revealed the fact that the organized agencies were doing 95 percent of the relief work, and this understanding in itself answered much of the criticism and established confidence. Other social work leaders stress the provision of safety valves for community pressure which would otherwise have reacted unfavorably on the relief agencies. The agencies which were being criticized, at a time when they were straining every effort, quite naturally resented criticism. A further development of the council plan increased their irritation; unemployed persons were selected from candidates for the Allegheny County Emergency Association work relief program to serve as secretaries of the offices of the various community councils. They were, of course, besieged with questions and criticism from their neighborhoods. It seemed to the family agencies that these lay people should not be in a position to check on the work of professional case workers and that to give the information they

²⁵ The Pittsburgh Community Council, report of September 1, 1932.

asked would violate professional confidences. Both the Family Society and the Federation of Social Agencies realize that the antagonism which later developed on the part of some case work agencies toward the councils dates back to these early experiences. It is evident, also, that later there was some antagonism toward the Federation as sponsor and organizer of the councils, which hindered harmonious relationships within the Federation.²⁶

As reported in September, 1932, fifteen of the councils had "housing" chairmen, eight with active committees which formed a city-wide housing committee under the "Community Council of Pittsburgh," with the director of the Pittsburgh Housing Association as chairman. Similarly, a city-wide committee on relief existed, made up of the chairmen of local relief committees, which, as might be expected, were formed in each of the eighteen councils. There were recreation committees in sixteen councils, with a city-wide committee made up of their chairmen. In coöperation with a similar committee of the Allegheny County Emergency Association a centrally organized Gardening Committee representing the councils undertook an extensive home-gardening project. There was an employment committee in each district, a city-wide health committee, and the beginning of a committee on loans and mortgages. All this development demanded increasingly both lay participation and professional services and reciprocal stimulation and contact between central promoters and local neighborhood citizenry. The report of September, 1932, less than a year after the organization of councils, is sanguine and enthusiastic. There was activity on all fronts.

The Federation minutes for December 8, 1932, give the following information:

The director of the Welfare Fund explained a resolution from the Welfare Fund asking for an extension of the Community Councils out in the county as those in the city had proven so advantageous in promoting a better understanding of, and coöperation with the social agencies. Since it was felt that Miss Kennedy was already overburdened and could not undertake the work, that the Federation accept the responsibility of organization and that Miss Kennedy,²⁷ Dr. Clopper and Mr. Maxwell confer regarding ways and means to carry this out.

At a Federation board meeting on January 3, 1933, the conviction was expressed that the city councils should be permanent. On March 9, 1933, it was reported that a majority of the city councils were functioning, and the need for trained staff was stressed.

²⁶ A summary for the year ending May 1, 1933, prepared by the Federation of Social Agencies, reports that "the district offices of the Councils handled 34,900 inquiries and complaints concerning the distribution of relief."

²⁷ Miss Kennedy was then secretary of the Group Work Division; Dr. Clopper, executive of the Federation of Social Agencies; Mr. Maxwell, executive of the Welfare (now Community) Fund.

On January 25, 1933, letters were sent by the executive secretary of the Federation of Social Agencies to certain "county-wide" agencies, which read as follows:

At the Welfare Fund's final campaign meeting a resolution was adopted proposing the organization in every community and area of the county, of a council composed of representative people with a view to assuring the active participation of all groups interested or active in welfare activities in promoting better understanding of the work of local and county-wide welfare organizations, in discussing the local welfare problems and coöperating in their solution, in appointing necessary committees, and in electing a delegate to the Council of the Welfare Fund. The Federation of Social Agencies was asked to take the initiative in organizing such councils and to offer guidance as their work develops. . . .

A meeting of the heads of county-wide agencies is called for Friday, January 27th, at 3:30 P.M., for the purpose of outlining this plan of procedure. . . .

The progress of the organization of county councils is recorded briefly in the minutes of the Federation.

March 9, 1933—County Councils are reported as progressing under the direction of Mr. John Lawrence, chairman.

April 13, 1933—Eight county councils reported as organized; five more in progress.

September 21, 1933—Eighteen outside the city.

February 2, 1934—Twenty-two in the county.

Compared with the purposes set forth at the inauguration of the council movement: "(1) to discover and correlate the existing resources, (2) to estimate the existing needs, (3) to consider and recommend future action necessary to meet the needs," the situation at this time presents a somewhat different and certainly much more ambitious outlook, particularly as expressed in a prospectus announcing the inauguration of the Community Councils:²⁸

COMMUNITY COUNCILS IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY

The Part Played by the Federation of Social Agencies. The Federation of Social Agencies as a research and coördinating body in the field of Social Work feels a service obligation to the entire area of Allegheny County. It is as an expression of this service obligation that it has given time and effort in helping various communities set up their own community councils. In so doing, the Federation feels that it is assisting in a plan of community organization which may well be used effectively for many years to come.

What Is a Community Council? The Community Council is an organization of public spirited citizens who have at heart the welfare of their community as a whole and are willing to work together to that end, ignoring the various barriers of creed, nationality, politics, etc., which all too often divide us and interfere with constructive and effective action.

Object. The object of a Community Council is to bring together all social forces

²⁸ Mimeographed for distribution to the Federation's staff and to lay members concerned with Council organization.

of the district for more effective service to the Community. It is necessary to state the object thus broadly in order to allow complete freedom to consider whatever emerges at any particular time as a community problem requiring for its solution the effective coöperation of the organizations and persons who do things. This last thought leads naturally to the basis of membership.

Membership. The basis of membership which has been adopted by every one of the seventeen Community Councils in Pittsburgh and the twenty-six thus far established in Allegheny County, provides for delegate members from organizations carrying on *civic, educational, religious*, or philanthropic work, and members-at-large (the latter to be one-half as numerous). Delegate members represent their organization in the sense that close contact is thus provided. Not only are the organizations kept fully informed of Community Council projects but the Community Council can, through the representatives, quickly reach their organizations with requests for coöperation in specific enterprises. Membership at large provides a means of participation by interested citizens who do not happen to be designated as delegates.

Program. The Community Council has no axes to grind. Its aims are open to the scrutiny of all. It is simply an intelligent method whereby the forward-looking citizens of the community can think and plan together about such vital matters as community health, child welfare, thrift gardens, recreation for both adults and young people, relief, unemployment, Federal loans for home owners, etc. The above subjects and others have been constructively dealt with by actual Community Council committees in both the City and County. The experience of these committees may be shared with persons interested, but to detail them here would unduly prolong this brief statement.

Correlation of Effort. In connection with these committees it should be understood that where a specific piece of work is already functioning effectively, the same personnel can be continued as a Community Council committee for that activity. In other words, not duplication but *integration* is the keynote of the Community Program.

Organization Approval. Obviously an organization in appointing delegate members approves the council plan for community functioning and indicates its coöperation in general. But plainly it does *not* thereby pledge its unquestioning participation in all future enterprises of the Community Council. Rather, it reserves the right to withhold its official endorsement of any specific project should the circumstances obtaining at the time cause it to feel compelled to do so.

Autonomy. There is no supervisory body in Allegheny County controlling these Community Councils. Each one is completely independent and determines its own program. In Pittsburgh, the seventeen Community Councils are affiliated and there are a number of city-wide Committees which have been able to give very helpful coöperation to the individual councils. It has not appeared practicable so far to follow this procedure over the large area of the County. However, each council in the County has the privilege of electing a delegate member to the General Council of the Community Fund. A channel is thus provided for expression of its wishes by the local council as well as for securing full information regarding Community Fund policy.

It is clear then that:

(a) Community Councils were organized in and for Pittsburgh to deal with emergency complications as seen in 1931-32.

(b) Those in the city of Pittsburgh were created with the speed, concentration, and single-mindedness true of all emergency efforts and succeeded in obtaining a large amount of enlightened lay interest.

(c) The Federation of Social Agencies accepted responsibility for planning, promotion, stimulation, and staff service.

(d) Agency antagonism and the complex problems of community organization began to make themselves felt when the idea of permanently functioning councils made its appearance as a possibility. Meanwhile the progress in organization, the achievement of specific projects, and the vision of far-reaching potential benefits impelled the sponsors of councils, especially the Federation staff, to seek to perpetuate these organizations.

(e) The disproportion between the task accepted and the available staff services, the difficulty of confining and interpreting permanent and emergency objectives through bodies created overnight, and the growing divergence of points of view among Federation of Social Agencies, Community Fund, Family Society, and other agencies bring us face to face with the question of the viability and purposes of Community Councils.

A brief review of actual developments and the present status of the councils is therefore in place. Due again to accident the community councils situated within the municipal limits of Pittsburgh constitute a group separate from those outside its boundaries in the county. The latter are more recent in origin and have received such central services as came to them through a single staff member of the Federation. They have never been united in a central body as have those of Pittsburgh, and they have carried on no comparable county-wide activities. The city councils have been, somewhat informally it is true, administered through the Group Work Division of the Federation; have had, on and off, the services of some four staff members, and have operated in an area supplied with social agencies and having the diverse advantages of a single municipal government and urban amenities.

PITTSBURGH CITY COMMUNITY COUNCILS

Of the eighteen²⁹ councils listed as in existence in Pittsburgh proper, the eight most active were reviewed in the course of the present analysis.³⁰ The foundations of these eight councils were laid during the early crisis period, 1932-33. The dynamic quality of this type of organization is reflected in reorganizations, in changes of emphasis in programs, and in a tendency to conform to natural community lines rather than to larger,

²⁹ The exact number of councils at any time, whether in Pittsburgh or in the county, is difficult to determine, since varying degrees of activity or moribundity are not measurable by or evenly manifest to different observers.

³⁰ This inquiry was conducted by Dora Einert, assisting Elizabeth Alling, of the staff. Data are selected from her report, notes, and documents.

more inclusive areas. An example of these characteristics may be seen in the case of the Beechview-Brookline Community Council, which was set up in the spring of 1932. Concerning this council the field secretary's report of November 15, 1935, says:

This Council, which included five rather separate neighborhoods, functioned in a very active manner for about six months, and then in a fairly consecutive manner for an eighteen-month period through its Executive Committee made up of representatives from the five districts. This committee met regularly twice every month during this period. The group had a constitution and changed officers each year. The Council was interested in a number of things—clearing of cases to prevent duplication, a campaign to secure odd jobs for unemployed men. . . . Inasmuch as the topography of the district made it impractical for chairmen of standing committees to cover the whole district, an attempt was made during this time to organize standing sub-committees on Recreation, Gardens and Health in the various sections of the district. In June, 1934, a general meeting of all committee members from all sections was held and it was decided that an attempt should be made to organize small local councils which could then unite for anything pertaining to the district as a whole. This was done (separate Councils were organized in the West Liberty, Beechview, Lee, Banksville Councils and the Brookline Section) and the general district group did not meet again until June of the following year (1935). The group as a whole has not met since then.

The change of emphasis in program is also readily discernible. A report dated September, 1932, describes activities of the city-wide and local committees on housing, relief, recreation, gardening, loans and mortgages, health, and employment. The present study reveals a definite shift in interest away from committee work generally identified with the emergency period and toward efforts more closely related to the post-depression period, such as recreation, health, gardening, and committee organization concerned with affairs of a civic nature, increased service from municipal departments, and with the prevention of juvenile delinquency. Some councils, moreover, have finance or ways and means committees, which endeavor to raise small budgets to defray the incidental expenses that these councils may incur.

Among the eight Pittsburgh city Community Councils under discussion, two different types of organizations are apparent:

Type A.—Some Community Councils have been developed into what may be termed councils of social agencies. The "Hill" and the "Lawrenceville" councils are of this type. In these districts there are many social agencies, staff members of which form the greater part of all committees. Thus the council membership represents a knowledge of the community, but it is not, to any great extent, representative of the different lay groups within the community.

Type B.—The others—notably Hazelwood, Greenfield, Beechview, West Liberty, Lee, and Eighteenth Ward councils—located in small communi-

ties where there are few social agencies, enlist the interest of lay agencies. Delegates from the different churches, fraternal organizations, schools and parent-teacher associations, boards of trade, nationality organizations, and so forth, also members-at-large, residents interested in the purposes of the council, but not necessarily connected with any of the above organizations, form the membership of these councils.

It must be recognized that it is very difficult to discern a natural community in the area known as the "Hill," whereas Hazelwood and Greenfield are, on the other hand, "natural communities." Beechview, in the above "B" group, may be differentiated from the others in that its activities are focused on the conduct of a community center.

From the point of view of lay persons or lay groups the status of the different city Community Councils apparently covers a wide range, from a relatively high position to a comparatively negligible one. Councils such as Hazelwood and Greenfield, where local newspapers have given generous space to council affairs and where activities such as community celebrations, neighborhood nights, garden projects, and so forth, have kept the council in the public eye, are examples of councils which have high community status. On the other hand, as in the case of the Hill council, where the activities have developed out of the interchange between agency staff, it is questionable whether the community, as such, is even aware of the Community Council.

As indicating the possibilities, as well as the difficulties, of vital council work, some extracts from a report of the field secretary (November 15, 1935) and from a summary prepared by the study staff for one of the most active city councils may be illuminating:

Before the organization of the Hazelwood Community Council, according to residents, the Republican organization was the strong one. Now, however, the non-political Community Council has taken the place of the political group. The Council is representative of the community. The constitution adopted January, 1935, provides that Council members who hold voting power be official delegates from "each of the organizations in the district conducting social, civic, educational, and recreational activities in the district." There are forty such organizations in the community: churches, schools, social agencies, nationality organizations, lodges, Veterans' groups, Athletic Associations . . . which are drawn into a functioning relationship through the Council. The reorganization effected January, 1935, gained much friendly publicity in the local paper.

The Hazelwood Community Council is well-known throughout this area of some 23,000 people. The four annual Hallowe'en parades, the community Christmas celebrations, the tree placed in the Hazelwood school yard and the Christmas carol groups, are of interest to everyone. The outstanding work of the Garden Committee, the establishment of the Community Council Garden Center and the development of 800 gardens are accomplishments which have helped to create the position of prestige which the Council commands.

During the early years of Community Council activity, 1932-34, the major emphasis was on attempts to alleviate distress due to the unemployment situation. In the opinion of the residents the work of the council during this period was of great value to the community; moreover, they regretted the closing of the Community Council office subsequent to the opening of a local branch of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board in Hazelwood. Throughout these two years, this committee was concerned with matters such as school feeding, the securing of shoes for relief families, and the adjustment of complaints. Following the initial and very necessary spurt of activity in the relief field the council settled down to a slower but more consistent level of activity.

The Executive Committee has served as a guide and control for the many activities of the council. It was recognized not only as a planning body but also as a neutral, nonpolitical, nonracial, and nonsectarian group. For example, when each of two large factional groups disputed the right of the other to dig coal from a good abandoned mine, the two opposing leaders brought the matter to the council for a decision. Thus the council carried on, delving into matters of community concern, which were sometimes trivial, sometimes important, but always real interests.

In 1934, when a local branch of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board was set up in Hazelwood and the services of the local office secretary were no longer necessary, the council, in the opinion of its members, lapsed into a period of lesser activity. Although the Executive Committee met just as regularly and the standing committees continued their activities, the feeling of having been deprived of a "place of one's own" existed, and the members missed being able to call upon the local office for immediate assistance in relief cases, and so forth. After about six months of this a reorganization plan was considered and adopted by the Executive Committee.

As has been indicated, the Executive Committee has been active rather consistently. The activity of the other committees has been more variable. In the original set-up the most active committees, as one would expect from current needs, were the committees on relief, employment, and health. At present the Recreation Committee is the most active year-round group; in coöperation with the Social Study it conducted a survey of leisure time needs in the district, in 1935. It meets regularly each month and has a number of subcommittee meetings between times. The Garden Committee is a seasonal one, but it is intensively active during the late spring and summer. It had its own Garden Center during the summer, and for a period of about two months the committee met two and three times a week. The Housing Committee, which was never very active, has been dropped. The old Relief Committee has been changed into a Coöper-

ation with Social Agencies Committee (but has not yet really got under way). The new Committee on Youth (which was organized upon suggestion of the Juvenile Court) is just finding its way, but it gives promise of being a very active group. It meets regularly once a month and usually has several subcommittee meetings a month.

The caliber of the residents who are assuming the major responsibilities of the council and the tremendous amount of time which these persons willingly contribute are indicative of their genuine interest in matters of community welfare and of their confidence in the effectiveness of the council as a channel for cooperative effort. The Garden Committee chairman kept a record of the time required by his council job and found that it amounted to well over three hundred hours. The chairman of the council, a minister, has served since its organization in 1932.

Members of the Executive Committee expressed the belief that there is a growing willingness to serve on Community Council committees. "People know what it is now, but we have had to take many black-eyes for the unemployed councils." Apparently the unemployed councils were confused in the minds of many with the Community Council. The council did have an Employment Committee in the early days which added to the confusion. However, this is not active now.

The position of the field secretary is a particularly interesting one with relation to the Hazelwood Community Council, inasmuch as she is herself a resident of this community. The achievements of this council may in part be due to the field secretary's first-hand knowledge of the community, its leaders, and its potential leaders. The field secretary commands the respect of her community, and her professional leadership is gratefully acknowledged, particularly her skill in assisting in the reorganization in January, 1935. Observation of council work does not, however, indicate dependence upon the field secretary. In a conference with members of the Executive Committee, one member gave the following explanation: "The Hazelwood Community Council is not dependent upon Miss . . . That is what she has been working for. She has been steadily pushing us off her lap. We hope that she will always be with us, but the idea of a Community Council is that the community should take responsibility."

That councils have borne some fruit is implicit in the preceding discussion of one of the city councils. A review of some other achievements within Pittsburgh would indicate that this is not an isolated event. The field worker who covered the city councils differentiates tangible accomplishments from such values as "the promotion of community solidarity," "process of community integration" and the "interpretation of social agency programs" (including the Community Fund). Among tangible achievements she lists:

Securing additional or improved services from public departments and private agencies, as for example:

Flood lighting of the Greenfield School playground

Hairdryers for the Greenfield Swimming Pool

Operation of three baby clinics (with the Public Health Nursing Association)

Extension of a transfer zone in the Pittsburgh Railways system

A clean-up campaign in the Hill district

Operation of two school buildings loaned by the Board of Education as community center and leisure time school

Construction of a tennis court

Use of workers on work relief projects (C.W.A., R.W.D., etc.).

The intangible achievements must, of course, be matters of judgment; some are clear-cut and certain, others putative. Hallowe'en parties, Christmas celebrations, neighborhood nights and dances for young people are bound to have community, or at least neighborhood, values beyond the immediate enjoyment they provide. Other benefits are more speculative. Some maintain, for example, that they have helped break down community prejudice and conflict, denominational separation, ethnic and cultural exclusiveness, racial barriers.

Perhaps the interpretation of social agency programs should be considered among tangible results. This has taken place more often, perhaps, directly through the work of the field secretaries in serving the councils than through the councils themselves. It is difficult to be certain whether, except for the original and primary objective of dissipating unfavorable public opinion on relief administration and except for the coöperative efforts involved in the achievement of the tangible benefits listed, interpretation of agency programs through the councils to the body of citizens had made great headway.

COUNTY COUNCILS

When the Federation of Social Agencies began to organize county councils, one such organization already existed outside Pittsburgh, in one of the most populous communities, the borough of Wilksburg. The credit for this council seems to belong jointly to the Community Fund and the Family Society of Allegheny County, which had established "advisory councils" for the purpose of coördinating relief and facilitating sympathetic interpretation. It had had also an important nucleus in the old Wilksburg Relief Association and local leadership of unusual vision. In the entire county no other advisory council had persisted—an indication of the difficulty inherent in the county task. The prospectus used in the process of organization has already been quoted. No written record exists, however, of the incredible amount of sustained labor—requiring night after night of travel to and from remote communities, speeches, confer-

ences, and committee sessions—devoted to the work of organization on the part of its chief promoters.

In Aspinwall, Bridgeville, Elizabeth, Etna, Millvale, Oakdale, Verona, Tarentum, and West Elizabeth councils seem to have been organized, as Wilksburg had been, on the foundations of former relief efforts—small local relief associations, or more informal committees. This fact presented difficulties as well as advantages. Some of the leaders who had done good pieces of work on relief did not see the possibilities in the new program. In two communities, we were told, the Council was only a change in their old name “at the request of Pittsburgh Welfare.” The old name was retained in Aspinwall and Etna. There was a tendency to relax after the strenuous community service on relief. There was also a tendency to feel that the Councils organized while relief was still one function, were not needed after this function had been taken over by the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board, and after private family agencies discontinued for the most part the contacts established with these local people during the emergency.

A feeling that there is no need for a community council was expressed in four places,—in places such as Elizabeth, where there are few organizations under closely knit leadership and with good interorganization feeling, it is probably true that no council is needed, unless it could provide more guidance from outside the community. Pitcairn, Glassport, and perhaps Duquesne represent the opposite extreme. A community leader in Pitcairn said that the council idea was good and that good people had been chosen as officers. Attempts at organization were abandoned by the community, however, “after about three meetings,” owing to community factions—the lingering result of “terrific strikes in 1911 and 1922 which had split the community in two.” In Glassport the election of officers resulted in a deadlock because the Unemployed Council secured more than its share of power. In Duquesne the mayor was empowered to select officers. He did so, but the council never functioned.

Two other councils represent previous community enterprises of a civic nature rather than a new relief focus. The Turtle Creek Citizens' League was the result of the interest of a local leader and a meeting of representative local men called together in 1933 to discuss action that was needed in the community. Attempts about the same time to organize a Community Council seemed a duplication of effort, and a coöperative arrangement was arrived at whereby the League would include the functions of a council. Existing organizations, as such, and women were not directly represented in this League. Both were represented, however, in a similar arrangement made with the Clairton Community League in April, 1934.

The Field Secretary for County Councils found himself in a difficult

position. The Federation had stressed the autonomy of the local councils, but it realized, also, the importance of their getting to work on activities which would enlist interest and carry conviction. Both the staff and the local councils found themselves looking for projects. The thrift-garden program, sponsored by the Allegheny County Emergency Association, served the purpose. Canning demonstrations by the County Home Demonstration Agent were arranged in connection with garden projects for eight councils in the summer of 1933 and were attended by some nine hundred women. In smaller numbers meetings were planned on home loans, and registration of people desiring C.W.A. jobs. Pamphlets containing suggestions for activity projects were prepared by the Federation with coöperation from other agencies for committees devoted to gardening, health, housing, recreation, sewing, coöperation with social agencies. Gardening projects are still in progress in the communities, now more closely tied up with the Thrift Garden Committee.

The difficulty in developing suitable programs for the councils led the county field secretary to turn to government projects under C.W.A., R.W.D., L.W.D., W.P.A., and N.Y.A.³¹ The succession of plans and the unpredictable intervals between formulation and inauguration have made them difficult projects for new organizations. In his report for the period September, 1934, to December 1, 1935, the county field secretary³² says: "It was a rather difficult year for the Field Secretary because of the failure of so many projects to materialize—especially disheartening to the communities which waited for them so enthusiastically—and because of the lack of projects sufficient to meet the varying needs of the different types of councils in Allegheny County."

In spite of the difficulties it is through these projects that the county organizer has developed the unique and most valuable council contribution to the county—that of community recreation under volunteer and government-paid leadership. He served as liaison officer between the county communities and the Pittsburgh headquarters of the first projects.

The councils which have been most active have combined locally initiated projects and projects suggested and initiated from the outside. Emphasis in recently organized councils and in recent activities of the earlier ones, has tended toward civic and recreational interests rather than toward relief interest. A partial list of locally initiated projects may be interesting:

The Dormont Council initiated a community calendar arranging for the clearing of plans by different organizations to avoid conflicts in dates. The calendar was at first posted regularly on some ten community council bulletin boards at strategic places in the community. It is now published in the newspaper.

³¹ Varieties of names for government-sponsored projects intended as work relief.

³² C. A. McInerney.

Dormont Council has also sponsored a hobby show, a home-coming and other community celebrations.

Community sings, and so forth, were arranged by the Tri-Boroughs and Mc-Keesport councils.

Rankin Council proposed and secured community coöperation on a curfew plan and diphtheria inoculations.

Baby clinics have been initiated by councils in Sharpsburg, Millvale and Bellevue.

North Boroughs Council provided a scholarship for outside study to a nurse from the local hospital.

Turtle Creek Citizens League initiated coöperation within the community and with state officials to secure the reopening of the local bank, and similarly helped to secure PWA help to rebuild the local school which had been destroyed by fire.

A number of recreation projects using government assistance were initiated by councils some of which, like the Wilkinsburg Boys Club, grew into a community project.

The entire playground program in Clairton was left (without adequate provision for funds) to the recreation committee of the Citizens' League during the past two summers.

In Homestead through interlocking efforts of the Community Council and a Boy Scout Council plans for a day camp are developing.

Etna Council made a systematic canvass of indoor recreation places and opportunities in the community in the fall of 1935.

In several scattered places Community Councils have secured services for the community through local government. During the 1934 summer recreation programs local police roped off play streets and fire and water departments furnished sprinklers. The recreation chairman of the Sharpsburg borough council has attended their Community Council meetings and has coöperated in playground programs. The report which led to closing some more than questionable places in Rankin might have come to the right authorities under other circumstances, but at least it did come after a Community Council meeting and was acted upon.

There is room for difference of opinion about the number of councils which now exist in the county. Although only Oakmont has formally disbanded, some of the county councils (such as those in Pittsburgh and elsewhere) have ceased to function. The following letter from the secretary of the Clairton organization indicates that status changes:

February 3, 1936.

The Clairton Community League has been inactive since the completion of its program last fall. I consider the organization out of existence at present. The League's activities were forced to a cessation due to a lack of popular support. Mr. ——— resigned as president because of pressure of other business. Mr. ———, the first vice-president, and I then brought the League's program of play-center supervision to a close and that was the end of it.

The fact that certain other councils have gone on after a period of inactivity—perhaps with a reorganization—points, however, to such a possibility here and in other places. The attitude of the county field secretary has both encouraged some such revivals and also resulted in some confusion as to status of the councils. He regards a council as a

representative group, even if small, "which can be manned for action, and spur others for service when the occasion arises."³³ Even when councils are inactive, his relations with them have usually been such as to keep a nucleus, usually a few individuals, who will respond informally to a need or request. His attitude is partly a reflection of a greater optimism about the councils on the part of the Federation than is felt by other agencies and by most of the communities; it is partly an indication of the patience and persistence which the task demands. The county field secretary does not report a council as dead if there is this nucleus or if he thinks that there is any possibility of a reorganization. He went on developing recreation projects in such communities (and in others where councils have never been established) biding his time to attempt organization or reorganization. This explains the reports of coöperation with the field secretary, usually on projects under government-paid workers, in some communities where the council was reported dead by local residents. While these nuclei are undoubtedly worth while, they are not the kind of plan which was presented to the communities at the time of the organization, and they certainly are not autonomous local councils as defined in the prospectus.

During the period of this Social Study there was a consistent program of regular meetings in the following communities: Dormont, McKeesport, Rankin, Sharpsburg, and Wilkinsburg. Meetings were not held during the summer, and local circumstances made the interval longer in McKeesport and Rankin. A leader in Dormont told of plans for monthly meetings of the executive committee and for perhaps two general meetings a year. Homestead Council was reorganized in 1936, but it is too soon to judge its achievements. Aspinwall, which has a small group organized on a representative basis and Allegheny Valley whose "council" is really a committee, plan to meet only about three times a year. Etna's organization, small but recognized in the community, meets irregularly. One of the leaders said, "We spring into action at times of special need." Turtle Creek is reported to be less active than formerly. Clairton's situation was described in the letter above.

There has been no universal explanation for the cessation of activity in other councils. The comments of leaders in communities where councils are inactive are pertinent however:

"We could not maintain enough interest to get more than five or six out to meetings at the end."

"The chairman was not much interested."

"The chairman is able but has too many responsibilities."

³³ Quoted from the report of the county field secretary, dated December 1, 1935.

"The Council was handicapped because of politics."

"The P. T. A. was doing the same things."

"There is no need for a Council here."

"The Council was a fifth wheel—all the member organizations were much better organized."

Three communities reported dissatisfaction with the attention and service they received from social agencies. They were told when they organized, leaders said, that the council was to be a channel connecting the agency programs with the needs of their communities. But when they made requests which seemed legitimate to them (the service of a public health nurse during an epidemic was one of these requests) help was not forthcoming.

It is interesting and in line with the independence of the county communities, that only one council chairman registered complaint of inadequate service from the field secretary (the chairman whose experience best qualified him for guiding such a program without help). Another good chairman said that the field secretary had given all the help they asked, adding: "Perhaps we have been a little self-sufficient." Other interested people outside the councils express the opinion that more time and guidance from a staff member was needed.

In illustrating the possibilities of council work in the city of Pittsburgh extracts from reports on the Hazelwood Council were quoted, on page 434, *supra*. As a companion piece for county councils, a brief evaluation of one of its best representatives may be in place:

The Wilkinsburg Council—more than any other in the county—holds to the indirect function of coördinating the activities of the various community organizations which compose it. A local leader stated that ground was being broken for this council long before its organization by the suggestion to various clubs that, instead of devoting their energies exclusively to the entertainment of their own groups or to miscellaneous literary pursuits, they might be sharing in community service. "Welfare" has been the focus of the council since the time of its organization. At its monthly meetings delegates from community organizations report on current "welfare" projects, sometimes pointing out ways by which other organizations may coöperate. At the meetings attended by the representative of the study, some half dozen social workers representing different agencies likewise reported on their current case loads in the community. At one meeting attended in 1934 the cause of the Community Fund was presented by a council member who, by the way, says that he "graduated into Community Fund work through his interest in this Community Council." At this meeting also the recreation needs of boys in Wilkinsburg

and the Boys Club project, carried on, on volunteer basis, after R.W.D. funds ceased, were explained. It was an indication of the effectiveness of these council contacts that at a later meeting gifts of five, ten, and twenty-five dollars to this project were reported by the various organizations.

There are many evidences of the value seen by the community in this Council. Attendance has kept up. A group work executive who knows the Council spoke of it as a forum for the dissemination of community information. There is little doubt but that the community not only has profited in better local coöperation, but also, partly through this coöperation, has secured an unusually large quota of service from the county-wide agencies.

The leader mentioned above said that Wilkinsburg is a "middle-class community," and that what has been accomplished here could have been done in other communities. He may have under-estimated the difference between Wilkinsburg and some of the other communities, but part of Wilkinsburg's advantage has, of course, resulted from the long-time coöperative efforts, of which the Council is an example.

It is in line with this Council's policy of coördination that it has this year united with another similar organization in the community—the Inter-Club Council. From observation during the study it would seem that the constructive achievements listed for the Los Angeles Coöordinating Councils³⁴ apply also to the Wilkinsburg council.

1. The Coöordinating Councils have developed closer coöperative effort among professional and lay workers, as related to the field of social work, in local communities.

2. The work of the Coöordinating Councils has offered each agency an opportunity for self-evaluation and criticism, and makes possible comparison of its work with the work of other agencies in similar fields.

3. A consciousness of community responsibility and community planning has been engendered by the Coöordinating Councils within the local areas involved among professional and lay people as related to the field of social work, especially in relation to the problems of delinquency prevention. (Included, but not greatly emphasized, in Wilkinsburg).

4. Much valuable information concerning neighborhood resources and local problems has been secured through surveys conducted by the local Coöordinating Councils under the supervision of a central research committee. (During the Social Study, the Wilkinsburg Council coöperated in a recreation study of their community and on a compilation of philanthropic programs of local organizations).

5. The Coöordinating Councils have assisted in the enrichment of community recreational and character-building activities by the assignment of workers of the SERA and other governmental projects.

6. Commendable freedom from arbitrary central control has tended to develop in each community local leadership and responsibility.

³⁴ By the Committee on Character Building Agencies of the Los Angeles Council of Social Agencies.

7. In particular, the Coördinating Councils have fostered community movements beneficial to youth. [The Wilkinsburg Council has a less particular emphasis on youth; otherwise this is true.]

Agency attitudes to Community Councils.—Opinions of agency executives of city and county-wide agencies on the status of the councils seems to vary in accordance with the agency's specific relationship to the councils. For the most part these executives have very little knowledge of council activities. In spite of this lack of current information on the city councils a sympathetic and friendly attitude was discernible on the part of at least four agency executives. In a few cases, where the executive attributed little of value to the councils, staff members expressed appreciation of council activities. Three executives are recorded as disapproving of allowing to staff members agency time for attending council meetings. Two of the three agencies expressed the opinion that the value of Community Councils does not warrant the support of the Community Fund, while the third stated that the organization of councils was too weak and ineffectual to be of value to his organization. In the latter case, however, the present study of local councils has shown that there is nevertheless an excellent functioning relationship between the local units of this agency and the different councils.

In response to the request for recommendations concerning Community Councils many agency executives showed lack of sufficient knowledge of the councils to comply with the request. The trend of such suggestions as were received was that councils should become more representative of the communities, should secure more lay participation and lay leadership. Agencies which were familiar with Community Councils invariably expressed the opinion that the need is for more professional guidance. Executives observed that the field secretaries are overloaded and suggested, in view of the limitation of staff, a more intensive development of active councils rather than the stimulation of less active or new councils.

Some of the reasons which may be advanced in explanation of this lack of understanding of the Pittsburgh Community Councils are that:

(1) No clear-cut picture of a particular council has been brought back to the city-wide agency, because meetings are attended by different staff representatives. This turnover, moreover, limits the contribution which an agency can make to the council because of the lack of continuity. By the same token, the council does not receive full coöperation from the agency, nor does the agency perceive the opportunities for interplay.

(2) During the early period of the Community Councils their activities were "news." Front-page articles, pictures, and editorials may be remembered. While the present lack of this type of publicity need not be deplored, it should be brought out that there is an almost complete absence

of any means of general information on Community Council activities, which might normally come to the desk of city-wide agency executives.

It has already been shown that functioning relationships have been quite close between the different local Community Councils and the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board's Thrift Garden Committee, the Bureau of Recreation, with its local units, the Department of Public Works, the Board of Education, and the different schools within areas of council activity. With some reservations the executives of these organizations express no antagonism to the councils. They see mutual value in the tie-up with the different local groups. From the point of view of these executives coöperative work with the councils has been a means of enlarging the agency's field of service and of reënforcing its aims by securing increased community interest and participation.

Y.M.C.A.'s and other local social work institutions and individual case workers have furnished meeting place, time, and leadership to a number of councils, partly because the Community Fund and the Federation asked for coöperation, partly out of personal liking for the county organizer, partly because of a legitimate advantage to their own program, and partly because of conviction about the value of the council program for the community.

The Federation has, however, been disappointed in both Pittsburgh and the rest of Allegheny County because of the small extent to which social agencies have used the councils as channels of interpretation of their programs and because of the limited extent to which they have themselves participated in the councils and helped develop projects. It seems probable that, could this have happened to the degree the Federation wished, the combination of local initiative and leadership from professional workers could have found a profitable program for any of the communities and that their joint attention and judgment could have helped avoid some of the errors into which the councils fell. If this had happened, the purposes of the Allegheny County Emergency Association, the Community Fund, and the Federation—which never were identical—might all have been fulfilled.

The reasons for lack of further coöperation lie in the social work situation in Pittsburgh and the county, in the history of the councils and in human factors which would operate anywhere. There is the difficulty of attending numerous meetings in addition to the worker's own program and the still greater one of finding time for real service on another program than his own. These difficulties were more serious for the workers connected with Pittsburgh agencies who had large districts and no headquarters in a council community. Two county-wide workers report that, having faced the situation, they decided that attending council meetings

was less profitable for their own program and for the communities than the same time spent in other ways. Community organization, especially in some of these communities, presents difficult problems. Many of the workers are young and new to their districts; as a result, even when they attended meetings, some of these workers were as baffled about solutions to problems as were lay people from the community.

There had been no previous guarantee that the agencies would coöperate on council programs and there was insufficient provision for developing coöperation. Except for an early meeting of agencies when a number of them suggested local leaders to contact, attempts have been limited to discussions in staff meetings with members of the Fund and Federation staffs in attendance. Requests for coöperation in these meetings seemed to the agencies to imply a degree of criticism of their past coöperation. There has been a difficulty, not fully recognized by either side, about agency representatives getting notices of meetings. No plan for division of responsibility as between agency workers and the Federation was clearly worked out.

Comments of some of the agency staff who have had experience with councils, therefore, deserve attention:

In speaking of the benefits of the Hazelwood Council (Pittsburgh) a case worker from the Family Society referred to "the opportunity to know some of the resources and key community people, how they feel about their own neighborhood, and their sense of responsibility."

A former Family Society staff member wrote in reply to an inquiry from the Social Study:

You referred to the antagonistic attitude of the Family Society. I wondered if that wasn't partly due to the fact that we did get some impression that the Community Councils were being formed for the purpose of acting upon relief policies and relief allotments in individual cases. As we continued with our work in the Council, it appeared that our original conception of the purpose of the Council was somewhat erroneous and that the Councils could form an excellent community resource and provide real strength for the social service program. It was made clear repeatedly that the final decision for relief did not rest with the Council but through the Council, the social agencies were able to learn of community criticism which would benefit them in working with the people in that community.

We got to know many individuals in the community whom we would not have known otherwise. We had the feeling of a community group to whom we could turn. We felt that the communities which had Community Councils were far more interested in the social work program and were, therefore, much more helpful since they considered themselves a part of the family.

One of the questions which arose in discussing the work of the councils was that in regard to continued interest in, and responsibility for, the council. The Council of Social Agencies, I believe, was mainly responsible for the organization, but it was felt that after the original organization had been made, there was not continued interest on the part of the person who had done the organizing. It seemed that the

agencies whose representatives attended the meetings were left with the responsibility without any direct authority. . .

There are other social workers who are vocal in uncomplimentary opinions about the councils; these opinions stress the ineffectiveness rather than the harm of the organizations.

Personnel of the Community Councils and relation to the coördinative agencies.—The establishment, guidance, and “servicing” of the Community Councils was entrusted from the very beginning to the Federation of Social Agencies, and more particularly to its Group Work Division. The planning, guidance, and field service, as well as the creation of councils, have remained an integral part of the Federation program and staff service. The emergency functions were soon crowded into the background. Councils were looked upon as miniature councils of social agencies or—so it was hoped—as true neighborhood organizations of citizens interested in all aspects of community life; also, though only in the opinion of some outside observers, as possible local branches or agents of the Federation. Some regarded themselves as a potential coördinative and interpretative agency for public welfare in general, and, through the accident of projects, for leisure time programs in particular. This fact must be clear, if the problems of Community Councils are to be understood. It is also important to realize that in the light of this tendency antagonisms of a few strong social agencies, which were critical of the Federation, were bound to be carried over to their attitude toward councils as long as they were managed by the Federation.

District offices of the Pittsburgh Community Councils were given secretarial service under supervision of the Group Work Division of the Federation by a group of persons taken on by way of a work-relief project, financed by the Allegheny County Emergency Association. In June, 1932, after six months of this procedure (some of the effects of which have been discussed above) a salaried field secretary was employed. By October, 1933, there were four field secretaries, two for the city and two for the county, and a number of work-relief district secretaries. About this time supervision of the councils passed into the hands of the new secretary of the Group Work Division of the Federation, Miss Kennedy having accepted appointment as new executive of the Federation. By the fall of 1934 there were five staff members, four for the city and one for the county, the former nominally responsible to the Group Work Division, the latter theoretically reporting to the executive of the Federation. An examination of the records showed, however, that a substantial part of the work of these secretaries was used for other special assignments, ranging from assistance in Community Fund drives to the management of day camps, the conduct of pageants, and the training institutes for recreation workers. Nor was

consistent advice or supervision of these staff members available to make up for these interruptions and diversions. But the multiplication of councils continued, and programs became more and more bewildering.

Meanwhile, even the theoretical relationship of the council development to the Group Work Division created difficulties. The original association of these activities was a matter of accident: the availability of rare organizing talent by its then secretary. The tendency for council functions to veer from the original objectives to an increasing recreation program may have been due in part to this accidental coincidence, while in part it was also undoubtedly due to the greater adaptability of recreation as Federal projects employing C.W.A., L.W.D., and W.P.A. workers. At any rate, we find that where the councils have been organized in areas in which group work agencies were already functioning, there has been, in many cases, some confusion over the question of credit for activities which have been sponsored coöperatively by the council and the group work agency.

There has been an undercurrent of feeling that the councils were stealing the thunder of the group work agencies. Some agencies have been able to capitalize on the work that was initiated by a council, which has resulted in a desirable enlargement of the agency program and has, by the same token, diminished the prestige of the Community Council.

The relationship between the group work agencies and the Community Councils was at the outset a coöperative one. It has tended to become one of competition. The Community Council field secretaries do not report to the Group Work Division, nor has their work been presented at any open meeting. There is, consequently, considerable misunderstanding evident on the part of the group work agencies concerning the present status of the councils. This would seem to indicate that neither are the Community Councils assisted by their tie-up with the Group Work Division, nor is the position of the Group Work Division strengthened by this relationship.

The Federation of Social Agencies is the official sponsor of the Community Councils. From the interviews with lay persons it was noted that the Federation was rarely referred to, but frequent references were made to the Community Council "down-town office." In written communications Community Councils of Pittsburgh have used the address, 519 Smithfield Street. However, this is confusing to recipients of correspondence from local councils. One council purchased its own letterhead stationery in the summer of 1933, and another council is planning to do so in the immediate future.

Where Community Councils are composed of lay membership, they will inevitably do many things which are not in accordance with social

work practice; for example, the giving of Christmas baskets, raising funds by various means, such as card parties, bingos, raffles, and so forth. One council solicited one-dollar subscriptions from its member agencies; this was at first misunderstood as an organization sponsored by the Federation and supported by the Community Fund, soliciting financial contributions.

As the different Community Councils become more deeply entrenched within their neighborhoods, they may increase in degree of initiative and independence; consequently, the field secretaries of Community Councils will not be consulted upon all projects, any of which will nevertheless reflect upon the Federation should there be any criticism. For example, one Community Council gave a fair and raised \$103 for its Well Baby Clinic. It happened that this was a desirable activity in which the school fully coöperated, but the field secretary, engaged in the production of the Community Fund pageant, was unable to maintain close supervision. The Federation regards the councils as autonomous bodies, each council forming its own policies. The relationship of the field secretaries is of a voluntary, advisory, and nonauthoritative nature. They have no power to approve, vote for, or veto any project.

It seems obvious that, in view of the difficulties already indicated which arise when councils are a functioning part of the Federation of Social Agencies through its Group Work Division and in view of the fact that these bodies always have been autonomous, it would be impossible, as well as inappropriate, for the Federation to approve and take responsibility for all the activities which councils may initiate. It is obvious also that the councils have relationships not to group work agencies alone, since their activities have taken place in the fields of housing, health, gardening, education, and recreation as well. To associate them administratively with the Group Work Division is to overemphasize this content and relationship and to minimize others.

Summary, evaluation, and recommendations concerning Community Councils.—In summarizing and attempting to evaluate the findings of this inquiry into the nature of Community Councils, it is impossible to claim adherence to provable facts alone. Individual judgment and the projection of one's experience as it may be analogous are inevitable. Records of the history and achievements of the various councils might lead other observers to different conclusions and therefore to other recommendations.³⁵

It would have been easier, of course, to make recommendations when

³⁵ Several persons, including at least one member of the staff, proposed the creation of a neighborhood division in the Federation of Social Agencies, adequately staffed, to serve the needs of existing councils and guide the development of the system as a whole. This proposal does not lack logic. Other alternative conclusions and plans may also seem reasonable.

the councils started. There can be no question about the value of those councils which are:

- (a) Timely in their organization
- (b) Adapted to the community
- (c) Representative of the groups in the community whose programs have a bearing on the particular focus of the council
- (d) Under the leadership of local people with sufficient understanding, vision, ability, time, and patience to give promise of results even if slow. (Much of the time and some, but not all, of the other requisites can be supplied at the start by professional staff if it is adequate.)

Neither is there any question of the need of Community Councils in many places in Allegheny County. The lack of cohesion in some of these communities, the dearth of civic experience in other, and the need for an informed, interested lay group behind social programs in all of them—in addition to needs for programs themselves—create the opportunity.

It does not seem illogical for a Federation of Social Agencies to sponsor Community Councils whose functions are limited to interpreting, co-ordinating, appraising, recommending, and stimulating.

The present situation is neither wholly good nor wholly bad. Worse than lack of tangible accomplishment would be any measure of community disillusionment, caused by a failure of effort and hope. Worse, also, would be the arousing of friction and antagonisms among the agencies supposed to coöperate in social programs. Fortunately, however, most communities, in the county at least, did not take the original plan so seriously or make so wholehearted an effort as to be very much disillusioned by incomplete results, and, fortunately or unfortunately, the antagonisms among agencies had also other roots.

Some of the explanations for lack of expected results have been implied in the foregoing discussion, and may be summarized as follows:

1. Mixture of motives

Each of the three original sponsoring agencies had an ideal criterion for the councils by which it is still measuring them. The programs which developed included not only coördinating existing resources, but also direct service projects to fill unmet needs. The efforts made to fill these needs were to the credit of the councils and the Federation. They did, however, tend to bring both the councils and the Federation, to a certain extent, into the field of direct services and hence into competition with other programs.

2. Too rapid and complex organization or too little follow-up

The organization attempted in the county in 1933 and 1934 would seem to constitute at least a ten-year program. The Federation, realizing the need for further staff leadership, has asked for provision in the budget for a supervisor which has not been available. It might perhaps have planned staff assignments differently. The county, for instance, had more councils to serve and greater community needs, both for interpretation of social work and for services, than did Pittsburgh.

Yet it had only one staff worker when four were assigned to the city. It seems incomprehensible that with staff so limited, they should have been expected to give so much time to other activities, and to contemplate what seems a ten-year program as a complete immediate objective.

3. Possible overemphasis on projects to be furnished from the outside

It is probable that the councils would have had a more wholesome, but no easier, development had less expectation of outside help been aroused. The difficulties in the government projects applied to adult education, as well as to recreation.

4. Insufficient coöperation among Pittsburgh agencies, not only upon councils after they were organized, but in initial plans and in continued policy making.

Because there has been no policy-forming board or committee since very early in the program, information about the councils that might have been more generally and more accurately spread and the points of view, which might have been exchanged, have been relegated to more indirect channels. As a result, a program which still needed, here as elsewhere, something of the open-minded experimental attitude of a laboratory, has tended to gather the unhealthy crystallization of opposed pro and con opinions. Conferences with individuals made it evident that rather definite opinions as to what the Community Councils should do were so diverse that all of them could not possibly have been followed.

It should be pointed out that in other places, also, difficulties have been encountered. From Los Angeles comes the following observation with regard to dangers in the coördinating councils which are regarded as very successful there:³⁶

There is danger of local Coördinating Councils proceeding too hastily in dealing with problems of individuals and in planning new activities to meet community needs. This is observed most frequently in groups where adequate skilled leadership with experience in community planning is not available.

There is an ever-present danger that local Coördinating Councils will set themselves up as new agencies.

In speaking of the "commendable freedom from arbitrary central control which tended to develop local leadership and responsibility," this committee continues:

In the course of such developments, constructive direction from a central advisory board should be continued in matters of organization, policy and program in order that mistakes be avoided.

The following comment comes from a staff member of the Detroit Council of Social Agencies which has also sponsored Community Councils:

The program has shifted quite a bit; in the interim (of staff vacancies) about half of the Councils languished and became just about moribund. In five of them, how-

³⁶ The introduction to the "Evaluation" from which the quotations above are taken says: "The Committee on Character Building Agencies prepared the following evaluation of the local Coördinating Council movement, in order to clarify our thinking in the Council of Social Agencies and to answer the request coming from many cities. In preparing this evaluation for the approval of the Executive Committee of the Council of Social Agencies, due consideration was given to the fact that the local Coördinating Councils are still in a formative period."

ever, activity of a more or less intensive sort was continued, mostly on the part of local people who kept them going. Miss ——— has worked since with those five and we have made no effort whatsoever to revive the others. In our opinion, the condition now is an interesting and healthy one.

We have had during this last year to resist requests to establish or re-establish additional Councils, because our present policy is not to activate Councils to blanket the entire city as it was in the past, but to do a more concrete and definite job in the Councils where there is real leadership and interest. The major interest at present is along the lines of stimulating and coördinating youth programs.

Detroit's procedure corresponds to the plan which we are recommending for Pittsburgh, which is: a period of concentration on the most promising of the present councils before there is any decision upon permanent plans.³⁷ The concentration recommended needs to be that of study, as well as of service, since, as the present staff realizes, a wise balance must be kept between staff service and lay initiative. It would be an asset if particular agency auspices of the councils during this period could be absent or would revert to the original composite type of sponsorship. As a suggestion for such a plan, we recommend:

1. The appointment by the Community Fund and the Federation of Social Agencies of a special committee to serve for a limited time with the following functions:
 - a) To receive reports from staff members
 - b) To assist them in formulating current policies for serving the active councils
 - c) To report to Fund, Federation, and interested public on the status of the councils
2. Continuing staff work with the councils now active and with approximately the present resources—a supervisor to be added if the committee approves and if extra finance is possible. We recommend that active Community Councils which are interested participate in the plan and that some of their leaders be added to the committee as recommended above. The committee, staff, and councils should keep in mind that they are furnishing experience to guide future plans for the city and county
3. For the period agreed upon we recommend that no effort be made to stimulate the organization of new councils or the reorganization of those which have ceased to function
4. At the end of the designated period this committee and the staff should prepare separate recommendations for future plans as to:
 - a) Whether Community Councils shall be continued, and
 - b) If continued
 - (1) Under what auspices—Federation or other
 - (2) Staff and budget needed
 - (3) Plan for policy-forming board
 - (4) Direction of programs and of possible extension
 - c) Any other recommendations
5. It is suggested that, after considering these recommendations, the Community

³⁷ Either of continuing, discontinuing, or for a neighborhood division of the Federation or other auspices.

Fund and the Federation boards, in joint subcommittee meetings, decide upon the future plan for Community Councils.

In the light of these recommendations, which imply a tentative attitude on the permanence and function of councils, it would seem illogical to recommend a permanent "neighborhood division" in the Federation of Social Agencies. There are other reasons, more specifically applying to the program of the Federation that would further militate against the validity of such a recommendation at this time, but these are not pertinent to the fortunes of Community Councils.

INTERPRETATION AND PUBLICITY FOR SOCIAL WORK AS PART OF SOCIAL PLANNING

It was pointed out elsewhere that the stake of the general public in social work has been given inadequate recognition by social agencies. This is particularly true since economic security and public relief have become so large and recognized a part of social work, practitioners have been drawn in such large numbers from untrained personnel, and the leisure time field has so generally run over the borders of service to the disadvantaged into community service to the population at large. While, therefore, the increasing assumption of the support of social work by public funds would seem to make publicity in the interest of fund-raising less important than before, interpretation to the public at large, to taxpayer and voter assume a new importance and significance. It seems desirable, then, to examine how this task is performed and in what ways it may be improved. The study of social interpretation was therefore included in the program of the Social Study and made possible through the generosity of the Russell Sage Foundation, which supplied both the personnel and the necessary funds for this phase of the study. The résumé of findings given in the following pages is drawn from a more extensive report submitted by Mary Swain Routzahn, Consultant in Social Work Interpretation, of the Russell Sage Foundation, and circulated in its original form among those locally interested.³⁸ The relation of interpre-

³⁸ The following extracts are quoted from Mrs. Routzahn's introduction to her full report:

"The Study of Social Work Interpretation in Pittsburgh was, so far as we know, the first study of the kind to be made in any city. Therefore, the opportunity to carry out such an experiment as part of the Pittsburgh Social Study was welcomed not only for its own sake, but also because of the chance to try out a method which might later be useful in other communities. The Study has proceeded more slowly than might otherwise have been the case because the method employed was untried. . . .

"The plan was explained at the beginning of the Study to members of the Pittsburgh Social Work Publicity Council, and developments have been reported to its members from time to time. Their coöperation and help has been most generous at every stage. . . .

"The Study has been directed toward future planning. An effort has been made to include in it a minimum of critical comment on past performance. However, inter-

tation to planning is not perhaps obvious at first. But if social work is to be integrated with the general life of the community, which it touches at so many points, if it is to be even approximately an expression of the public will instead of tradition slowly degenerating into anachronism, the average citizen must be brought to understand social work, at least in the large—its major objectives and important content.

The results of the present inquiry into social interpretation are arranged under three heads:

1. What the public has been told about social work
2. Resources for social work interpretation
3. Recommendations

The analysis of what the public was told covered a ten-month period, and was based on examination of the following material, all issued or in circulation during the period from September 1, 1934, to July 1, 1935:

1. All issues of three Pittsburgh daily newspapers from January 18, 1935, to July 1, 1935, supplemented by many clippings submitted by social agencies for September through December, 1934
2. Class publications, including *The Bulletin Index*, *The American Jewish Outlook*, *Jewish Criterion*, *Greater Pittsburgh*, *This Week in Pittsburgh*, and the *South Side Journal*, supplemented by clippings from Catholic and Negro newspapers
3. Samples of house organs, annual reports, study reports, and other printed matter
4. Seventy radio scripts
5. Attendance at fifteen conference sessions and annual meetings of Pittsburgh social agencies and collected data on the topics of principal meetings held during the period
6. Interviews with representatives of thirty agencies

pretation has lagged so far behind other aspects of social work everywhere, both in volume and in quality, that it would be hard to find a city where an examination of the publicity would not call attention to many omissions, as well as to some ineffectiveness in both content and method of presentation. . . .

"The Study covered interpretation of public and private social work in the city of Pittsburgh only, since the staff time available was insufficient for a county-wide study. It was confined also to the forms of publicity which aim to enlighten the public, omitting a great deal of publicity in the form of dramatic or spectacular events, posters, slogans, and other efforts primarily of the attention-getting variety. . . .

The analysis of content which was the basis of Part One of the report was carried on in New York with the assistance, for short periods, of Baird Middaugh of the National Social Work Publicity Council, Suzanne Wunder of the publicity department of the New York Children's Aid Society, and Mary E. Culp, who has assisted the Social Study, Community Fund, and other agencies in Pittsburgh in their publicity work. . . .

The field work of the Study of Resources reviewed in Part Two of the report was done by Miss Wunder. . . .

The Pittsburgh Social Work Publicity Council, under the leadership of its chairman, the late Eleanor Webster Brown, has assisted greatly in collecting material from the agencies, arranging appointments for consultations, and keeping representatives of social agencies who are members of the Council in touch with the progress of the Study."

This material by no means gives a complete record of all that the public was told during these ten months. Many citizens must have received important social information during this time directly from national magazines. They were also exposed to much misinformation and highly prejudiced comment from these sources. National radio broadcasts and motion pictures contributed to the impressions formed about situations and programs of which Pittsburgh social work is a part.

WHAT NEWSPAPER READERS WERE TOLD

Clippings from three daily newspapers totaled more than 3,000 and were grouped for study by topics. It was found that newspaper readers were told far more about unemployment relief than about any other social problem or any other form of social work. It seems safe to say, indeed, that the newspaper attention given to the subject exceeded that devoted to any other single topic in the news during the first six months of 1935.³⁹ Front-page stories, editorials, cartoons, letters to the editor, and feature articles reported, criticized or upheld, and interpreted many aspects of this question.

Under these circumstances, one might suppose that the people of Pittsburgh had an extraordinary opportunity to become enlightened about the plight of some 75,000 families in the county and the millions in the country as a whole in need of public aid and about what was being done and what should be done for them. Actually, relief as a social problem was scarcely in the news at all. The news values were found in political battles about appropriations, the cost of relief to the taxpayer, the hoped-for improvements through work projects, and the changes from month to month in the number of persons on relief.

The unemployed as human beings became news only when they were under fire. This was true, also, of the relief workers. A minor note of sympathy for the distress of the jobless appeared now and then in editorials, cartoons, letters to the editor, and the reported speeches of the governor, but it was withdrawn at the least hint of suspicion that some few of them were "chiseling" or had refused to work.

The three biggest stories about relief in Pittsburgh dailies during the first six months of 1935 were about:

1. The passage of the Federal work relief appropriation
2. The state relief appropriations
3. Legislative investigation of relief in Allegheny County

All three stories were in the news for several months, and all reached their high point of interest during April. Our clippings on these stories for

³⁹ The analysis of newspaper reporting of relief covered the period from January 18 to July 1, 1935.

April alone, from the three Pittsburgh dailies, number 223, and closely related items would bring the number above three hundred. The huge and unprecedented size of the four and a half billion dollar Federal appropriation for work relief naturally made this measure top news. The intended beneficiaries of the vast sum of money were referred to briefly when controversy over the security wage versus prevailing wage arose.

Only brief and obscure paragraphs sometimes reminded the reader that the unemployed are human beings, as well as occasions for appropriations. For example:

The people (relief recipients) are getting the habit. It's going to cost the taxpayers far more in the future than any four billion or twice four billion, unless we put them to work.

The allotment of 600 million for the Civilian Conservation Corps will be generally approved. No other type of relief has proved quite as satisfactory as the CCC. It has kept on its rolls more than three hundred young men of relief families, many of whom otherwise would have become street-corner loafers or homeless wanderers. The CCC has paid extra dividends socially as well as in the conservation of forests and soil.

Stories about applications for PWA⁴⁰ grants gave some attention to the conditions in state institutions, especially the long-standing neglect of the mental hospital, with its overcrowding and waiting lists.

Local news during the spring months concerned the attempt to carry over those employed on work relief until the new PWA absorbed them. Headlines threatened the lay-off of more and more of these workers as the continuance of state emergency funds became uncertain, but they mainly reported delays, suspicion of political corruption, and accusations by private contractors of waste and inefficiency.

In June the requirement that everyone on relief should register for a job brought the unemployed into the headlines. Delays in registration were attributed to reluctance of those on relief to take WPA jobs. "Relief Slacker Will Lose Dole" said a *Press* headline, "No Work, No Eat, Edict Put in Effect for Those Who Are Employable."

During June the *Post-Gazette* ran a critical series of signed feature articles on R.W.D., which parenthetically was called Reckless Waste Division instead of Relief Works Division. The theme, illustrated with many specific instances, was that unemployed persons were encouraged to go on relief in order to qualify for jobs, while many who do get jobs are not anxious to keep them. On the other hand, in a series of feature articles on projects for white-collar workers the *Press* described an impressive number of useful achievements.

Publicity on state appropriations was centered on the bitter fight between governor and senate, which reached its high point, in April, in a

⁴⁰ Public Works Administration, a Federal emergency activity.

complete deadlock. Meanwhile the number of unemployed, estimated variously at from 1,700,000 to 2,000,000, was treated merely as a set of figures repeated like a chorus but never brought to life except to predict food riots and general disorders, or to repeat phrases like, "their bitter need," in quotations from speeches.

Two front-page articles in the *Press* written by its Harrisburg correspondent, reviewed the relief situation with some evidence of interest in the unemployed themselves. The articles reviewed the steps in progress from breadlines to home relief, then to the addition of clothing and shelter, finally to cash relief; also they outlined the progress from local to state responsibility and then to national responsibility.

News from the State Emergency Relief Administration and the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board during this period consisted for the most part of statistical reports showing the number of persons on relief and the amounts spent for relief. Stories from other states helped to center attention on the relief administration as the arena for political quarrels, especially between the Federal Government and the states. The three stories which were most dramatic and which were in the news for the longest time were: the fight between Governor Davey and Federal Relief Administrator Hopkins, in Ohio; the deadlock in Illinois, when relief was cut off and hunger marchers converged on the Capitol; and the boondoggling story from New York which drew such headlines as: "Goody! Goody! 19 Million for Ballet Dances"; and "New York's Relief Millions Go to Pay for Ballet Lessons and Hobby Guidance."

The "probe," as the headlines called the legislative investigation of relief, was a news event of importance in March and April. This was the one occasion when the unemployed themselves were important figures in the news. Social workers, also, were discussed in the course of the public hearings. Clients and workers were headlined for their sins, not for their virtues.

Reports of the hearings told that cash relief had resulted in a 40 percent decrease in milk consumption; that coal orders were sold; that cash relief frees the relief workers' time so that they have more time to investigate families; and that cash relief increases drinking. Court action against "chiselers" who had been identified was hailed as an achievement. Brief and easily overlooked items about clients who had been cheated on their coal orders and the theft of relief checks from clients were in the news at the same time, but these were minor human interest stories and independent of the investigation.

Headlines, articles, and editorials made much of an apparently reluctant estimate by County Relief Director Mills that "under 10 percent and possibly under five percent of all relief clients were chiselers." This was

translated as the story progressed into a positive statement supposedly based on accurate records to the effect that 10 percent, or 30,000, of the chiselers were getting from \$100,000 to \$200,000 monthly.

Relief workers were blamed editorially for the existence of chiseling, although it was admitted that they were carrying case loads of 150, whereas a load of 75 had been recommended as sufficient. Low salaries were also admitted in editorials, but neither of these facts was accepted as a mitigation for failing to find the chiselers.

Newspaper reports of hearings gave generous space to a disgruntled coal dealer who charged waste in coal distribution, a grocer who claimed to have made a study of 100 cases and found that all were chiselers, and a discharged relief worker who maintained that she had been dismissed for taking a day off in order to appear in a suit against a taxicab company.

There is evidence that the State Emergency Relief Administration was making a serious effort to present its side of the picture during this period of agitation. Governor Earle was quoted as not believing that relief rolls had grown primarily because of chiselers. "Our relief rolls have grown simply because a number of our citizens finally exhausted every resource and had to turn to their fellow citizens for help."

Figures were given out by Administrator Johnson showing that in the three counties studied the percentage of chiselers was about 2.3. The relief administration supplied figures showing that the relief cost was 39 cents per person per day; that the Pennsylvania system of relief cost less than in forty-five other states; and that much less was being spent in Pennsylvania than was being spent in any other state.

It is to be expected, of course, that as taxpayers newspaper readers would be interested in the cost of relief and in their own part in paying for it. They would be receptive to any information which would support the conviction that less money should be spent for relief. On the other hand, if the needs for relief were made vivid enough, and if the victims of unemployment were sympathetically treated now and then in the news, this defensive attitude might be offset to some extent.

But the public learned practically nothing concerning the courage and resourcefulness of thousands of relief clients who were in contrast to the almost negligible number of chiselers and people refusing to work. The effect of the depression on children was represented by one obscure item reporting a study of malnutrition in the families of the unemployed. The public was not made aware of the intricate problem involved in transferring employables to work relief or of the difficulties of distinguishing between employable and unemployable persons. The case for competence in relief administration as it affects the clients and their future restoration to self-support was not brought out. The only material found on the im-

portant problem of transients was a series of five feature articles, which appeared in the *Press*, in January, called, "Hobo for a Week," in which a reporter told of his experience as a tramp seeking shelter in Pittsburgh.

The chief sources of news about relief were the national press services and the Washington and Harrisburg correspondents of local newspapers. Most of the interpretation of the news, as well as the reporting, was done by political commentators and reporters. State Emergency Relief Administration and Allegheny County Relief Board provided statistics which were duly reported, and they told the reader how the size of the relief load varied from week to week. Almost no information, comment, or interpretation was credited to social workers or appeared to bear the stamp of their professional understanding of the situation. As interpreters of the plight of the unemployed and of the significance to their lives of the unabating burden of the depression the social agencies and workers apparently were negligible factors.

The subject of old age pensions was in the news most frequently in November and December, 1934, when applications for pensions under the state law were being filed. All the newspapers carried information about methods of applying for pensions, human interest stories about the applicants, and photographs which in themselves told stories of helplessness and poverty. The *Sun-Telegraph* carried a cartoon, "Journey's End?" showing two old people on their way to the poorhouse where they would have to spend the rest of their lives unless their application for old age pensions was successful.

In three feature articles in the Pittsburgh *Press* Gilbert Love illustrated an interpretation of the pension plan with human interest stories concerning the applicants. The first of the stories made the point that the applicants were of all types; some had been poor all their lives, some were persons of education who had lost money in the depression, and so forth. The second forecast the benefits that old age pensions would bring, not only to the old themselves, but also to the relatives just above the relief level who were making great sacrifices to provide for the aged. The third described the difficulties of proving eligibility for pensions. It recounted the story of an aged colored woman who had been born in slavery and consequently had difficulty proving her age. Many persons had lost citizenship papers in odd ways. Others were so old that their contemporaries were gone and they had no one to vouch for the date of their birth.

After January 1, the date when the Old Age Pension Law went into effect, and after the first rush of applicants had subsided, the old age pensions appeared in the newspapers only occasionally. The more lengthy stories during this period, for the most part described the state legis-

lature's alarms and excursions in the process of making an appropriation for payment of the pensions.

The term "social security," not at all a familiar one to the public, came into the headlines during this period. The main features of the administration's Social Security Bill were listed, rather than described, fairly often, but comparatively few articles explained it except in the most technical terms. As in the case of the Work Relief Bill, the bulk of the news had to do with its progress through the House and the Senate. The Townsend Bill also received considerable attention, but it was explained in a much more human and understandable way.

When the Social Security measure was finally passed, each of the Pittsburgh dailies explained it in more or less simple terms. An excellent question-and-answer article told applicants for old age pensions what they would need to know. Walter Lippmann's column in the *Post-Gazette* explained the unemployment insurance section. The *Sun-Telegraph* explained the old age pension plan.

When we shift our attention from unemployment relief and social security as news topics to other aspects of public and private social work, with few exceptions we turn from the front-page to back-page news and from a topic which was continuously before the public to social information which was found in the news intermittently and for only a few days at a time.

What was printed on these other topics seems to have depended much more on what was offered by interested state and local organizations and less on the initiative of press services and local editors. For example, the local Public Welfare Department, which apparently offered little information to the press, was in the news very briefly when accusations of graft in purchasing supplies were made.

The Mothers' Assistance Fund appeared in the news briefly and when under criticism, although its work was important and timely enough to deserve considerable attention. The county commissioner objected to the staff's request that their new automobiles should be inconspicuous in color and without county seals. His comment, as reported in the *Sun-Telegraph*, was "If they get their cars I want them painted in the county colors. They won't chase around on private business with the big seal on their cars."

Closely related to emergency relief and social security is the provision for relief on a permanent basis—a matter of first importance in relation to the immediate future of social work. A bill before the legislature proposing to set up county welfare boards was sponsored by the Public Charities Association and provided an occasion for interpreting this subject to newspaper readers. A state-wide survey of the present poor relief system

had been completed, and the report was released in January, 1935. Here were both the occasion and the source material for news.

The legislative measure was presented to the public as an administrative problem with emphasis on efficiency and economy. A cartoon pictured the old system of poor relief boards as a patchwork quilt of 531 overlapping agencies. The fact that it was proposed to replace 425 independent local boards with 67 county boards was reiterated many times in some 22 news articles and 10 editorials which were examined.

The need for this reform was treated as a human problem having an important bearing on the recipients of public assistance in only two articles, both in the *Press*. One of these, reporting a W.P.A. survey, told of the scores of "lost" children which the study discovered—children who had been placed in free homes by Poor Boards and exploited. The other, with the headline, "Poor Board System Pictured as Monster Preying on Indigents," told of the humiliation to which applicants for relief were subjected, the incredibly low relief budgets, and the wretched conditions in almshouses.

While relief as a social problem was subordinated in the news to its political aspects, in news about private social agencies social information was overshadowed by descriptions of special occasions and administrative matters. The bulk of our clippings tell about election of officers, changes in personnel, announcements and progress of money-raising campaigns, accounts of "benefits," together with pictures of socially prominent men and women, descriptions of anniversary events, and announcements and reports of speeches of out-of-town speakers. In such stories as these one occasionally finds brief general statements about the aims of agencies.

Community Fund campaign news was about the campaign events, such as the parade and the progress of the campaign itself. Pictures and pre-campaign stories naturally showed familiar services. Legislative campaigns received editorial support, but produced very little news. None of these occasions produced interpretive feature articles, such as the series on English housing or one on white-collar projects.

Other subjects comprised within the field of social work received relatively less newspaper attention except when they were related to state or national news or were occasioned by local conflict or the type of courtesy news connected with annual meetings or social affairs and the election of officers.

What the public was told about such topics as housing, hospitals and clinics, health reformation, juvenile delinquency, leisure time activities, the profession of social work, and the difference between public and voluntary work came, however, not only through the columns of the newspaper, but also over the radio and through class publications, house organs, annual reports, public discussions, meetings, and lectures.

WHAT THE PUBLIC WAS TOLD OVER THE RADIO

The analysis of what the radio public was told is based on approximately seventy radio programs,⁴¹ all of which were presented by local privately supported social agencies. This fact places the content of radio broadcasts in striking contrast to what was found in the newspapers, since news and features from national and state sources and from publicly supported social work received so much more newspaper space than material from local voluntary agencies.

We know that during the period of the study there were occasional broadcasts about social work over important national networks: an international broadcast on Christmas Eve in honor of Toynbee Hall; a dramatization of family social service given by the "March of Time" cast and others accompanying national campaigns or celebrations of anniversaries. A "Character Building Forum" was given once a month over an NBC network. News summaries and commercial programs may have referred from time to time to various aspects of the Government's relief programs, or to such topics as health, scouting, and crime prevention. Presumably some few of these national broadcasts were picked up by local stations.

The relative amount of radio time given to different branches of social work is in reverse order to the amount of newspaper space devoted to these topics. Thus, the services of case work agencies appear to be well in the lead in the attention received in radio programs, while emergency relief was the topic least mentioned.

Relatively more space was given to public health, juvenile delinquency, group work of all kinds, and the activities of case work agencies.

In only a few instances were radio listeners treated as though they might use the services of social agencies. These instances have a special interest, and a few excerpts from talks which offered service or gave advice and useful information to the radio audience are therefore quoted. "Service to the Hard of Hearing" explained the difference between the deaf and the hard of hearing.

The League for Hard of Hearing helps the discouraged make use of a remnant of hearing, and prepares them for vocational and recreational activities in which they can succeed. They are the first group of handicapped people to work out a solution of their own problem independently of the more fortunate who are not

⁴¹ These programs include: 22 talks from the weekly fifteen-minute Community Fund program called "Human Values"; 7 campaign broadcasts; 12 five-minute talks by the Children's Service Bureau; two plays, a Boy Scout dramatization, and a tuberculosis play (one of a Christmas seal sale series); 16 examples selected from five weekly programs; and 18 single talks or interviews by members of social agencies. None of the many examples of spot announcements are included in this list. Thirty-seven social agencies were represented in these programs. Ten others reported having used the radio, but they provided no samples of their programs.

handicapped. Lip reading is the first aid. By-products of lip reading are self-reliance, quickening of mental facilities, better understanding of human nature, and loss of inferiority.

Vocational advice is given according to age and type of hearing difficulty. The adequately trained among them usually do a better job than those not handicapped, as illustrated by the story of a young woman who completed a twenty-four weeks' business school course in seventeen weeks, and was promoted by her employer in one month, instead of two as agreed if she made good.

Concerning public health nursing service listeners were told that:

The newer knowledge of disease prevention is taught to families by the Public Health Nursing Association. The nurses teach not only how to care for sick but the principles of personal hygiene, home sanitation, disease prevention and health promotion. This is especially important in conservation of maternal and child health. Six to seven mothers die for every 1,000 babies born alive in Pittsburgh. Two-thirds of these deaths could be prevented. Among cases cared for by the Public Health Nursing Association, only two to three mothers die for every 1,000 babies born. A young couple who followed nurse's instructions saved their frail, almost lifeless baby, now a husky normal little girl. A mother was taught how to care for herself so she could nurse her baby boy who grew strong as a result. Nurses also give nutrition instructions, illustrated by a story of two children who gained on skimmed milk and oatmeal.

The nurses' services are open to all. The fee for those who can pay is \$1.00 per visit. In five months this year, 108,000 visits were made to 31,000 patients.

One talk offered useful information about the emotionally unadjusted child to those not dismayed by the psychologist's use of such sentences as, "An instinct may be thought of as being composed of three parts: a stimulus, a reaction and a feeling tone or emotion!" The speaker told that:

The emotional maladjustment of an adult goes back to childhood where symptoms should be recognized. We must understand the emotional development of the child, and methods of dealing with emotional problems, like shyness, stealing, temper tantrums, which may indicate the child's need for affection, security, recognition, or independence. Then try to satisfy this need in a healthy way. Often the brightest children, rather than the dull, have emotional behavior problems. Treatment varies according to the individual. The child is torn between the desire to achieve independence and the desire to remain in the irresponsible state of infancy. Prime needs of childhood are security, feeling of being wanted, loved, of being part of the family group, of being understood. Things which undermine a child's security are marital disharmony between parents, too strict discipline, nagging, inconsistent handling, unfavorable comparison with brothers and sisters. Parent-teacher associations, parent education and child study groups help parents understand the child's needs—also psychiatrists, the mental hygiene clinic, and the child guidance clinic which sponsored the talk.

It is hard to guess what the radio audiences may have learned from broadcasts. So much depends on what the listeners contributed to the educational process. Some talks called for little more than ready sympathy; others demanded close attention and ability to think in the ab-

stract terms to which only the "socially minded" are accustomed or to follow the thread of a case story in which several problems and four or five characters are involved.

Certain programs would be sure to find a public, although not a very large one, made up of people already responsive to the topic or the agency. Those who like the kinds of game described in the *Recreo Hour* must have enjoyed these programs. Requests for furniture and clothing to meet specific needs, whether made over the radio or in newspapers, nearly always find their way to persons who are glad to respond. The Boy Scouts have their own public, which is no doubt enlarged for the story of adventure and courage in their radio pageant. Broadcasts such as those on the home customs of foreign-born groups would find listeners among those who travel or read of the countries described and among the foreign-born themselves.

When we turn from these readily accepted themes to the talks about social programs, it is harder to visualize any considerable number of listeners who would grasp and retain the facts and stories for later retelling. Well disposed listeners who did not follow closely any details of the talks might perhaps have thought, "They do a lot of good—these agencies." They also may have become familiar with phrases such as "medical care," "foster home," "keeping families together" and so have become more responsive to campaign appeals for support of such services. To some, the specific instances of unmet needs which were cited might have been compelling.

Although the value of trained case workers was stated many times, it was asserted rather than made clear. The number and variety of examples of needs and services cited to show case work might, in so rapid a recital, create the impression that social workers were moving people about like puppets, in and out of hospitals, foster homes, and clinics. One might readily conclude that a social worker would have to know her way around to do all this, but one would scarcely be convinced that she needs long and expensive training.

The service figures would be difficult to remember and would not tell the listener anything about the size of a particular problem or make clear the extent to which it is being met or neglected, especially since these figures always relate to a single agency.

Commercial broadcasters repeat a single idea again and again with variations in illustration or approach from day to day or week to week. The informative broadcasts of the social agencies were largely single presentations of certain ideas or information. The "Human Values"⁴² talks, which had a degree of continuity, were spread thin to cover as many

⁴² House organ of the Community Fund, and title of radio series sponsored by it.

agencies as possible. More experienced broadcasters also use a very simple and limited idea and much repetition in a given program, always providing some tie to the experience and interest of the radio listener. The broadcasts which have been summarized here cover so much ground and shift emphasis so often that the listener has no chance to get a firm hold on the theme.

Accepting the programs reviewed as a fair sample, we would conclude that the radio had been used effectively to present familiar and readily accepted needs and services and ineffectively to enlighten radio listeners on social questions insufficiently understood. We have seen also that a number of important topics which could be made interesting to radio listeners, such as health, housing, and unemployment relief, were scarcely mentioned at all.

WHAT WAS TOLD THE PUBLIC THROUGH VARIOUS CHANNELS

The foregoing résumé gave briefly, though in some detail, what the public was told through the news columns and over the radio, about some of the more prominent social work subjects. Space forbids a similar recital of the content of publicity through class publications, house organs, agency reports, and so forth. A composite review of public information afforded through all the various channels of publicity on some of the topics not considered thus far may serve to complete an outline picture of what the public was told during the period studied.

In the field of housing, for example, several important studies provided significant facts and figures. This wealth of material plus greatly increased public interest in housing because of the Government's activities in this field, opened the way for a vigorous program of public education on a long standing and all too familiar social problem. Apparently these advantages were offset by other factors with the result that housing conditions, although brought to the attention of many different groups, did not take on great public importance as a topic. The emphasis was on existing conditions and on minimum standards for good housing, rather than on specific plans for the immediate future.

We have indications, although not much evidence, that each of a number of hospitals kept a group closely concerned with its affairs in touch with its needs and accomplishments through meetings, and in a few instances, through occasional bulletins. Hospitals were also occasionally in the news or favorably mentioned to radio audiences.

The financial situation of the hospitals and the shortage of beds for free patients, were brought to the attention of a special group of physicians, hospital superintendents, and social workers, and to newspaper readers, at the time when the hospital report of the present study was made public.

The sponsoring committee which took under consideration the recommendations of the Social Study did not undertake any public education during this period.

In its chapter "Community Health Instruction" the Public Health Appraisal indicated a much wider use of lectures, pamphlets, bulletins, and the press, for public information during 1933 than they had during 1934 and 1935. The Pittsburgh Health Department's monthly bulletin had been dropped when this study began. Reduced budgets probably accounted for lessened activity in the whole field of health education. We did not find any evidence of active campaigns on such topics as cancer, diphtheria, heart disease, or the venereal diseases, under either public or private auspices, and only a moderate amount of educational work on tuberculosis was noted.⁴³

Here and there in manuscripts, speeches, and somewhat obscure newspaper articles one comes upon evidence that much thinking and some planning was under way to put through specific measures for preventing juvenile delinquency. There was a proposal to raise the Juvenile Court age to eighteen; a plan for crime prevention services in the police department; a change from political appointees to fully qualified probation officers, which was reported in the newspapers and approved editorially. The deplorable conditions in the Detention Home were described in detail, and pressure was brought to get action.

Three or four private agencies told on the radio and in class publications of their case work with delinquent boys and girls. There was a tendency to report successful cases only, as well as intimations of assured success. There was no presentation of the combined experience of these agencies.

There appeared to be only casual and sporadic efforts to get a sound and interesting presentation of methods of preventing delinquency before a public steeped in the subject of crime as it is presented in the newspapers, motion pictures, and magazines.

The social settlement as a movement came into public notice at the time of an international broadcast in honor of Toynbee Hall, again following the death of Jane Addams, and when the Irene Kaufmann Settlement's fortieth anniversary was celebrated. On these occasions there was more emphasis on the beginning and growth of the settlement than on its present place in social work and its close-range observation of social problems. Group work agencies, as a rule, made their public appearances separately. The activities of some were well publicized; others reached only small groups of volunteers and participants.

The surface activity only was shown to the public, not the meaning

⁴³ Compare, however, some other forms of health education, chap. xix, *infra*.

back of dramatics, athletics, clubs, and classes. The most striking omission was the lack of any expression of awareness on the part of group workers of the effect of the depression on young people coming under their observation. Perhaps by pooling their impressions they might have given the public a greater appreciation of the abundant unused energies, the thwarted ambitions, and perhaps, too, of the resourcefulness and initiative which some of the young people have demonstrated.

The impression gained from news stories, radio talks, and other material studied, was that the most serious current problem of children was the condition of malnutrition found among children on relief. Shortage of funds, we learned, curtailed the services to neglected and dependent children. Through case stories and various brief articles we learned something of modern foster home care. Educational work on child guidance was carried out extensively among parent groups. On the whole, child welfare problems merged into other topics, such as social case work, relief work, public health, and delinquency.

Case stories and statements in annual reports gave brief glimpses of what case working agencies are trying to do. These explanations were especially effective in describing the tools the case worker uses, arrangements for health and clinic treatment, a housekeeper's service in an emergency, a temporary job. What else was told about social case work is negligible. Why are graduates of schools of social work rapidly filling more and more positions in Pittsburgh family and children's agencies? What of the greatly increased skill and resourcefulness which training and careful selection of personnel is bringing to bear on problems of dependent children and of families in trouble? Only members of a small inner circle are given answers to these questions.

It would be both unfair and unwise to base any conclusions on this analysis of the content of public information without knowing what factors in the organization of social work itself might have accounted for a given emphasis or omission or for the use of one outlet and the failure to use others. The suggestions submitted as to what the public should be told should be considered in relation to current situations in social work.

We know that in a period of transition and of rapid changes in policy, such as public social work has been undergoing, there is a natural tendency to postpone interpretation until things settle down and procedures become more clearly defined. On some occasions when it would seem that social workers could clarify public thinking, the supporting figures and evidence to make their statements convincing cannot be assembled at the moment when they are most needed. Again, the continued existence of a few sub-standard agencies working side by side with those who are doing excellent work creates embarrassment in asking the public to demand these higher

standards. Because of these limitations the results of this study of content should be useful primarily to those who know best the social work of the community and to those who are planning and directing social programs.

Certain impressions gained from this experimental analysis might have been expected. Thus, in other cities, as well as in Pittsburgh, political aspects of relief dominated the news. Again, there would be no reason to expect in Allegheny County or elsewhere that a great deal of interesting and useful information on current social programs would be presented in popular form, since no planning is done for an orderly and integrated presentation. No machinery has been set up for carrying on social work interpretation of this kind.

The results of the analysis, which were somewhat unexpected, were: the obscure position in articles and in speeches of many of the passages which have been quoted or summarized; the small percentage of interpretative material with relation to the total volume of words; and the lack of variety, frequency, and force with which important facts were set forth.

If any one member of the Pittsburgh public, knowing little or nothing about social work, had chanced upon all the fragments of information reproduced in these pages, we believe he might have been considerably enlightened on a fairly wide range of social problems. We may be sure that no one person could have encountered more than a small part of it. We may conclude, therefore, that social workers have before them the task of building almost from the beginning a program of public education which will keep pace with advances in social work, is well balanced in its coverage of important social problems, and is adapted to the interests and understanding of the public to which it is addressed.

In the preceding sections emphasis has been on topics of social work rather than on the degree of usefulness of the various avenues through which these topics are or may be transmitted to the public. To the social agency it is almost as important to know where things can be said as to know what to say. Moreover, habits are as easily formed in the matter of the channels of publicity to be utilized as they are with respect to the content of information offered. Both tend to lose vitality and usefulness as they become stereotyped and perfunctory.

THE NEWSPAPERS AS OUTLETS FOR SOCIAL INFORMATION

The three daily Pittsburgh newspapers represent a most important channel for reaching the public. Their total daily circulation is reported in Ayer's *Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals* for 1935 as 485,629.

Total morning circulation, 176,684
Total evening circulation, 307,945
Total Sunday circulation, 573,683

Many people who do not attend meetings or read very widely have formed the habit of reading newspapers. Social problems and social services take on added importance by being presented in the news. Through news articles, editorials, letters to the editor, feature articles, and pictures, social information receives varied treatment and so interests more readers.

The Pittsburgh newspapers have shown great willingness to coöperate with social agencies; they have given generous support to the Community Fund campaign. Special events, such as anniversary celebrations, have been well publicized. Editorial comment in support of social measures has been, on occasion, vigorous. Editorials in praise of social agencies and their leaders have been numerous. With the outstanding exception of the attack on a Y.W.C.A. worker by one newspaper, news treatment during the period of this study was favorable to privately supported social work.

Although the newspaper is an important and, on the whole, a willing outlet for social work information, the space it has to give is decidedly limited. Ordinarily a large proportion of the space devoted to news is used for material received from Washington and other sources through national press services. Syndicated columns and features interpret topics of the day. State news bureaus and, during legislative sessions, Harrisburg correspondents are also important news sources. The space left for local news must be divided between politics, crime, local government, human interest stories, and many other topics, as well as departmental news—sports, society, business.

Another serious limitation for social work in the use of the newspapers as channels of social information is that news values lie chiefly in conflict, the unusual, or the dramatic. In order to bring these elements into the headlines and the lead the facts are often thrown out of balance. Again, much of what social workers want most to tell the public does not take news shape.

With full recognition of these limiting conditions, social workers can nevertheless do much to improve their relations with the press. More space than they now secure may not become available, but more effective use of what is to be had should be possible.

The most fruitful sources of local news are meetings and special events, such as exhibitions or visiting days and weeks. One characteristic of social agency news noted in this study was that much more news was printed about coming events than was reported after the event. Possibly the agencies themselves have encouraged this practice and regarded newspaper mention primarily as an opportunity to advertise their meetings and dramatic performances. An account after the event ordinarily gives much

more opportunity for interpretation than does the advance announcement. When social work agencies hold meetings at which interesting or important information is brought out, reports of such meetings should be supplied to the press, usually by advance arrangement with the newspaper editors.

Public agencies apparently have information with news value fairly often, but they lack means of getting ready for the newspapers anything but routine statistical reports. Private agencies are so numerous and their work is carried on in such small units as to lessen the significance of their activities to the general reader. As the practice of combining the resources of social agencies increases, social work should take a much more important place as a news source than it has now. In the meantime, groups of agencies with a common interest in a particular social situation or type of activity could combine their facts, figures, and comments to make more impressive and more interesting stories than single agencies can produce separately.

Newspapers often welcome statements from persons who can speak authoritatively on current questions. Board members and executives in social work have the opportunity to express themselves on current social questions by this method. Perhaps this is done from time to time, but the only example found was a statement of protest by a group of individuals against the attack on the Y.W.C.A. in connection with the Youth Congress. Often editorial writers would welcome such statements as background material for editorials.

Feature articles covering rather fully some one subject of timely interest appeared from time to time in all the Pittsburgh dailies and Sunday editions. Social work contains excellent and unused material for such articles. Exclusive ideas for a single article or a series of articles should be submitted to each of the newspapers in the course of the year. The feature article is an especially good medium for follow-up stories on social studies. It is well adapted to discussion of current changes, such as those which are taking place in social work as a profession.

Pittsburgh newspapers are unusually coöperative with social agencies in protecting clients from being unfortunately identified in news stories. This is especially true with regard to their policy of not printing the names of young persons who get into court. This attitude increases the responsibility of social agencies to supply such human interest stories as they can without identifying people. It is to their advantage to have stories published which illustrate the greater understanding of human behavior and the greater respect for personality which characterizes social work today. The pattern of news treatment of people in trouble was shaped in an earlier period and has changed very little. Terms such as "waif" and

"poor unfortunates" in headlines which treat the poor as a class are not in keeping with the present methods and attitudes in social work, but no change can be expected until social workers themselves help to bring it about.

THE RADIO AS A CHANNEL FOR PUBLIC INFORMATION

Pittsburgh has, or had at the time of this study, five radio stations, three belonging to national chains and two unaffiliated stations. The 1930 census listed approximately 81,000 radios among Pittsburgh's 155,000 families. Among habitual radio listeners there are probably many persons who do not read newspapers regularly, so that social work presumably increases its general public by telling its story over the air as well as through the press.

Directors of the five stations were in fairly general agreement concerning the types of programs they would welcome from social agencies. Three of them expressed a preference for interviews between the announcer and the speaker or a dialogue between two persons. With varying degrees of emphasis all disapproved of amateur dramatizations of social work. They also agreed that talks should be brief and preferably preceded and followed by good music or other entertainment. By a brief talk is meant one lasting about five minutes. From three to seven minutes of speaking time on a fifteen-minute program would be acceptable. One director pointed out that "spots" between programs provide an excellent opportunity for twenty- to twenty-five-word announcements.

The requirements of the broadcasters are that the request for a broadcast should be made from four to six weeks ahead of time and that manuscripts and details of programs be received five days in advance of the broadcast. Quality of music must be up to radio standards, except when children are performing, when a lower standard is accepted. The station must have five days in which to check on copyrights and reach agreements with unions about musical programs. They would welcome a central clearing service for all social agency programs.

Talks seem to be the type of program preferred by social agencies. Those submitted for the purpose of the present study varied widely in the degree to which the material itself and the style were adapted to the miscellaneous and casual radio audiences. For the most part speakers told about agencies and their services. A few programs have been noted which offered entertainment or information. The interviews submitted for study were much more interesting in manuscript form than were the straight talks.

The radio does not seem nearly so well suited to publicizing the individual agencies as it does to bringing before an important section of the

public such social problems and services as may be of direct value to the listeners or of timely interest to them. Those agencies which have "information for use" to offer are in the best position to reach the public through the radio. Programs of health information are especially well adapted to radio. Group work agencies might sponsor a series of programs telling about the local resources for recreation. The budgeting of small incomes and child guidance are other topics on which social work has helpful ideas to give radio listeners.

The interview, for which the program directors expressed a preference, should be an especially good method of interpreting some aspects of the Social Study in a series of broadcasts. Interpretation of the relief situation and information about volunteer opportunities in social work are topics which could be well handled in interviews. Radio forums in which three or more persons discuss a timely question informally would seem to be especially well suited to interpretation of current situations. Since the study, KDKA has launched its round table, or "town meeting" which seems to be an unusually successful program of this kind. Social workers seem to have very little time to prepare radio programs. Aside from the time factor, however, one gets the impression that social workers do not expect the quality or finish of their programs to be judged by standards set for commercial programs. The competition with the commercially sponsored programs is so direct and immediate that unrehearsed speeches, presented in technical phrases and delivered without much warmth or ease of manner, are in too great contrast with other programs. Since the chances of definitely displeasing radio listeners with poor programs must be considered, the radio may be listed as a liability rather than a "resource" for social work interpretation, unless more time, thought, and skill are devoted to its effective use.

CLASS PUBLICATIONS

Daily and Sunday newspapers go to all sections of the community and to nearly all types of people. Class publications are issued weekly, or less frequently, and appeal to particular neighborhoods or sections of the population. Many of these are trade papers. Pittsburgh has its full share of class publications, some listed in Ayer's *Directory* with impressive circulation figures. There are the weeklies with general circulation, such as the *Bulletin Index* and *This Week in Pittsburgh*; Catholic, Jewish, and Negro papers; foreign-language and neighborhood newspapers; trade journals, club magazines, and other publications. A number of partial lists were in use at the time of this study, but there was no complete up-to-date classified list of these publications.

The class publications are important outlets for social information from

several viewpoints. Information adapted to the special interests of their respective readers can be made more specific and therefore more interesting than articles addressed to the general public. The fact that editorial standards are sometimes less exacting is an uncertain advantage, since hurriedly prepared material published in the form in which it is submitted is not so likely to be read.

Those agencies which sent material to class papers showed a tendency to send the same material to all, or at least several, of them, regardless of their different interests and editorial policies. There should be more study of these papers so as to adapt material to the style and policies of the publications and to their particular groups of readers.

As a common service to social agencies a complete card list of these papers is needed, which would give the names of editors, publication dates, deadlines, and type of material used. Also sample copies should be filed. Such a listing and examination would no doubt bring out that some of the religious, trade, and other special publications have no space for any outside contributions; others would use more than they now receive. From the whole list the more important ones could be selected and dealt with individually.

As a whole, the class publications render distinctive service for social work, as well as for their avowed constituencies, without duplicating functions of the newspapers.

HOUSE ORGANS OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

Twenty-five social agencies reported the publication of twenty-eight bulletins or house organs. This does not include bulletins reported as being temporarily discontinued and those about to be started. The number of copies distributed ranged from 150, the smallest number reported, to the 40,000 copies of the quarterly bulletin of the Goodwill Industries. More than half were addressed to members and others who use the services of the agencies, and the rest to inner groups of leaders and volunteer workers, to contributors, or to all three groups combined. The publication schedule included thirteen house organs issued monthly, four at quarterly intervals, and others occasionally. Nine made no report of frequency of publication. In form most of them are quite unpretentious. They are mimeographed or cheaply printed, and only a very few showed care and skill in editing and production.

Many of these bulletins serve a definite purpose in conveying information to a picked group not to be reached through the broader channels of the newspapers or class publications. There is hardly a question about the need of such publications on the part of settlements and other community centers and of membership organizations, such as the Urban

League or the League for the Hard of Hearing. The publication of such bulletins on the part of other agencies calls for consideration of several factors. When the agency has something to say at frequent intervals to an already interested or potentially interested constituency, such an organ is very useful. Family and children's societies in a few large cities issue monthly bulletins which interpret their work very effectively to an inner group. If a number of agencies send house organs to a considerably overlapping mailing list, probably all of them are less read, and they may convey an impression of wastefulness.

Two bulletins which deserve special attention are *Human Values* and the *Federator*. Both speak for a large section of the social work field, but each has a distinct function. *Human Values*, the illustrated bulletin of the Community Fund, is issued monthly. At the time of the study the mailing list consisted of approximately 14,000 contributors of ten dollars or more. Certain professional groups have been added to the list, and anyone who wishes may also receive the bulletins.

It is difficult to edit a free publication for such a miscellaneous list of readers. The amount of the gift does not give any clue to the degree or nature of the contributor's interest in social work. The readers have in common only the fact that they have given money. The house organ has as its aim to tell them something of how their money is spent. It maintains a balance between pictures, text, general information, editorial comment, news, and reports by means of charts or statements of income and expenditures. Selection of the contents and form of treatment in the issues examined seemed to be aimed at the top third, the socially minded givers, rather than at the average general reader. The pictures, many of them excellent, have a much wider appeal. The form is both dignified and attractive.

The value of a publication of this kind is a question on which there is much difference of opinion. The fact that an attempt a few years ago to determine reader interest brought many favorable replies may be an argument in favor of continuing it in its present form. A more inexpensive and simpler publication such as the small bulletin of the Dayton Chest called *Three Minutes*, might do quite as well for such a large and mixed public. This might leave more time to spend experimentally on preparing material for the class publications, in which information can be adapted to the particular interests of known groups of readers, and it might also release some money for other publicity uses.

The *Federator*, published by the Federation of Social Agencies, has the advantage of a small and definite constituency and performs a needed service in relation to this group. It keeps its professional delegates and lay member delegates informed about current and coming events and

changes in personnel, policies, and services in the social work field. It seems reasonable that without changing its concentration on this particular group it could to advantage enlarge its circulation to reach more of the social workers and lay persons to whom the information it contains would be useful and interesting.

The editing of the *Federator* was not at the time of the study specially assigned to anyone who could give much time and thought to planning ahead or to news gathering. With the increased emphasis on county-wide social service there is an added problem of news coverage to make the *Federator* serve the county as a whole.

OTHER CHANNELS FOR SOCIAL WORK INTERPRETATION

In addition to house organs, other forms of printed or duplicated material may be included among desirable resources for interpretation. These include: annual reports, reports of studies, booklets containing the essential facts about a movement or an agency, leaflets, and so forth. Drastic cuts had been made in budgets for printed matter at the time of this study, so that apparently little was in use, and what there was showed rigid economy.

Printed matter or some other form of duplicated material is indispensable for the maintenance of relationships between social agencies and their particular constituencies. An annual or a biennial report, attractive enough in appearance and content to be read, is important, not only to give an accounting of funds spent, but also to explain changes, progress, and plans. Studies, legislative programs, campaign appeals all require some simple and easily read printed statements which can be placed in the hands of persons whom it is important to reach and who can only be reached with certainty by printed matter sent by mail or otherwise delivered to them.

Most privately supported social agencies in Pittsburgh and some public departments have close affiliations with one or more religious, civic, fraternal, or educational organizations, of which there are many hundreds in the city. The relationship of the Junior League to the Public Health Nursing Association, as well as to several other social agencies, is an example. Some of these organizations give volunteer service, supply equipment, or take active leadership in legislative campaigns. Others merely receive speakers from social agencies at their meetings. Many local clubs are associated with national bodies which are committed to certain social programs. Rotary International is interested in boys' work, and the League of Women Voters in extending civil service to public welfare departments.

These organizations can be of the greatest help in the spread of public

understanding and interest in social work. Since most of them, however, have programs of their own which occupy the greater part of their attention, social agencies can count on securing only a small margin of unassigned time and interest for special causes. This margin of potentially available interest varies widely with different organizations. Some can give only perfunctory attention to campaign talks. Others might undertake important projects to be carried out by committees of members. Some would be much more interested in one branch of social work than in other branches.

Recently a committee of the Pittsburgh Social Work Publicity Council began work on a classified card list of organizations. It was intended to compile information for these cards which would indicate an organization's special interests, what departments it has for any form of social service, the characteristics of its membership, the types of meetings held, and their frequency. If information of this kind is collected in some central place, social agencies, through a speakers' bureau of their own, could plan their speaking programs intelligently.

SOURCES OF SOCIAL INFORMATION FOR PUBLICITY PURPOSES

Whether or not the public is told what most needs telling is a matter of chance under a system of unplanned publicity. The odds are in favor of the use of information which is easiest to present and that which lends itself to expression in accustomed phrases. "What we do," a few illustrative case stories, the monthly or yearly service figures, and a statement of purposes of the organization make up the content of typical articles and speeches.

The source material for effective interpretation of needs and services is sometimes found in the files of a single agency, but more often it can be brought together from the records or observations of a group of agencies. The different divisions of the Federation now provide for pooling of knowledge and opinion to improve the practice of social work. It is to be hoped that out of the work of these divisions will come much more joint interpretation of social needs and services to supplement, and, to some extent, to replace the agency-by-agency method of telling the story.

Information collected through social studies and routine compilations, such as the service figures collected for the United States Children's Bureau, is an obvious and important source of publicity material, but it is by no means an easy one to use effectively. Most of the data contained in these studies are technical, both in form and in the purpose for which it is intended. This is well illustrated in social study reports. These contain a great deal of material not for general circulation; but interspersed with the more confidential or technical material are facts and figures well

suited to publicity. Making use of social study reports requires careful selection, translation into simpler terms, and in some instances the assembling of material in new groupings which cross the lines of separate reports. It is equally true of much other technical material that it needs "processing" before it is ready to be turned into popular articles. This intermediate step in dealing with source material for public consumption is illustrated in the abstracting of scientific articles for press use. To attempt to interpret reports without getting the material into an easy form for reporters and special writers to use is to waste a very good opportunity for public education. It is not just a perfunctory task of preparing a few newspaper releases, but a special sort of job to be done with skill, judgment, and imagination.

PUBLICITY SERVICE

Publicity service for private social work is provided by the publicity department of the Community Fund and by part-time publicity workers in a few agencies. Public departments—health, welfare, and emergency relief—employed no one for this purpose, nor were staff members with other duties assigned to it at the time of this study. Interpretation of those subjects which are the common interest of public and private agencies is, in a few instances, the responsibility of a committee or an organization for social action, such as the Penal Affairs Committee and the Housing Association; but even when such a sponsoring group exists, interpretation is an added duty of a busy executive or staff member. No service is available for joint efforts of interpretation in the fields of health, recreation, dependency, and other major branches of social work, except as an incidental part of Community Fund publicity, which is, in the main, directed toward money raising.

In Pittsburgh and elsewhere the division of responsibility for publicity between the community funds and their member agencies has never been very clearly defined. It is generally accepted that it is neither practicable nor wise for the Community Fund to carry the whole load. In Pittsburgh the agencies are expected to interpret their own work, with some assistance from the Community Fund, and to participate in the joint interpretation conducted by the Fund.

Agency executives consider interpretation an extra job, one for which they have little time to spare in their crowded programs and for which they have not been trained. Appropriations to these agencies for publicity purposes have been discontinued during the depression years. Certain agencies receive stimulation and assistance as members of national organizations which supply ideas and sometimes ready-to-use material, such as plays for the radio and printed matter with space for a local imprint.

Interpretation of their work to board members is accepted by some executives as part of their administrative responsibility, and this part of the task is well done. In fact, to some of them the board member group reaches to the outer rim of the circle that constitutes their "public." Others, especially group work agencies, devote their efforts to the groups which use their services.

Publicity committees are set up from time to time by some of the agencies. It is not easy for these volunteer committees to function without a plan, a budget, or staff leadership for their efforts. Individual board members and volunteers are giving active publicity service to a few agencies.

The publicity department of the Community Fund, with a full time staff of two members and a varying amount of additional staff service during part of the year, devotes practically full time to campaign publicity for about four months of the year. During the remaining months its major activities include the publication of the monthly house organ, *Human Values*, regular newspaper releases, one or more weekly radio programs, a poster service to industries—all of these continued during the campaign also—and in addition, assistance to the member agencies in their own publicity. The service to the member agencies includes advice and help in preparing articles or talks, active assistance in connection with publicity for special events, and some training of staff members of agencies in writing case stories.

For several years the Federation of Social Agencies has sponsored an informally organized group now known as the Social Work Publicity Council. Its purpose is to raise standards in interpretation. A steering committee plans programs for meetings of the Pittsburgh Publicity Council and manages its affairs. The three sections of the council as set up for 1935 are concerned with interpretation to boards, interagency interpretation, and public relations. This last section concerns itself chiefly with helping the members to increase their skill in the use of publicity techniques.

During 1935 the council participated actively in the Study of Social Work Interpretation. Its chairman and members of the steering committee have helped to collect material from the individual agencies and have kept in touch with the progress of the study. There has been considerable discussion of the purposes, methods, and possible reorganization of the Publicity Council itself.

The fact that this council has no staff assistance and that it depends on the volunteer efforts of busy executives and staff workers prevent it from functioning regularly or altogether effectively. Since there is no immediate pressure to carry out its program of improving the quality of publicity and stimulating new projects of interpretation, its continued existence or usefulness is always uncertain.

SUMMARY

There can be little doubt that the interpretation of social work which reaches the public is inadequate; that the substance of it needs improvement; that more facilities exist than are used; that more willing coöperation on the part of those who control the channels of publicity is available than is intelligently utilized. The paramount importance of good publicity is denied by none, even though not all who admit the fact are really conscious of it. There is little doubt as to what needs to be done. Competent professional attention must be secured through the provision of trained personnel and the necessary funds and through the integration of publicity and interpretation with essential and continuous social planning. To this end certain recommendations are submitted herewith, the background of which must be found in the preceding pages and the form of which is based on tested experience in this field in other communities.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations which follow are directed toward three objectives:

1. To provide sponsorship for campaigns of public education on social problems which especially require public understanding and interest for their solution.
2. To give more substance to the content of social information and to enliven it by providing a service for collecting and making available for publicity uses important and timely facts, figures, specific instances, and other source material.
3. To make possible: (a) more effective use of existing resources for publicity, and (b) additional needed publicity services.

The placing of responsibility.—The proposals here submitted for a division of work among the agencies concerned can at best merely suggest the general outlines of a flexible plan to be adapted to the social programs of which interpretation is a part. Certainly none of the recommendations submitted is workable unless the Federation of Social Agencies and the Community Fund find in them the basis for a plan in which their common interest goes much deeper than surface agreements. There is no way to stake out a field of effort when sharply drawn lines separate the respective responsibilities of these two coördinating agencies. The plan which follows contemplates a definite assignment of specific tasks as part of a broad program of community-wide interpretation rather than a rigid delineation of responsibilities.

Community Fund.—The Community Fund recognizes a responsibility for carrying on publicity with the coöperation of its member agencies in order to secure and maintain financial support. In efforts directed toward this end the Fund itself is in the best position to interpret the decisions of the budget committee; to report on how the Community Fund money is spent

for different types of services; to interpret the standards of work which the Fund seeks to maintain; to point out serious needs not taken care of by present budgets; and to explain the need for supporting voluntary social work in a period of rapid growth of social services supported by taxation.

It is important that the Community Fund carry on a full year-round program of interpretation on these topics rather than one oriented to the annual campaign. It is also desirable that an outline of the Fund's publicity program for six months or a year ahead be prepared and duplicated so that the Fund itself, the Federation, and other agencies concerned may have copies for reference use.

The Community Fund should plan the keynote and the talking points of its campaign publicity well in advance and in consultation with representatives of social agencies. In this connection the Community Fund publicity department would naturally collect the clippings, samples of publicity used, and records of campaign events in a convenient form for study as a basis for follow-up work and for decisions regarding the campaign publicity for the following year.

Publicity service of the Community Fund.—A common service should be supplied by the publicity department of the Community Fund for all Fund and Federation agencies, to include:

1. A clearing bureau for press and radio relations through which arrangements may be made for the publication of special articles, publicizing of important events, assignments of broadcasting periods, and so forth.

2. Advisory service to the agencies for their own planning of printed matter, news releases, and other publicity. If possible this service should be limited to announced hours so that it is not a frequent interruption to other work. It should be possible to make use of competent volunteer consultants in this service.

3. A speakers' bureau which would function for at least six months of the year, as a clearing bureau through which individual agencies or groups of agencies may offer speakers, plays, films, and tours to appropriate organizations. The bureau should have advice and help from a committee of social workers and representatives of the leading clubs in the county.

4. The maintenance of up-to-date lists for common use of agencies. These would include lists of class publications and organizations.

5. Broader and improved service in mimeographing and other forms of duplication, which would help to raise the standards of house organs and other publications of all agencies.

Publicity staff.—The service outlined above is more extensive than is practicable with the present staff, especially when several months of the year are given entirely to campaign publicity. It does not make any provision for county-wide interpretation which involves preparing material for community newspapers and working with local units throughout the county.

The proposed service might be saved from too great scattering of ener-

gies by concentrating it into definitely scheduled projects. For example, work on the annual revision of the proposed lists might be a part of the preparation for the campaign, since good lists are a campaign necessity, and, also, the staff is considerably expanded at campaign time; radio programs might be scheduled chiefly for the winter months, and so forth.

Federation of Social Agencies.—The responsibility of the Federation for social work interpretation includes: collecting and making available source material for public information about needs and services, inter-agency interpretation, the development of special educational projects chiefly through its divisions, the interpretation of its own program, and—something rarely recognized—the interpretation to agencies of lay opinion and motives, of changing needs, and of the corresponding obligation to scrutinize continuously the programs and policies of the agencies and social services.

Through its research division, its contacts with both public and voluntary social work, and the frequent meetings of its various divisions, the Federation becomes the logical source of supply for facts, figures, and illustrative material which make up the content of informative publicity. Various publicity projects proposed in the full report and the publicity of the Community Fund should be so set up as to take full advantage of the Federation's unique position as a center for the collection and dissemination of social information.

Service on a part- or full-time basis is needed to collect and make accessible social information and to put it into convenient form for writers and speakers. This service should logically be supplied by a staff member in the Federation, but the usefulness of such a worker depends on close working relations with the publicity department of the Community Fund. It is recommended, therefore, that an editorial assistant be selected by the executive secretaries of the Fund and Federation and assigned by the Community Fund to the Federation of Social Agencies. The services of this worker should be available for consultation not only to the Fund and to the Federation but also, as far as possible, to individual agencies.

Interagency interpretation.—Exchange of information among agencies goes on continually through the meetings and other activities of the Federation. It is easy to overestimate the degree to which these contacts serve to bring about an understanding which extends to all board and staff members. It is recommended that the program of interagency interpretation begun by the Social Work Publicity Council be continued with the active assistance of the Federation.

The *Fedorator* is an important means of explaining agencies to each other and keeping all of them in touch with current questions of common interest. Steps have been taken for improvement in format and content of

this bulletin since the study was completed. It is recommended that an interested group, possibly a committee of the Publicity Council, assist in securing opinions as to how the bulletin can be made as useful and as interesting as possible to board members and staffs of agencies.

If it is made up as long in advance as possible, the calendar of events, which has been a regular feature of the *Federator*, might serve as what the city editors call their "day book," a listing of coming events to be covered. It should also be (and it probably is) very helpful in clearing dates so that important events are reasonably well spaced throughout the season.

Individual agencies.—Individual social agencies, although they may be members of the Community Fund, need to maintain definite constituencies of interested persons from whom board members and volunteer workers may be recruited, persons who identify themselves with the work of a given agency, while maintaining a general interest in social work as a whole. Interpretation to this end should be the responsibility of the agencies themselves.

Some agencies have much more occasion than have others to address publicity to those who use their services or to coöperating groups. Some agencies can use public information as an important means of reaching their social objectives. Some need to reach a larger public than do others. These differences in requirements should be fully taken into account in planning publicity budgets of individual agencies within the Community Fund.

The most readily available and accustomed methods for the individual agency to use are the annual report and annual meeting, public speaking, house organ, and articles for class publications which are most definitely interested in its subject matter or the group it serves. A minimum program of publicity for an agency should make possible good use of such channels as these.

Member agencies of the Fund should be encouraged to submit programs of interpretation which could be carried out with the help and advice of the Fund's publicity department and to ask for allowances for necessary materials, mailing costs, and other reasonable expenses. Member agencies should know well in advance what they are expected to contribute to the common pool of information and illustrative material needed by the Community Fund for its campaign publicity, as well as for its all-year-round program of interpretation.

Public agencies.—Responsibility for arousing public opinion in support of public social work is assumed in some instances by organizations of citizens set up for this purpose. In others, no such citizen sponsorship exists. Resources for interpretation of public relief, public health, crime prevention, and other forms of publicly supported city and county social

work are wholly inadequate. Both the Federation, in its social planning, and the Community Fund, in its responsibility for financing private social work, are vitally concerned in educating the public on these questions. Their coöperation is needed for setting up campaigns of education in areas not now covered by other agencies.

Provision should also be made within public departments—the Juvenile Court, Public Health Department, Public Welfare Department, and Emergency Relief Bureau—for public information. Committees of citizens working closely with a public department sometimes help to create opportunities for officials to tell of their own work. Newspapers, as a rule, cover all public departments routinely. The missing link is often the lack of a staff member within the department to meet reporters, work with a citizens' committee, and otherwise take responsibility for public information. The initiative in securing this staff service might come from within the department itself or from interested private agencies.

Social Work Publicity Council.—It is recommended that the Social Work Publicity Council be reorganized and strengthened for these purposes:

1. To arrange meetings and institutes and to carry on other activities directed toward increasing the skill of social workers as interpreters and toward improving the quality of social work interpretation.
2. Also, for this same purpose, to work with schools of social work in Pittsburgh in the development of courses of study in social work interpretation.
3. To initiate or recommend projects of interpretation which might later be sponsored by divisions of the Federation or by other appropriate groups of social agencies. The Publicity Council's function in relation to these projects should be primarily an advisory one, although it might on occasion undertake demonstrations which later would be turned over to appropriate organizations.
4. To receive this report, and discuss with a subcommittee on publicity of the Social Study, the action to be taken in regard to these recommendations.
5. To recommend to the budget committee of the Community Fund needed appropriations for broad programs of interpretation to be sponsored by the Fund and the Federation.

With the above objectives in mind, the reorganization of the Publicity Council should include:

Joint sponsorship by the Community Fund and the Federation of Social Agencies. This would involve representation of both on a responsible steering committee and a recognition of the interests of both in its program.

Provision for the representation of public social work in the steering committee and in the membership.

Provision for the representation on the steering committee of one or more laymen, preferably active members of publicity committees of social agencies.

Provision of a new basis of membership which would be designed to secure an actively interested and participating group. Whether or not membership is on the basis of representation of social agencies, the aim should be to secure the attend-

ance at its meetings of persons who share in making publicity policies and in directing and carrying on the social work interpretation of the agencies.

The Publicity Council should have at least part time services of an executive secretary who would be responsible to the steering committee.

Volunteer publicity service.—Volunteer publicity service should be further developed. Possibly the Publicity Council might undertake a study of the possibilities of recruiting volunteers on the basis of their special abilities for writing, speaking, or any of the varied jobs outlined in "Jobs for Volunteer Publicity Aides," a memorandum of the National Social Work Publicity Council. A factor in this development would be provision of brief training courses, such as the Junior League conducts for its members, which would supply volunteers with a background of greater familiarity with social work itself.

Interpretation of the social study.—Presumably the Citizens' Committee already has in mind the need of securing continuous publicity service throughout the period of active efforts to put the results of this study into effect. This service should be something more than the preparation of news releases when sections of the report are made public. Advance planning of the various uses to be made of the material in newspapers, radio broadcasts, series of lectures, and discussion is important.

CHAPTER XII

THE PERSONNEL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES AND FACILITIES FOR PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

Problems of personnel.—The fitness of the worker.—Professional and educational qualifications.—Selection and civil service.—Making the job attractive to the worker.—Salaries.—Working conditions.—The field of professional training.—Margaret Morrison Carnegie College, Department of Social Work.—University of Pittsburgh, Division of Social Work.—Other schools.—Problems of curriculum.—The part-time student.—Division of labor between the two schools.

PROBLEMS OF PERSONNEL

IT IS universally recognized in all phases of organized human activity that system, or pattern, depends for effectiveness upon the caliber of the personnel that guides or administers it. State or municipality, business enterprise, school, hospital, or church—none can prosper or satisfy its constituents unless its administrators are competent, honest, and suitably selected. This applies in social work. Agencies are made effective by their personnel: directors, executives, and practitioners. In early chapters an attempt was made to describe some of the problems arising out of the composition of directorates of social agencies, some attention was given to the task and difficulties of executives, and certain important questions bearing on the relationship between lay and professional participants in social work were discussed. The present chapter is devoted more specifically to professional personnel and its standards and to agency practices with respect to their selection and administration. In this connection it is necessary to note only that the executive is at the same time a fellow employee of the staff with relation to his Board of Directors and the employer of his staff whose qualifications, performances, supervision, protection, and encouragement are his obligation. While, therefore, most of what is said of personnel applies primarily to staff members, much of it must apply also to executives as employees of the social agency.

The entire subject of personnel in social work may be considered for our purposes under three headings:

The fitness of the worker for his task.

Making the work attractive and desirable as "job."

Resources and facilities for developing the worker, that is, for professional training.

THE FITNESS OF THE WORKER

Some very simple requisites are generally recognized as desirable for a social worker. Certain personal characteristics must be taken for granted, such as sympathy, imagination, energy, tolerance, intellectual clarity, emotional capacity, a degree of maturity, and some enterprise. These, however, are not easily measurable, not entirely subject to deliberate methods of preparation, and not capable of mass comparison. Within the range of somewhat more objective characteristics a worker is expected to have education or schooling, professional preparation, practical training, experience inside and outside social work, and certain professional attitudes. Specifically, it is regarded as desirable that a social worker shall be a college graduate, shall have had training in a school of social work, shall have had experience in a suitable agency under supervision, shall have "been around," and shall have matured as a person of judgment and intelligence. With respect to some of these desiderata on which statistical information is available, what are the facts in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County? Information is available for nearly 1,500 employees of social agencies as obtained in the course of the present study.¹ These workers are distributed among the principal types of agencies as follows:

Individual Service Agencies	1,257
Voluntary, 247	
Public, 1,010	
Group Work Agencies	177
Total ²	1,434

Several other agencies, such as the Community Councils, are difficult to classify, and, in fact, the division of case and group work is not adequate to describe some of the agencies discussed above.

Professional and educational qualifications.—Of the public agencies' employees classified, 899 were in the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board, and 111 in the "permanent" agencies, such as the Mothers' Assistance Fund and the Juvenile Court. For some purposes, in further analysis, separate figures will be given for the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board as representing an emergency situation and its consequences.

College education is found among the 1,434 workers in the different types of agencies as follows:

¹ The questionnaires were obtained by the study staff and analyzed and tabulated by the Bureau of Social Research of the Federation of Social Agencies. The bureau is in possession of the schedules and may choose to make more intensive use of them in the future than is deemed necessary for the present analysis. 1,434 schedules are included in the present summaries.

² See Appendix D.

	PERCENT HAVING COLLEGE DEGREES	PERCENT HAVING HAD SOME COLLEGE WORK
All Agencies	70	12
Voluntary case work agencies	79	12
Public case work agencies	86	10
Group work agencies	56	26
Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board	86	10

The generally high percentage of college graduates appears even higher among the public case workers than among those in agencies enjoying voluntary support and considerably higher among those responsible for relief administration and social case work than among group work practitioners. The latter agencies seem to draw more heavily upon personnel with only partial college training—26 percent, compared with an average of 12 percent for all case work personnel. This record compares favorably with the educational qualifications of older social workers. In Pittsburgh, as elsewhere, the requirement of college graduation for those now entering the profession is common practice.

When it comes to professional training, however, Allegheny County has little to boast of. Only 40 percent of its personnel has had any training whatever in a professional school. This figure includes, moreover, all those who have taken even a single course of lectures for one quarter or semester. When whittled down to graduates of professional schools, only 5 percent qualify. The distribution of professional training among the body of workers included in the present analysis is shown in Table 41.

The dearth of fully prepared workers is quite evident. Nor is this due merely to the heavy weighting by emergency employees, for the percentage among case workers of voluntary agencies is only 11 percent, too low to gain much status by comparison with a still lower percentage, 3 percent, which is the record in the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board. Taking professional preparation short of graduation as a criterion, there is striking contrast among the different groups. As against 81 percent of case workers in voluntary agencies who have had *some* professional training, only 40 percent of group workers are so recorded and only 28 percent of case workers in public agencies.³ Administrative procedure which allows or encourages so small a percentage of its workers to take professional courses requires review and readjustment. The low standard of professional preparation in the group work field becomes especially serious in view of the fact shown elsewhere (Chapter XX, *infra*) that they constitute the nucleus of a large voluntary personnel to which they are expected to give guidance and leadership.

³ The percentage among case workers of public agencies, 28 percent, is held down by the figures of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board group (24 percent). The nonemergency public personnel (Mothers' Assistance Fund and the Juvenile Court) show 67 percent with some professional education and 15 percent graduates of schools.

TABLE 41
PROFESSIONAL TRAINING OF EMPLOYEES OF SOCIAL AGENCIES IN PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY COUNTY, 1934

EDUCATION	ALL EMPLOYEES STUDIED		CASE WORKERS, VOLUNTARY AGENCIES		CASE WORKERS, PUBLIC AGENCIES		GROUP WORKERS		ALLEGHENY COUNTY EMERGENCY RELIEF BOARD CASE WORKERS ONLY	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,434	100	247	100	1,010	100	177	100	899	100
No professional education	869	60	39	19	723	72	107	60	686	76
Some professional education	565	40	208	81	287	28	70	40	213	24
Professional education in Pittsburgh schools	466	33	48	19	254	25	52	29	186	21
Professional education in non-Pittsburgh schools	99	7	160	62	33	3	18	11	17	2
Professional diplomas or degrees	74	5	24	11	40	3	12	7	23	3

The striking contrast with regard to professional preparation between the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board and the case workers in other agencies⁴ is subject to some explanations to be discussed below. Training on the job, whether of the "in service" (apprenticeship) type or of the "breaking in" type, is as necessary in social work as it is in medicine. Theoretically, it is recognized as valid only in supplementation of the more formal training in a professional school. Actually, as the foregoing figures indicate, it is far too common as the exclusive training of workers in this community in the permanent, as well as in the emergency, organizations. In the selection of personnel, agencies of good standing have for years increasingly paid attention to the academic and professional preparation of candidates, although they still depend upon the possession of suitable personal traits as a necessary condition of employment and of retention and promotion.

Voluntary agencies have had no difficulty in carrying out this policy of personnel selection. To the extent to which the agencies themselves had embraced the principles of modern social work and have accepted the emphasis on technical training, they have carried this conviction into the method of selecting staff members. Where workers are, as a group, inadequately prepared, this tends to be merely the symptom and expression of the agency's own general retardation.

When such situations have occurred in the public agencies, the tendency has been to put the blame on "politics." Because of the frequently demonstrated presence of obstructive political influence in public service it has been assumed that no fit personnel could be obtained or held in social work under public auspices. Allegheny County has at least two public agencies which refute this assumption; the Mothers' Assistance Fund and the Juvenile Court have, despite difficulties inherent in Pennsylvania's civil service system, shown that it is possible not only to obtain but even to hold personnel which compares favorably with corresponding voluntary agencies. The figures in the preceding pages show that this group compares favorably as to general education and professional preparation with employees of voluntary agencies. In so far as this is not true of the emergency administration, the differences manifested by that group are clearly not traceable to the stereotyped accusation that politics, of necessity, obstructs selection of competent personnel. There has been no sign of this type of interference in the appointment of the staff of the public relief agencies in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. The chief obstacle in Allegheny County, as it is in the state of Pennsylvania as a whole, is the fact that no legal provisions suitable for ensuring proper selection and retention of public servants exist. The remedy would seem to lie entirely in

⁴ In voluntary agencies 44 percent, in public permanent agencies 54 percent.

the enactment and subsequent proper administration of the merit system in civil service.

Selection and Civil Service.—There is no civil service law in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania that is universally applicable to all branches of the state's service.⁵ There are special provisions for employment in the state liquor stores,⁶ and a few other positions have been brought under a modified form of civil service through one channel or another.⁷ A modified merit system exists for selection of mine inspectors for bituminous and anthracite coal mines; positions in the State Employment Service were placed under civil service in 1934 in partial fulfillment of conditions which it was necessary to meet in order to receive Federal funds, not, however, through Act of Assembly, but through administrative agreement; fish wardens and game protectors are required to take examinations under administrative rulings, but no basic civil service law or administration for the state exists.

There are two important purposes to be served by civil service laws: first, the assurance of the proper selection of suitable personnel for the public service; second, security of tenure, appropriate compensation, and practicable methods of promotion and ultimate retirement. It is unnecessary to go into the details concerning what constitutes these objectives and how they may be obtained. There is no lack of information on the subject, either for the country as a whole or for Pennsylvania in particular. Neither objective is assured for the field of social work by any state legislation now on the books in Pennsylvania. Recognizing the importance of civil service based on a compulsory merit system, administrative measures have been taken by several of the important agencies in the state and county to insure the essence of these benefits in the absence of laws. The State Emergency Relief Board has ruled that all applicants for positions as relief investigators must submit to competitive examination. For an examination held on May 4, 1935, there were received some 5,000 applications, from which 782 applicants were certified as eligible. It was finally passed by 382 candidates. In Allegheny County, after the employment of the first large group of investigators in the early and most pressing period,

⁵ Bills providing for a comprehensive civil service system in Pennsylvania have been introduced every year since 1915, but without success. Several reform and social work agencies are actively interested, including the League of Women Voters, the Pennsylvania Security League, and the Public Charities Association, but no results are yet visible.

⁶ Thomas W. Bender, deputy general, Department of Justice. Letter to study staff, July 2, 1935.

⁷ The public school system does operate under a merit system in its broad sense. The Pennsylvania School Code provides for the preparation, examination, and certification of candidates for teaching positions, for their tenure in office, for their salary schedules, and for their retirement on pensions. From address by Winifred Notman Prince at a regional meeting of Pennsylvania Conference on Social Welfare, October 10, 1935.

through the coöperation of the voluntary agencies and largely from the personnel of those agencies (some 350 workers were taken over from them), selection by examination became the rule. Three examinations have been held under the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board: the first in February, 1934; the second in April, 1935; and the third in August of the same year. While the formal appointment rests with the state organization, the process of examination and selection was conducted, to all intents and purposes, as a local enterprise, and in these examinations, a careful system of rating had been introduced to give due weight to experience, general education, training, and statement of references.

Allegheny County has no civil service merit system of its own. It is estimated by persons in position to know that some 5,000 out of a total of 7,000 persons were removed from office under the administration during which the present study was made; and responsibility for this is attributed to the alleged loading of the pay roll by the previous administration by use of the "labor class" designation of employment. At any rate, for positions under control of the County Commissioners there appears to be no civil service regulation.

The City of Pittsburgh, on the other hand, has a long, if not too honorable, history of civil service law and administration.⁸ Pittsburgh has had a Civil Service Commission since 1907 in conformance with an act passed by the General Assembly in that year. This law provides for a Civil Service Commission composed of three members appointed by the mayor at the beginning of his term to serve during the time he is in office. He may remove them at any time "for good cause" and not more than two Commissioners at any one time may be adherents of the same political party. All rules and regulations adopted by the commission must have the approval of the mayor.⁹

Positions in the unclassified service are beyond the jurisdiction of the commission and include elected officers, heads of departments appointed by the mayor with approval of council and the members of the Civil Service Commission. The classified service is divided into the exempt class, the competitive class, the noncompetitive class, and the labor class.¹⁰

The law places only a few positions in the exempt class but gives the commission the power to make additions to this group. Candidates for these positions may be appointed or removed by the appointing authority

⁸ The information here presented has been taken from the Civil Service Act of 1907, annual reports of the Pittsburgh Civil Service Commission, interviews with a member of one of the early commissions, certain members of the Civil Service Commission during the present administration, and inquiries made of interested citizens. These data were collated by Dorothy R. Bucklin of the staff.

⁹ Pittsburgh Civil Service Commission, *Annual Report, 1932-33*, p. 52.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 58.

without consulting the Civil Service Commission.¹¹ Positions in the remaining classes are filled by candidates who have passed examinations prepared by the commission. The appointing authority may choose any one of the three highest on the eligible list except after promotion examinations, which are given only to those already in the service, when he may select anyone who has passed.¹² All original appointments to competitive and noncompetitive positions are made for a probationary period of three months.¹³ Barring those excepted by Act of Assembly or city ordinance, all employees formerly had to be residents of Pittsburgh for at least six months, but an ordinance passed during recent years raised this to two years.¹⁴ The law provides that an employee may be removed by the appointing power for reasons other than religious or political reasons, and the commission under its rules gives him the right to appeal his case to them.¹⁵ The rules of the commission require daily time records and work efficiency records for employees in the competitive and noncompetitive classes and state that:¹⁶

When the net efficiency of an employee falls below seventy percent (70%) for a reported efficiency period, charges against him must be filed by the department and a copy of the same transmitted to the Civil Service Commission. The employee must be at once suspended, pending disposition of his case.

The most fundamental defect in the civil service law in Pittsburgh is the unlimited control over the commission given to the mayor. The functioning of any civil service commission undoubtedly depends to a certain extent on the amount of coöperation received from the administration. However, the present law gives a free hand to any mayor who does not choose to observe the law and denies to one who does that protection from patronage seekers which only a rigorous civil service law can supply.

Under the present law few administrations have had a conscientious respect for civil service principles if one may judge by their attempts to enforce them. The Pittsburgh Survey of 1907-8 reports that "during his three years (1906-9) as chief magistrate, Mayor Guthrie made thorough application of the principles of civil service reform."¹⁷ Mayor Guthrie was a reform mayor. Specific reference is not made to civil service under the Magee administration which followed (1910-13), but mention is made of the "old-time methods he employed to build a political faction of his own."¹⁸ However, it is reported that during this administration Mayor Magee never suggested any violation of the civil service law. Even allowing for the eulogistic nature of most annual reports, it may be said that for

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 58. ¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 60. ¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹⁴ Mr. George Baird, Civil Service Commission, interview with staff member.

¹⁵ Pittsburgh Civil Service Commission, *Annual Report, 1932-33*, pp. 39, 63.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁷ *Civic Frontage*, p. 21, "The Pittsburgh Survey." ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

this period they reveal an understanding of the problems involved in civil service administration. They point out that civil service is ordinarily discussed only in the heat of political campaigns and suggest that more could be accomplished "if the facts and merits of the system, and the manner of its enforcement in this city, were more fully and frequently brought to the attention of our citizens through the public press."¹⁹ During this administration the commission exchanged experiences with other cities and set up a system of time and work records which received the "endorsement of experts from the New York Bureau of Municipal Research."²⁰ A firm of efficiency engineers reporting to the finance commission of the City Council in 1913 urged amendment of the law to provide: "(1) for overlapping terms of the commissions, (2) for permanent appointments of the secretary and chief examiner after open competition under civil service rules, and (3) for selection of all civil service commission employees by open competition under Civil Service rules."²¹

The next mayor (Armstrong) included among his appointments "a score of men with criminal and unsavory reputations; among them a man with a penitentiary record appointed as secretary of the Civil Service Commission."²² This man was replaced in 1916. Although this would indicate a decided straining against the spirit of the law, it must be noted that this commission adopted a standardization schedule for city positions.

Annual reports, if any were made, were not published in 1917, 1918, and 1919. A perfunctory report was published in 1920, and another in 1923; but from then on until 1934, when the 1932-33 annual reports were published, there are no reports available even at the office of the Civil Service Commission, despite the fact that the law requires not only an annual report but also at least five hundred copies for public distribution.²³

Under the present administration (Mayor McNair) eight different persons have served on the commission at one time or another, and three changes took place in the office of secretary and chief examiner. In the early part of 1935 the majority of the commissioners were men who were interested in building up the service and who were making some progress in their task. Since that time one of these commissioners, an attorney who is universally respected as a public-spirited citizen, has been removed without stated cause as the law requires and the secretary of the commission has resigned. The mayor was quoted in one Pittsburgh paper as saying, when asked what his reaction would be to the commission's reinstat-

¹⁹ Pittsburgh Civil Service Commission, *Annual Report, 1913-14*, p. 111.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

²¹ Taken from report by Helen Meyer prepared for the American Association of Social Workers, who refers to the *Post-Gazette*, July 24, 1913.

²² *Civic Frontage*, p. 25, "The Pittsburgh Survey."

²³ Pittsburgh Civil Service Commission, *Annual Report, 1932-33*, p. 55.

ing a man whom he had dismissed, "What's to prevent me from getting a new Civil Service Commission?"²⁴

Since the law functioned effectively only for a short time after its passage, one can scarcely judge what merits and defects would have been revealed had it been conscientiously enforced. The existing law needs amendment first to remove the commission from the absolute control of the mayor. The suggestion has been made²⁵ that the commissioners be appointed for overlapping terms by the Common Pleas Court, where the judges are elected for ten-year terms. A proposed state law calls for six-year overlapping terms and leaves appointment with the governor, who is not to succeed himself.²⁶

The functioning of the civil service law in Pittsburgh has not inspired much confidence in the benefits to be derived from such laws. Only a militant local group might be able to obtain the necessary change in the law and see that it is effective, but no such group exists. The proposed Metropolitan Charter for Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, which was under discussion during 1935, did not place the personnel of the consolidated city under a civil service system. Provisions with respect to personnel were so drawn as to give the municipality minimum guarantees as to quality of personnel without extending to employees the protection against post-election discharge. There is, technically, provision for the application of the merit system in third-class cities, of which Allegheny County contains three.²⁷ This is, however, limited and ineffective. Under the County Welfare Plan, as contained in the bill sponsored by the Public Charities Association in 1935, "employees of the board [Public Welfare Board] would be appointed by the board under a State civil service merit system, administered by the Department of Public Instruction with the cooperation of the State Department of Welfare."²⁸

Beyond such external aspects of the fitness of workers as are comprised under education and training and under any other ascertainable factors that guide the selection of workers, the things that determine the ultimate effectiveness of the social worker are his inherent qualities, his capacity to profit by training and to translate it into daily practice. These are imponderable matters, as are also the attitudes he may develop toward social work as a whole and toward the community from which his clients are drawn, toward clients in particular, toward executives and fellow workers,

²⁴ *Post-Gazette*, August 2, 1935.

²⁵ Commissioner Grant Curry, and Mr. George Baird, secretary of the commission, editorial in *Post-Gazette*, July 30, 1935.

²⁶ *Pennsylvania Social Work*, Beyer, January, 1935, p. 41.—MS.

²⁷ Cf. chap. ii, *supra*.

²⁸ Taken from statement by Public Charities Association and Allegheny County Committee on the County Welfare Program.

and toward the management of the agency. Presumably some of these qualities are subject to evaluation and judgment by the employing executive or personnel department, and no doubt some exert influence in the assignment of tasks, in promotions, and in salary increases. The qualities that manifest themselves less in technical performance and more with regard to the imponderable, "general attitude," are too difficult of appraisal, certainly, by any such mass methods as had to be resorted to in the course of the present study. Indirect evidence of the worker's attitude is found in the nature and activities of the professional organizations of which, if eligible, he may seek to be a member. The membership of Allegheny County workers in the national professional body is, as we have seen, slight, not more than 15 percent for the whole body considered, including only 2 percent of the staff of the emergency organization.²⁹ The ratio shown by case workers in the permanent public agencies, on the other hand—54 percent—would seem to be in keeping with the wide-awake attitude shown by that group in other ways as well—as, for example, in the organization of a staff council of the Mothers' Assistance Fund.

MAKING THE JOB ATTRACTIVE TO THE WORKER

Assuming that the worker is competent for the task for which he is employed, what does he demand or what would he like to have assured in the professional job which would justify his interest, loyalty, and efforts for progressive improvement of his performance? Not necessarily in the order mentioned they would include at least the following characteristics:

Validity of the objectives of the employing agency.

Standards of work obtaining in the agency of a caliber to insure professional self-respect.

A conviction that he and his colleagues are selected, employed, retained, and promoted on merit and performance.

Security of tenure.

A salary assuring not only a minimum living standard but also opportunity for cultural development and for professional advancement.

An impersonal system providing promotion, salary increases, advancement of status, and professional recognition in so far as the facilities of the agency may permit.

The opportunity for making such arrangements as may be necessary in the matter of time for further study.

Reasonable conditions for sick leave, vacation, and the ordinary amenities comprised under the general terms of decent working conditions.

Of these general desiderata, definite information is available with re-

²⁹ The low percentage in the emergency administration must not be given as much weight as that in permanent agencies, since the temporary personnel had to be selected without benefit of formal preparation, and they could not so easily qualify for membership on technical grounds.

spect to security of tenure, salaries, promotion, vacations, and opportunity for further study. There is no guarantee of the validity of the objectives of the agency. This the prospective worker must decide case by case. The same is true for the caliber of agency standards. Informal avenues of information are all that can be had. Even the judgment of national agencies on their local affiliates is not always in existence and is less often available in the form in which the worker might be guided for choice of employment. Little, if any, definite information may be had even as to the existence of stated or formal policies on promotion, tenure of office, or vacations of any prospective employing agency. The worker must take the risk. This is true in most voluntary agencies, with exceptions such as the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., which have a considerable body of established personnel policies in effect in the national administration, followed to a considerable degree in the local organizations. It is true, on the whole, of public agencies in Pennsylvania because of the absence of civil service regulations of any effective character.

If the prospective worker did have access to formal statements describing conditions of work, the contents of these statements would hardly be reassuring for Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. In brief, there is no security of tenure, salaries tend to be low, promotion is not systematic, vacations are not uniform and generally not of customary length. Opportunity for further study is limited to the extent of the facilities of the professional schools described below.

Such security of tenure as exists lies mainly in the traditions of social work agencies which have, on the whole, been of a high order. This is not usually true in the public agencies subject to local political control, although it is true, in an informal way, of the Mothers' Assistance Fund, the Juvenile Court, and the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board. The relatively high standards obtaining in these, and in the general run of voluntary agencies in the matter of tenure are probably due in part at least to the inherently progressive attitudes logical for social work agencies and in part to the indirect effect of the American Association of Social Workers. Both nationally, and through its local chapters, this organization has exerted a far-reaching influence in maintaining and improving personnel practices. Tenure of office by merit and performance is one of the first requirements of such practices. The uncertainties applying to employment in the emergency administration must not be confused with the deliberate exercise of low standards. By and large the local administration appears to have a creditable record in this respect, and if greater gains toward high standards have not been made, the fault may lie as much with the deficiencies of the organization of relief workers which has not to date demonstrated great success in obtaining solidarity in its own ranks, or in designing statesman-like programs.

Salaries.—Salaries in social work in Allegheny County are low compared with those in many other communities. Local executives have been aware of this fact when attempting to bring in trained personnel from elsewhere or to hold their own staffs. Competition has not favored Pittsburgh. Rather the contrary has been the experience, Pittsburgh agencies having lost workers to other communities. The salary cuts imposed by depression budgeting are only partially responsible for this situation, for generally lower salaries were found in a study conducted by the Bureau of Social Research as of May 1, 1932, compared with certain other communities such as Boston, Detroit, Cleveland, and New York. To a considerable extent the lower salaries are a reflection of the notion that social work, being a function of charity, should manifest this characteristic by quasi-voluntary activity; that the quality of heart being paramount (and uncompensable), training and its cost are irrelevant, and that in the selection of the personnel, itself, the need of deserving and well connected persons who have "seen better days" should be a factor. The most direct sufferers of this tradition are probably the executives; with two or three exceptions, their salaries are relatively low. The same is true of teachers of social work in Pittsburgh, whose general salary status is comparable with that of executives.

The opportunity for an objective judgment of the standards of salaries and of the range in effect in various positions and types of agencies may be obtained by referring to a combination of the information obtained from the schedules returned by the workers and from the statements of agency policies already mentioned. Only a few of these items are as yet available in a useful form.³⁰ Among the most important are the average monthly salaries reported by the workers who filled out the schedules, classified by the major groupings adopted for use in the several fields of work. For obvious reasons the "public temporary" positions, meaning those in the emergency administration, are reported separately. Table 42 gives a summary of these salaries:

The figures in this table constitute in themselves an important series of facts. Their full significance will be clear only when the various comparisons with previous years and with other communities have been made as planned by the Bureau of Social Research. A few interpretations, how-

³⁰ Among the generous offers made to the Social Study by the Bureau of Social Research of the Federation of Social Agencies was the tabulation and analysis of these schedules and a comparison of the data both with its own earlier studies and with similar information so far as available from other communities and from national sources. An accumulation of unexpected work and unforeseen complications have made the execution of this plan in time for present use impossible. The data are in the hands of the Bureau for use when possible. The data on education, training, and so forth, used above, such salary data as are presented herewith, facts on vacations, sick leave, and so forth, are based on tabulations made by and available in the bureau.

TABLE 42

AVERAGE MONTHLY SALARY OF SOCIAL WORKERS IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY, BY POSITION AND BY TYPE OF AGENCY
(Based on full-time positions only as of January 1, 1935)

POSITION	ALL AGENCIES	AVERAGE MONTHLY SALARY FOR SPECIFIED POSITIONS IN				VOLUNTARY AGENCIES		
		PUBLIC AGENCIES		Total	Emergency administration	Total	In Community Fund	Not in Community Fund
		Total	Permanent departments					
Chief executive	\$314 ^a	\$296	\$296		\$. . .	\$320	\$352	\$222
Assistant executive	241	. . .	. . .		. . .	241	253	199
Department head	175	80	. . .		80	176	183	153
Assistant department head	143	. . .	. . .		. . .	143	143	. . .
District executive	185	148	. . .		148	205	206	201
Assistant district executive	131	. . .	. . .		. . .	131	131	. . .
Staff supervisor	119	107	156		101	165	172	143
Training supervisor	185	185	. . .		185	. . .	. . .	. . .
Assistant staff supervisor	97	94	. . .		94	118	118	. . .
Case worker	118	120	120		. . .	115	116	108
Student case worker	91	. . .	. . .		. . .	91	91	. . .
Aides and visitors	80	80	. . .		80	. . .	. . .	. . .
Receptionist	82	82	. . .		82	. . .	. . .	. . .
Investigator for old age pensions	75	75	75		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Group worker	113	. . .	. . .		. . .	113	101	136
Group supervisor	128	. . .	. . .		. . .	128	122	140
Instructor—physical education	123	. . .	. . .		. . .	123	121	125
Instructor—other than physical education	100	. . .	. . .		. . .	100	100	. . .
General activity director	90	. . .	. . .		. . .	90	. . .	90
Instructor with organization duties	176	. . .	. . .		. . .	176	176	. . .
Public health nurse	109	. . .	. . .		. . .	109	109	. . .
Medical social worker	109	150	150		. . .	106	100	107
Intake secretary	134	145	145		. . .	129	135	105
Registrar	130	200	200		. . .	113	117	100
Assistant intake secretary	100	100	100		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Miscellaneous	137	. . .	. . .		. . .	137	137	. . .

^a In the range of actual salaries there are several within the bracket above \$500 and under \$1,000 per month.

ever, are both inevitable and important. Thus, for example, the rate and range of salaries presented by the permanent public departments is apparently entirely different from that presented by the emergency administration. If, as we may assume, a gradual transition from the emergency state of mind to the recognition that a large relief program will become a permanent factor of community life takes place in the near future, it would be logical to assume that the same principles upon which the salary standards of existing public agencies have been built up will apply to the new inclusive relief agency proposed in a later chapter. Salaries of \$80 for department heads, \$94 per month for assistant staff supervisors, \$80 and \$82 for aides, visitors, and receptionists, found in the temporary public column, may be assumed to represent a passing phase, just as we may further assume that the low standards of professional training required for their appointment will be modified in the future. The salaries of public agencies in general do not compare unfavorably with those of the voluntary organizations. In some cases they seem lower; in others, higher. A true evaluation of relative salaries cannot be made without considering also the content of the jobs compared and the educational, training, and experience qualifications required for candidates. It cannot be said, therefore, that either the voluntary or the public field of service offers inherently higher inducements from the standpoint of salaries.

It must be assumed also that in the not-too-distant future the entire public service in social work will be reorganized according to recognized civil service standards so that salaries, appropriate qualifications for positions, conditions of appointment, promotion, salary increases, and other factors that enter into making public service desirable will find their way into the field of official social work. There is no greater lack, at the present time, of formal provisions for salary increases within a given range for each position and for successive promotion in the public agency than there is in the voluntary agencies. Neither type of employer satisfies the conditions recognized as desirable in personnel practice.

Both inadequacy of salaries and absence of satisfactory standards for systematic advancement were recognized in the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board and led to salary advances and other adjustments and to the introduction of a more systematic training program during its brief history. Inadequacy of salaries in voluntary agencies shows itself more effectively in a practical way than any figures might serve to indicate, in that these agencies are constantly losing personnel because of better offers to their staff and that they find it difficult to replace workers at available rates of pay. Formal recognition of the fact is contained in salary schedules submitted recently by a number of agencies, including the Conference of Catholic Charities and the Federation of Jewish Phi-

lanthropies. In the latter organization comparisons with the standards worked out in Baltimore, Md., showed practically the entire series of professional salaries in the organization to be strikingly low. This situation is serious in view of the fact that Pittsburgh cannot supply all the needed trained workers from its own schools and that these schools, as we shall see, require improvement in what they offer to students in order to compete with other accessible schools outside Pittsburgh. Graduates of other schools are therefore in great demand, and the absence of suitable salaries reduces the possibility of attracting them.

Much the same situation is found with respect to the establishment of formal salary ranges, provisions for advancement in salary and position, and other inducements that make professional work attractive to men and women of high caliber. There is a continuous circle of cause and effect, every part of which must help every other part: high standards of performance in the agency, executive and supervisory personnel of outstanding qualifications, adequate salaries, acceptable conditions of promotion and advancement, appropriate relationships between operating agencies and training schools. Competent and adequate personnel in the schools and in the supervisory staffs of the agencies, vital leadership in the professional organization, and open, clear-cut recognition of the reciprocal character of contributions that lay and professional workers make to the total performance of social agencies are necessary.

Working conditions.—So far as working conditions are concerned, the most important single factor probably is that most elusive, imponderable one of the general spirit of social work in the community and of the presence of a vital and stimulating professional atmosphere among the employees of the agency. These, however, are usually associated with, and reflected in, certain details of working conditions such as the matter of vacations and the relations between executive and staff. Not only is leave of absence with pay essential for the maintenance of the physical and mental health on the job, but it reflects, as well, the attitude of agency to workers. While no absolute standards may be said to prevail throughout the country, certain criteria are generally accepted. Approximately one month is considered an appropriate leave of absence with pay in social work agencies. There is a difference of opinion as to whether this should apply to the professional staff alone or to the clerical group also. The tendency is toward the inclusion of the latter, and it is one of the basic demands of the "rank and file" organizations, especially in those communities where they tend in the direction of the "vertical union" type of organization, to demand equal vacations for all employees of social agencies. There seem to be no reasonable grounds for the continued differentiation between these two groups so far as the length of time of vacation is concerned.

The data on vacation allowances at our command, being based on returns by individual workers, represent not the theoretical standards that may be claimed by agencies but actual vacations enjoyed by the worker within a twelve-month period. We see here certain inequalities apparently favoring the voluntary agencies; but the contrast between voluntary and public agencies is no greater than that between the emergency public agency and the permanent civil service. It may be assumed, therefore, that the data represent the general tendency of voluntary agencies to establish standards and for the public group to follow them with the usual lags known to exist in public service. Taking four weeks or one month as the basic standard, we find that the best record is apparently enjoyed by the voluntary case work agencies in which, of the 210 workers supplying the information 118 had four weeks or more; 91, less than four weeks; and 30 had had no vacations within the preceding twelve months—at least within the employing agency. The group work agencies are next in order, 77 persons showing four weeks or more, 77 less than four weeks, and 19 no vacations. The permanent public agencies gave data for 110 persons, of whom 28 received no vacation in the twelve months preceding; 50, less than four weeks; and 32, four weeks or more. The Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board provides 15 days of regular leave of absence with full pay for its regular workers. Persons employed after the beginning of the year are entitled to one and a quarter days for each month of employment. This does not include justified absences for illness or similar unavoidable causes. With this as a basic standard, it is not surprising that only 14 out of 899 persons have had four weeks or more vacation during the preceding year, 680 having had less (almost half of them having had from fifteen days to three weeks). In view of the rapid turnover the fact that 205 persons on the staff report no vacations in the preceding year is not surprising.

TABLE 43

VACATION ALLOWANCES AS INDICATED BY ABSENCE WITH PAY DURING TWELVE MONTHS ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1934

WORKERS WITH SPECIFIED LENGTH OF VACATIONS							
	CASE WORK AGENCIES				GROUP WORK AGENCIES		ALLEGHENY COUNTY EMERGENCY RELIEF BOARD
	VOLUNTARY		PUBLIC				
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i> <i>Percent</i>
Total reporting	239	100	110	100	173	100	899 100
No vacation with pay	30	13	28	25	19	10	205 23
Less than four weeks	91	38	50	45	77	45	680 76
Four weeks or more	118	49	32	29	77	45	14 2

In many ways the most important aspects of acceptable working conditions are not susceptible of statistical treatment. Certain desirable standards may be defined, and the count may be made of the number of agencies that observe all or part of the provisions contained in a set of desirable standards.³¹ Further details on existing personnel practices, distribution of salaries, and range of salaries may become available from the more intensive analysis of the schedules now in the possession of the Bureau of Social Research. The contributions of the training schools, in so far as they constitute a factor in the situation, will be presented in the following pages.

THE FIELD OF PROFESSIONAL TRAINING³²

The study of professional training in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County has been oriented chiefly to the relationship between the program of professional education as now provided by Margaret Morrison Carnegie College, Carnegie Institute of Technology, and the University of Pittsburgh and the needs of the social agencies in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County for trained personnel. Many problems of professional education that are the continuous concern of all professional schools are left untouched, on the theory that being problems applicable to the field as a whole they need no more special study in this community than they need for the country at large. Thus a specific analysis of the curricula, methods of teaching, combinations of required and elective subjects, thesis requirements and alternatives, and numerous similar topics has been left practically outside the scope of this study, except as they patently reflect the quality of the training programs under consideration. The way in which the schools do or do not succeed in meeting needs for professional training of a high standard within generally accepted definitions and standards has been the focus of the inquiry.

The principal condition of a successful training program, namely, the recognition by social agencies of the importance of employing, as far as possible, only trained personnel is, of course, beyond the control of the professional schools. Only as far as their educational achievements and the attainment and the influence of their faculties impress the community do the schools have power to effect a favorable opinion for professional training. In a sense, therefore, the existing schools must be judged both on the basis of their recognized influence over local thought in social work and also on that of the inherent caliber of their facilities and performance

³¹ Basic standards applicable to the field of personnel relations in social work have been drawn up by the American Association of Social Work and by some "rank and file" organizations. They may be consulted in issues of *The Compass* and *Social Work Today* for 1936 and 1937.

³² The following discussion is based on the report prepared by Gordon Hamilton of the study staff.

as training schools, including the professional recognition commanded by their faculties.

The conditions of acceptable professional preparation may be summed up under the following heads:

A sufficient number of professionally mature teachers with accepted standing in the field of social work as well as suitable academic status.

Adequate number and quality of basic social work courses, with enough related courses in the fields of social sciences to insure academic breadth and opportunity for divergence and specialization of interest on the part of the student.

Satisfactory field work provision, including not only coöperative arrangements with social agencies but also adequately paid supervisory personnel appropriately related both to the educational institution and to the agency in which practice is carried on.

Administrative arrangements to insure first, the untrammelled development of social work education in accordance with its own inherent needs and secondly, material facilities, such as a reasonable basic budget, appropriate salaries for teachers, clerical service, library, and suitable time schedules for teacher and student.

A flow of promising students and a corresponding market for trained graduates.

Of these conditions the availability of suitable field work, the flow of students, and a market capable of absorbing them are as much problems of the social agencies of the community as of the schools themselves. Since complaints about the scarcity of field work opportunities and dissatisfaction with existing arrangements were commonly expressed by the two professional schools and a number of community agencies, this condition of scarcity will be first considered:

The main difficulties found prove to lie very near the surface. The training traditionally available in Pittsburgh is largely of an apprentice, or "in service," type, which allows for insufficient variety in student experience and results in restricted mobility. The workers transferred from private family case work to public relief administration, for instance, had considerable difficulty in adapting themselves because of the narrowness of their theoretical and practical backgrounds. It was also true that on a few agencies only had devolved the responsibility for training students, and, although the community owed much to the assumption of responsibility by these agencies, it was common to say that a person was "trained in the Family Society" rather than that he or she had attended a professional school. In all the agencies examined too little money had been allowed for the educational supervision of young workers, so that "trainees," for the most part, were carried along with the ordinary duties of overburdened workers. Insufficient appropriations on the part of the professional schools tended to result in the utilization of existing field opportunities, in which the training responsibility, as we have seen, was already too much concentrated, and made it necessary either to compete for satisfactory field

work places or to accept for their students the apprentice type of field work instead of a broader and more educational program.

It is true that the problem of field work cost has not yet been fully understood and faced by communities and educational institutions. In many states, during the expanding period for social work since 1930, universities have put on courses in social work or even partial curricula without assuming any responsibility for the intimately related problems of practice. A correlation of theory and practice is so important that such courses have proved of meager value. The leading professional schools have, however, taken their field work courses as seriously as their classroom courses and have budgeted accordingly. The budget for the field work department alone, in one large school, exceeds the total budget of either professional school in Pittsburgh. The schools have found it advisable either to supply the salary of an educational supervisor in whole or in part in field work centers, to utilize agencies which were in receipt of special grants for education and research, or to maintain a field work department strongly staffed to coöperate with agency-paid supervisors on the educational program, meanwhile handling all the necessary administrative details of the student work. All these methods have been used in Pittsburgh, but on so small a scale as to preclude the development of new training areas so much needed. Both schools have paid the salaries of one or more members of a field work department to supervise students directly or to act in a consultation supervisory rôle to agency supervisors, and they have paid in part the salary of an agency supervisor. In the public field, on the contrary, the state and Federal emergency relief administrations allowed money for teaching units of students in the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board, to include four salaries paid for field training alone.

The rest of the training cost has been borne by agencies themselves, which hoped to get as much return as possible from student workers and later to have a trained staff. This is the way medical and nursing education has been carried on, except that medical schools control their training hospitals and clinics to a considerable extent while control of training is scarcely ever possible for social work schools. In both fields there remains the difficulty of keeping a sound balance between service to patients and the education of the young doctor or nurse or social worker. If the only consideration is that of service to patients, the worker may get experience rather than training; if the chief consideration is the acquisition of cheap labor, then the young worker is actually exploited. This has been particularly true in nursing history, and it seems to be true in certain phases of social work training in Pittsburgh.

Fortunately, it is not impossible to strike a wholesome balance between

these somewhat conflicting emphases. It is important to assure first educational content in programs for the student worker, for these are usually the weakest links of a new profession. This is achieved by having the teaching institution lend all its strength to assist the recruiting, holding, and developing of a strong supervisory personnel in the agencies. It may mean paying outright a large part of the salaries of the supervisors (in addition to those of the field work instructors who are on the faculty). This means in essence that such field work supervisors are part of the faculty. If the teaching institution cannot assume the total salary item for field instruction, it may pay a subsidy to the training agency or it may, although it would be a meager arrangement, offer some tuition fellowships in exchange for some training facilities. In Pittsburgh a far too small amount has been laid out by either school for the field work expenses, and too little appropriation has been made from community funds to strengthen the weak areas.

If agencies accept students for training, they accept therewith certain obligations of making the programs of students truly educational. They must restrict the duties of supervisors, staff members frequently very valuable in other respects also; restrict the supervising load to about one supervisor for ten or twelve students (less if the supervisor must carry much administrative responsibility, as in some public agencies); restrict and select the nature of the student practice; control case loads (if a case work agency); arrange for the handling of cases when students are out of the agency; allow time not only for class attendance but for study, thesis, and so forth. Agencies would rather have students work full time than four days a week and four days a week than two. There is, therefore, a real adjustment which must be made all along the line if student work is to be protected. There is a perfectly natural tendency for agencies to prefer those students who know the work, the policies, the procedures, and the special emphases of their program. Yet in the long view, since the movement of workers from agency to agency and from field to field is a widespread phenomenon, the broadly trained worker is the one most useful to the community. Nothing but the closest relating of the objectives of the professional school and the needs of the field can achieve and maintain a sound foundation for social work.

The question of stipends and fellowships comes into the picture at this point. Teaching institutions frequently offer tuition fellowships, may offer grants and loans-in-aid, and in some cases offer maintenance fellowships. Maintenance fellowships also are sometimes offered by agencies. Schools normally get part of their income from student fees, making up the balance of the cost of education by endowments, subsidies, and contributions. Agencies giving field training may quite properly get some return on their

educational costs through the work of students. They should not, however, any more than do the teaching institutions, expect the student worker fully to pay his own way. By a rough calculation it takes about two student workers for each full-time worker, and budgets should face this directly. That is, if an agency is offering a maintenance stipend of \$75 each a month to two students, it equals one \$1800 salary, and this should be recognized as legitimate by agency and Community Fund. Agencies training students usually have returns in a raised level of work and prestige. In any student body there is one group that can bear the accepted rate of tuition and maintenance for themselves; another meets the costs of the professional education by borrowing and occasional employment; while still another is aided by fellowships. Fellowships should be based on competence first, rather than need, although need may be considered, other things being equal, and it is particularly important that those fellows on an agency maintenance stipend should be subject to shared control—admission to and discharge from the fellowship status—and carry on programs comparable with those of non-compensated students.

If the costs of field teaching are squarely faced, and if the status of student workers is protected, there is likely to be little overlapping or competition in field work areas as between the University of Pittsburgh, which has an almost entirely subsidized or compensated social work student body, and the Carnegie Institute of Technology, which has had practically no compensated students.

TABLE 44
ENROLLMENT OF STUDENTS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1934, IN A SELECTED
LIST OF SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK

SCHOOL ^a	TOTAL	STUDENTS MAJORING IN SOCIAL WORK			CREDIT STUDENTS NOT MAJORING	STUDENTS IN NON-CREDIT COURSES
		<i>All majors</i>	<i>Full time</i>	<i>Part time</i>		
<i>Carnegie</i>	70	70	51	19	...	...
Chicago	1,051	978	294	684	73	...
Michigan	103	72	71	1	11	20
Minnesota	461	402	223	179	57	2
Missouri	118	87	87	...	31	...
National Catholic	50	50	50	...	...	...
New York	745	704	232	472	...	41
Ohio	176	159	156	3	17	...
Pennsylvania	469	422	100	322	...	47
<i>Pittsburgh</i> ^b	292	133	61	72	159	...
Western Reserve	336	270	263	7	38	28

^a Abbreviation of full name.

^b Of the full-time students, fifty-three were women, eight, men; of the part-time students, sixty-three were women, nine, men.

As stated earlier, the prevalence of apprentice-trained workers in Pittsburgh has created a quite noticeable problem in the rapid shift from voluntary to public welfare work. Many of the supervisors drafted into the public agency were trained technicians rather than trained social workers, and this rather emphasizes the necessity for developing the field supervision of students under the schools and as part of their educational program. Since the advancement of the profession depends on the quality of the curricula offered to the full-time resident student, we shall next examine the situation in this respect, of the two local schools of social work.

The course in the Department of Social Work, of the Margaret Morrison Carnegie College, at Carnegie Institute of Technology represents a definite technical shaping beginning with third-year students; the course at the University of Pittsburgh's Division of Social Work has a characteristic postgraduate content, however, with case work as its technical focus.

TABLE 45

DISTRIBUTION OF GRADUATE AND NONGRADUATE STUDENTS ENROLLED IN A SELECTED LIST OF SCHOOLS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1934

SCHOOL	TOTAL MAJORING IN SOCIAL WORK	NUMBER OF STUDENTS WHO WERE				NUMBER OF DIPLOMAS, CERTIFICATES AND DEGREES GRANTED 1933-34
		GRADUATE		UNDERGRADUATE ^a		
		<i>Full time</i>	<i>Part time</i>	<i>Full time</i>	<i>Part time</i>	
<i>Carnegie</i> ^b	70	23	18	28	1	9
Chicago	978	282	680	12	4	29
Michigan	72	15	...	56	1	83
Minnesota	402	103	86	120	93	22
Missouri	87	51	...	36	...	15
National Catholic	50	49	...	1	...	14
New York	704	219	440	13	32	68
Ohio	159	16	3	140	...	42
Pennsylvania	422	96	228	4	94	27
<i>Pittsburgh</i>	133	61	72	...	...	...
Western Reserve	270	263	7	...	...	44

^a Includes a few unclassified students.

^b Of the full-time students, thirty-nine were women, twelve, men; all part-time students were women. Since Carnegie Institute of Technology has just added a fifth year to its social work curriculum the nine students shown in the last column are undergraduate degrees. That degrees were not granted at the University of Pittsburgh, which is a "graduate" school, may be in part attributable to the fact that degrees have been granted in the social sciences rather than in social work; in part to the prevalence of fellowship-apprenticeship students, for whom the thesis requirement has been an obstacle; and in part to the fact that students have been drawn away to jobs before the completion of their work. A number of students are said to be currently working on the thesis requirement at the University. As of November, 1934, twenty-one of the graduate students at Carnegie Institute of Technology and eight at the University of Pittsburgh were state and Federal scholars.

As members of the American Association of Schools of Social Work both schools provide at least the basic curricula recommended by that organization. Enrollment in these schools as compared with that of several other schools in the Association is shown in Tables 44 and 45.³³

MARGARET MORRISON CARNEGIE COLLEGE, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK

The history of the Margaret Morrison Carnegie College and the fact that the full-time social work faculty are all women would tend to inhibit the use of this school by men graduate students. The Department of Social Work has been operating for a number of years with a vocational or technical undergraduate focus, although recently a fifth and graduate year has been added to the training course as an extension of the older plan of study. In the technical approach of this school one notes more courses on the tools of group work, for example, story-telling and handicraft, than would be usual in a graduate course. The fifth-year curriculum, which as planned at present is slender, is supplemented by a wide range of one-course lecturers.

The department's new five-year training program will apply to students who elect social work as a major subject at the beginning of the sophomore year in the fall of 1935 and thereafter. This program includes, as formerly, four years of study leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science in Social Work and, in addition, a fifth year of more advanced professional preparation. In other professional schools, such as schools of law, medicine, and engineering, vocational specialization may take place in an undergraduate year, but in social work the arts degree plus two years of graduate study seems to be the major drift. The relationship of preprofessional to professional education in social work has not yet been standardized, and various experiments are doubtless healthy. Discussion of the relative merits of a four-year liberal arts preparation with emphasis on the social sciences, followed by a graduate course, as over against a system such as that at Carnegie, with its technical specialization following the second year of college and including a fifth graduate year, would lead into moot questions which are occupying the attention of many professional schools throughout the country. It is, therefore, beyond the scope of this study. It would seem important at any rate that the bachelor's degree should be in *social science* and that a certificate in *social work*, such as that proposed by the Association of Professional Schools of Social Work, should be issued upon the completion of the fifth year.

³³ There are at present thirty-three members of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, but for easier comparison only a selection of various types of schools is shown in the tables.

The faculty provided by this school at the time of the study comprised five full-time teachers of professional experience, two part-time (quarter-salary) instructors, and one visiting lecturer with responsibility for one course. The part-time instructors have responsibility for certain courses jointly with the regular staff, particularly in the supervision of practice work. Of the five full-time faculty members, three have responsibility for such supervision in their assignments. A rough estimate of classroom teaching force available is therefore between three and four faculty members, and staff supervision of field practice receives the approximate equivalent of between one-and-a-half and two-and-a-half persons. A total of some thirty-six separate courses are listed in the catalogue. Deducting the single course given by the visiting lecturer, this leaves thirty-five courses to be given by five teachers, or an average of seven courses falling to the lot of each instructor. The listing actually attributes ten to one member of the faculty, nine to another, seven to a third. This represents a clearly impossible burden of scholarship and implies that at some point in the academic preparation it may not be possible to maintain the highest standards. There is no general agreement as to what constitutes a normal teaching load, but it seems obvious that time should be generously allowed for practice, writing, and research, since the faculty member must have intimate contact with a rapidly developing profession if his instruction is to have significance in terms of technical content and social philosophy. There are additional courses—some required—for social work students, but they constitute part of the general program of the collegiate preparation with which the social work training has thus far been integrated.

Field work supervision is achieved in three ways: (1) by the use of agency supervisors whose salary is paid wholly from sources outside the school budget, with a consulting relationship to a faculty member, for example, the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board supervisor who consults with a case work teacher on the faculty; (2) direct supervision of students by a faculty member (applies to two such persons); or (3) by a special arrangement providing for part of the supervisor's time—ten hours a week, for instance, to be paid for by the school, as in the case of two part-time instructors mentioned. In 1934, \$1,000 was paid according to this latter arrangement. Thus, five different persons intimately related to the faculty carry some responsibility for the academic standards of field practice. The agencies in which field work is carried on comprised for 1934-35:

Case Work Field Work:

Children's Service Bureau, Pittsburgh

Jewish Family Welfare Association, Pittsburgh

International Institute, Pittsburgh
 Mothers' Assistance Fund of Allegheny County
 Girls' Service Club of Pittsburgh
 State Emergency Relief Board, Allegheny and Westmoreland Counties
 Transient Bureau of Allegheny County

Group Work Field Work

- I. Settlement and community houses
 Brashear Settlement, Holt Street House, and Sarah Heinz House, Pittsburgh
 Kingsley House, Pittsburgh
 Munhall Neighborhood House
 Soho Day Nursery, Soho Settlement, Pittsburgh
- II. Young Women's Christian Association
 Lawrenceville Branch
- III. Pittsburgh Community Councils, Federation of Social Agencies
 Hazelwood
 West Liberty
 Lawrenceville

Students majoring in social work under the new five-year plan carry about nine hundred hours of field work, distributed as follows:

- (a) For students specializing in case work
 Case work field work, 807 hours
 Group work field work, 135 hours
- (b) For students specializing in group work
 Case work field work, 321 hours
 Group work field work, 621 hours

That is to say, three semesters of field work at about twenty-one hours a week or less distributed over four semesters.

Although there are more case work than group work majors, Carnegie Institute of Technology has the sound plan of requiring field work in two fields, case work and group work, in at least two agencies. Conference time with either students or field guides, in both case work and group work, seems adequate, but it adds a considerable burden to an already heavy teaching schedule. Heavy teaching and practice programs are usually carried at the expense of research interest, but this problem is not peculiar to schools of social work. Stenographic assistance, as well as time itself, has been so limited that field work reports are made by checking on a schematic outline. This does not seem so useful as the narrative evaluations of field work used characteristically at present in other schools, at least until schematic systems are better than at present. The orientation for the physical sciences at the Carnegie Institute of Technology has suggested to some observers a similarity between field work and laboratory disciplines which, in fact, does not exist. It is one thing to supervise a laboratory—precise, well-established, thoroughly controlled, fully implemented, and physically near to the eye and hand of the instructor; and it is another thing to supervise the work of students at long range, in

various kinds of agencies, under changing supervisors, and with human beings at stake. Even the teaching of medical students in hospital wards and in operating theaters is much more compact and controllable than the field work teaching in these diversified agencies.

Aside from the Federal and state scholarships, ten of which were placed in the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board's Homestead office, and eight in Greensburg (1934-35), the Department of Social Work has had no fellowships other than those available for any other undergraduates at Carnegie Institute of Technology. Group work students have been placed during the summer in camp positions at \$50 a month, but this is not a fellowship, nor is this accredited as field work. Ideally, students should pay as much as possible of their education in fees, and these fees should include tuition fees for field work just as much as for classes. Actually, the problem of financing graduate social work is a real one. In one large school not far from Pittsburgh a survey of student finances showed that about one-third were able to finance a two-year course; about one-third were struggling with debts, loans, outside work, and tending to drop out after one year; and about one-third had fellowships or part fellowships. Another large school has practically its whole student body, both in case and group work, on a maintenance fellowship plan, the agencies paying the salaries, but the conditions of work being regulated student programs. In a new profession in which salaries are low the question as to where the costs of training should be distributed is a real one. In 1934-35 both Federal and state governments assumed financial responsibility for the training of a number of social workers needed in the Emergency Relief Association. About 1,000 fellowships were allocated throughout the country, the two schools in Pittsburgh receiving such allocations. Margaret Morrison Carnegie College, Carnegie Institute of Technology, has always prepared women students, but it has taken men among the state and Federal fellows this year and is prepared to continue on a graduate basis, making some special arrangements for the registration of men students outside the college.

From an administrative point of view one very favorable condition obtains in Carnegie, namely, the virtual autonomy that the school enjoys over matters of curriculum and educational planning within the general collegiate framework of Margaret Morrison Carnegie College. Its budgetary limitations have, however, been serious, especially as they pertain to resources for clerical assistance, supplies, lecture fees, and the financing of field supervision.

Because of the organization of the Carnegie Institute of Technology it is impossible to give an accurate statement as to the funds allotted for the administration of any one department. For example, the director of the Margaret Morrison Carnegie College and the president of the Institute

are concerned in the administration of every department in the college. The registrar, the examiner, and the recorders function for the whole of Carnegie Institute of Technology, and it is impossible to portion out their compensation on the basis of work done for any individual department. It should be further borne in mind that all subjects except the purely technical subjects are taught by members of other departments.

For the academic year 1932-33 the teaching budget for the Department of Social Work was \$12,047. Four hundred and forty-one dollars was the sum spent for supplies and lectures given by specialists outside the faculty. For the year 1933-34 the budget was practically the same as for the preceding year, \$12,052.32 being the sum for salaries, while \$487 was spent for supplies and incidental lectures. For the year 1934-35 the department had a budget of \$14,650. About \$470 is the sum set aside for "other expenses."

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH, DIVISION OF SOCIAL WORK

In 1931 the Buhl Foundation of Pittsburgh made available to the University of Pittsburgh a three-year grant for the purpose of encouraging professional education for social work. The Graduate Division of Sociology and Social Work was subsequently organized as a coördination of departments of economics, philosophy, political science, psychology, and sociology with a specialized staff for professional courses and field work supervision. In October, 1933, the Division of Social Work was established as a separate entity, but under the direction of the head of the Department of Sociology, who carries administrative responsibility for both.

To a considerable extent students in the Division of Social Work take courses in the Sociology Department, which serves both graduate and undergraduate needs. The reverse is not the case to any great extent, since the Division of Social Work is a graduate professional school. Students of social work who take work in sociology do so in order to make up entrance requirements and to fulfill minor requirements and electives toward an advanced degree.

The separation of the Division of Social Work from the Department of Sociology is to some degree a theoretical one, and the advantages would not seem to equal the benefits to be derived from a wholly separate status. Although the curriculum is distinct and concerned with social work as such, the head of both faculties being the same person, the situation imposes upon him the task of serving two masters. The effects may show themselves in the necessary division of his own time, both for teaching and for administration, between the two academic entities with differing orientations and objectives. The search for funds, always a problem, especially in a large institution, can rarely be carried on impartially if

the contending demands of the two types of academic objectives meet in the budgetary arena. The values claimed are that on the whole the older department has afforded protection, backing, and support to the younger; but since social work must draw on all the social sciences quite as much as on sociology, there may be disadvantages in a "protected" status. At the time of the present inquiry, with a budget theoretically twice the size of the Carnegie budget (as indicated by the schedule in Table 46), the full-time professional staff of the Division of Social Work numbered four, compared with five at the sister institution. There was one part-time faculty member (employed in supervision); four faculty members of the Sociology Department, including the director, were giving courses in the Division of Social Work; and seven lecturers completed the teaching staff. This proportion between full-time personnel and outside faculty members is not considered desirable in professional training.

The first direct effect of the departmental affiliation is upon the distribution of the budget. The salary distribution for the year 1934-35 was approximately as follows:³⁴

Full-time professional teachers, (four)	\$11,750
Pro-rated against salaries of director and faculty of the Sociology Department	6,600
Outside lecturers	2,525
Outside supervisors of field practice	750
Clerical	1,910

To scholarships and fellowships the sum of \$1,500 was assigned, bringing the total of personal service expenditures to \$25,035, or roughly within \$590 of the nominal budget for the year, as indicated in Table 46.

The professional staff at this time comprised three women and one man—exclusive of the director. No single salary of this staff exceeded \$3,450 per annum. In negotiations with candidates for faculty positions salary offers for men were made at a \$4,000 per annum maximum. It is well known that there is a considerable discrepancy between prevailing salaries paid to men and women in executive positions in social work, as in other fields, to the disfavor of the latter. In other words, men competent as social workers, with requisite academic experience and recognized standing in the profession, cannot easily be found for any such figure. Whether it is the policy of the University that accounts for the absence of salaries of more than \$3,450 at this time or the drain upon the budget of the Division of Social Work for pro-rating salaries to the sociology faculty,

³⁴ Approximation only is possible in view of the changes due to turnover. For example, two of the four full-time professional teachers were added during 1934-35 (one of them has resigned since). Also the division of salaries paid to members of the sociology faculty as between that department's work and the Division of Social Work must be based on arbitrary estimates and will fluctuate with the curriculum.

TABLE 46

EXPENDITURES AND INCOME OF DIVISION OF SOCIAL WORK, UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH, 1931-35

	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34	1934-35
Total expenditures	\$12,324.45	\$16,495.00	\$16,695.00	\$24,445.00
Administrative				
Salaries	3,000.00	3,300.00	3,500.00	4,200.00
Other	960.00	810.00	810.00	1,810.00
Salaries of teaching staff	8,000.00	11,200.00	11,200.00	16,135.00
Scholarships and fellowships ^a	...	...	...	1,500.00
Other expenses	364.45	1,185.00	1,185.00	800.00
Income				
Outside subsidy	10,000.00	10,000.00	15,000.00	9,000.00
Endowments or university support assumed	2,324.45	6,495.00	1,695.00	15,445.00

^a The division and affiliated agencies have joint supervision over thirty-seven fellowships not included in this statement.

it is difficult to know, but in either case there remains a serious obstacle to building up a faculty.

It is undoubtedly true that there are more competent people trained in the social sciences now available for the usual professor's salaries than there are competent social workers with the appropriate academic equipment, so that there is a real obstacle in withdrawing social workers from actively challenging positions unless the salaries offered by the universities are reasonably attractive. The salaries paid in both schools of social work remain exceedingly modest.

With the proportion of teachers, professional and academic, as indicated, and with the equivalent of approximately one and one-third of the man-power of the professional staff devoted to field supervision, there remains but a small faculty of social workers to carry the technical courses.³⁵

Great dependence is therefore placed on outside lecturers, and incidentally, also, too heavy a burden of courses falls upon the social work faculty. An especially heavy burden fell on the assistant director, who was listed with five courses in addition to administrative duties. This is less than the curricular demands on the teachers at the Carnegie School, but represents the same type of unfeasible academic task. As in Carnegie Institute of Technology, the full-time faculty carries a heavy load, with

³⁵ Courses given by professional staff, sociology faculty, and outside lecturers are roughly in the ratio of one-third each out of a total of approximately 20 courses; some 35 additional elective courses are to be had in other University faculties, including 14 in sociology and statistics, 5 in economics, 3 in political science, and 13 in clinical psychology.

administrative duties, teaching and active participation in agency practice. Inasmuch as the staff also carries a considerable amount of extension teaching, the program seems excessive.

Here, also, as at Carnegie Institute of Technology, there are three plans to supervise field work: by agency supervisors, whose salaries are paid wholly from sources outside the school budget, with a consulting relationship to a faculty supervisor; through direct supervision of students, such as was carried on in one agency, and by part-time assignment of one or more supervisors, paid for by the school. Last year \$350 was paid to one of the supervisors of the Children's Service Bureau.

Candidates for the master's degree in social work must have had twenty credits in field work (six credits according to former rating). This requirement is fulfilled by field work practice with local social agencies, from fifteen to twenty-one hours each week according to the needs of the student. Students holding agency fellowships are credited with twenty-one hours of field work, but actually most of them carry heavy agency assignments in addition. Although the average field work hours for one first-year student at the Children's Service Bureau was only twenty-one hours a week, the average for four students at the Children's Aid Society was thirty hours, and for the compensated students in the Family Society it ran from twenty-eight to thirty-five hours, although it was slightly lower for first-year students. In the Jewish Family Welfare Association compensated students were held down to about twenty-three hours, but in the Mothers' Assistance Fund, the average ran up to thirty-four. This was conditioned by a special field work arrangement, however.

The following agencies have been used as field work centers: the Family Society of Allegheny County; the Jewish Family Welfare Association; the Conference of Catholic Charities; the Mothers' Assistance Fund; the Children's Aid Society of Allegheny County; the Children's Service Bureau; Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board; Pittsburgh Bureau for Jewish Children.

In 1934-35 students were distributed as follows:

	1ST SEMESTER	2D SEMESTER
Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board	18	16
Children's Aid Society	4	3
Children's Service Bureau	3	5
Conference of Catholic Charities	6	...
Family Society	31	31
Jewish Family Welfare Association	5	4
Mothers' Assistance Fund	10	13
Pittsburgh Bureau for Jewish Children	...	1
	77	73

Field work is under the general direction of the supervisor of field work of the Division of Social Work. Students holding agency fellowships are directly supervised by agency supervisors in training districts, selected for the purpose. Regular students, in some instances, are placed in field work under the same plan. The assistant supervisor of field work carries on direct supervision of students under an arrangement determined by the University.

Student programs vary with the social work agencies which provide scholarships for students in training in the family welfare, children's agencies, and public welfare agencies. Special programs have been worked out in relation to field work for special groups, particularly the students on state training (S.E.R.A.) and Federal (F.E.R.A.) scholarships. Consideration has also been given to the more concentrated field training program of the Mothers' Assistance Fund. One new training center (Pittsburgh Bureau for Jewish Children) has been developed. Three new supervisors have been added to the student training group, making twenty-six in all. Several agencies are awaiting consideration and investigation as possible centers for field work placements. So far, all field work has been in case work practice, neither group work nor community organization having been attempted.

Extension of the program so as to include the training of social workers in medical social work seems indicated for the University in the near future. According to the advice of the educational director of the American Association of Medical Social Workers:

Falk Clinic has adequate space, satisfactory arrangement of offices and consultation rooms for the training of medical social work students. The medical service seems to be of sufficient variety and quality to provide valuable experience for students. In order that Falk Clinic be used as the training center, the social service department should be stabilized, its scope and standard of service increased, and its organization in relation to the rest of the clinic improved. If adequate preparation is made, the medical social training program could be initiated September, 1935. Students fulfilling field minor could be placed by January 1, 1936. The development of the department will require a minimum of 9 to 12 months and it will require 18 months before medical social students can get adequate field experience.³⁶

Unlike Carnegie Institute of Technology, practically all of whose students have been noncompensated, the Division of Social Work at the University of Pittsburgh has an arrangement with the different case work agencies for an extensive fellowship plan. There were at the Jewish Family Welfare Association two noncompensated students and two on the agency's pay roll. There was one student with a tuition fellow-

³⁶ This program has been retarded by the clinic for reasons that do not seem clear.

ship at the Pittsburgh Bureau for Jewish Children, while only one of the twenty-nine students on the staff of the Family Society this last year did not have an agency fellowship at the University. Three students working in a settlement received tuition fellowships but no maintenance salary from the agency. Obviously, to carry so large a proportion of students on agency fellowships, only four or five students being noncompensated, creates certain problems of educational control. On the positive side, if the field work director's relationship is on a sound give and take basis, there can be a sharing of content and procedures, educationally valuable and mutually stimulating. Difficulties lie in the tendency to long periods of field practice (that is, exceeding twenty-one hours a week) with little time left to fill the academic requirements of course and thesis. The thesis requirement gets shoved along into a third year and, judging by the failure to take degrees shown in earlier figures from the University of Pittsburgh, has been shirked altogether. Another difficulty arises if agencies are unwilling to arrange for field work practice of their student-workers in agencies affording a different type of experience. When this is true, students are agency-trained rather than generically trained. In so far as this type of agency fellowship is continued, it is important to establish educational controls along these lines:

- Joint selection of students admitted to fellowship status by school and agency
- Joint supervision by school and field
- Joint dismissal of unsatisfactory students
- Allowance of time for practice in a second field (other than by employing agency)
- Allowance of time for study and the use of library facilities and definitely restricting the working week to this end (by employing agency)
- Allowance of time for thesis or other educational requirement for graduation and controlling the tendency to drag out the student program into a third year (by employing agency)

Instead of paying the same tuition rate per credit unit for field as for course work, the Division of Social Work has an arrangement whereby students pay only for four field work credits, or \$40, even if the actual time given to field work and credit granted therefor exceed that allowance. Thus, if during the third year the student decides to take a degree, the four credits of field work are automatically increased to twenty without charge, the degree of M.A. costing \$300 in all in tuition. The practice of not charging full tuition fees for field work is a troublesome one, and the problem of the concealed cost of field work for a professional school must be understood with reference to the total situation. This is not peculiar to Pittsburgh, although the leading schools do charge full tuition rates for field work. Some schools still do not.

OTHER SCHOOLS

Neither the Pennsylvania College for Women nor Duquesne University, in Pittsburgh, is interested in developing a graduate offering in social work. Each sees its task as one of providing preprofessional courses, which is fortunate, since more schools of social work are not needed in Pittsburgh.

Duquesne offers an undergraduate course which at some points covers professional subject matter, but it should be encouraged to discontinue the course in field sociology, now inactive, thus enabling the graduate schools to cultivate and develop sound field work opportunities on a graduate level.

If an outside institution, such as Ohio State University, which is now using the local Mothers' Assistance Fund for students wants field work opportunities in Pittsburgh, it should discuss its needs and plans with the committee recommended in this report. This should also apply to the Pennsylvania State College if it attempts to develop new field work areas in Allegheny County.

The Pennsylvania College for Women offers an undergraduate curriculum in "social service," which is intended for general orientation for social service majors. This course is an introduction to the field of social work, but since it is so little restricted, most of the courses being open to all undergraduates, it does seem not well adapted either for a sound preprofessional preparation or for the beginning of vocational specialization. If these courses are offered at all, they should be restricted to senior year, and students taking them should have had a sound grounding in the social sciences.

PROBLEMS OF CURRICULUM

Although the agencies complain that there are not enough opportunities for "advanced" work in Pittsburgh, by which is popularly meant not enough opportunities for case work and psychiatry, the trouble seems rather to be that there is not yet a strong, well-integrated basic course of training developed; instead, we find two small schools, each with strength, but neither one offering a well-rounded, two-year course of study and practice. It is considered important to so ground students in the fundamentals of social work as to equip them equally well for rural or urban work, for case work, group work, community organization, and social action. Taken together, the two schools have a substantial offering, but they are administratively separate, with certain traditional tensions, and the students at both institutions have been handicapped in achieving a rounded professional equipment for the complex social work of today. For the present, agencies may send staff workers out of town for advanced

or special opportunities, and they should throw their weight behind the development of a sound basic professional course in Pittsburgh.

Field work difficulties in the training schools have arisen in part because of the uneven development of agencies, which has made the schools lean heavily on a few of them, and in part because the practices and needs of the schools have varied. Carnegie Institute of Technology has until recently had an undergraduate course, providing for relatively short periods of field work and from which students were absent altogether in the summer time and not employed by any agency. The University of Pittsburgh has had a student body almost wholly carried on agency salaries, giving relatively less time to their studies than to major obligations of practice. This has led to a confused situation and a tendency on the part of the agencies to prefer the almost full-time student-worker arrangement; but this very arrangement has also made for a restriction of practice to a single field and to weighting the practice more in the interest of agency needs than in that of student education. The system has also militated against the students' completing the full course with degree.

The cost of field work teaching is still largely a "hidden cost," which is not fully appreciated by the administration of either school and apparently not fully realized by the Community Fund. In the case of students on state and Federal fellowships, the cost of teaching in the field has been allowed for. In response to the demands made by the state, agency field work facilities were provided by enlarging staffs, the state paying the salary outright. But in private agencies, students have been "squeezed in." Inadequate salaries have been paid by the schools for field supervision, and the agencies have tended to use fellowship students as cheap workers, with some, but not enough, protection of educational aims. Strong supervisors here, as elsewhere, are at a premium, and supervisory strength will have to be both imported and developed locally if the needs of the students are to be met. As stated above, the salaries of persons on fellowship should be a separate unit and at a fair rate to be determined by the schools and agencies.

THE PART-TIME STUDENT

Evidently, then, the ordinary problem of field work supervision, entailing a dual program and dual responsibility for the student—one to the school, the other to the operating agency—is still further complicated by the "part-time student," who is primarily an employee of the agency. The administrative authority and working program of the agency may and, unless meticulously planned in conjunction with the teaching institution, does come into conflict with educational objectives which must guide the student's program if he is to benefit from the professional edu-

cation which is offered. Although, as we have said, the quality and force of professional development are generated from a full-time resident student body, the practical situation calls for the organization of educational services, course by course, for agency workers also.

As of November, 1934, Carnegie Institute of Technology reported nineteen part-time graduate students, practically all on scholarship from the Emergency Relief Administration, all women, majoring in social work; the University of Pittsburgh, as of the same date, had seventy-two part-time graduate students majoring in social work, of whom nine were men and sixty-three women. In addition, the University reported 159 students, 36 men and 123 women, not majoring in social work but taking one or more courses. To what extent this represents a usual demand in cities which have schools of social work, it is difficult to say. Schools of social work in other cities have varied widely with regard to their offerings to this group, both in the provision of courses and in field work. Recently one large school offered to part-time workers only three courses with a total registration of 144, chiefly from the Emergency Relief Administration. Another school not far away offered a basic curriculum throughout the year and had nearly 2,000 registrants.

During the rapid expansion of social work during the depression the situation became acute, and there were thousands of new workers in active practice who had no professional training. Figures cited earlier in this chapter showing how the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board workers were characteristically college trained, but equally characteristically, without professional training as a group, are arresting. The present requirements of the American Association of Social Workers of twenty-four semester hours of technical social work courses and three hundred hours of supervised field work have brought unwonted pressure upon the schools to offer a curriculum for the part-time student and to try to find some way of meeting the field work requirement. The movement in the training field is away from the "institute" and extension type courses, which were hastily organized in 1933-34 for the new relief workers, and toward more orderly plans for training. There are difficulties to be encountered in offering a basic curriculum, since part-time workers tend to elect such technical courses as seem to bear most immediately on their practice and to avoid equally useful courses with less obvious relationship to their work. These difficulties can be met through a competent advisory service.

In Pittsburgh the offerings of the two schools have proved somewhat fragmentary and scattered, and the divergent policies have made for a sense of frustration among the agency workers. Courses and practice have not been carefully correlated, and the sense of significance which is built

up if a student takes a series of planned courses is lost if he merely takes one or two evening courses, not related to each other or to an educational process. In Pittsburgh there are marked differences in agency habits. In one agency, for instance, the workers tend to take work for higher degrees in sociology or psychology; in another, a few courses in case work; in another, which has no guidance available, one finds that workers are taking courses in journalism and history; in another no courses at all.

It seems, then, that if the two schools would pool their resources, select from each curriculum suitable courses, arrange to offer them at reasonable hours both on campus and possibly downtown, and let the more serious part-time students avail themselves of a systematic program which might be covered in two or three years of steady application, a more constructive program of professional training for the community would emerge.

Obviously, the schools must provide field work of good quality for their full-time students before they can arrange to any great extent for employed workers. It is probably true that many agencies cannot at present give educational supervision equally to all their younger staff members, but it is undeniably true that in coöperation with the schools, the stronger agencies could do so, and by special part-time and exchange arrangements they could provide an educational experience of good quality for some of their staff every year—thus slowly replacing the apprentice training by a broader and sounder foundation.

One noticeable problem is the large number of young college graduates in the emergency relief agencies for whom no general plan of training on the job has yet been put into effect. The public group is composed of a number of elements: persons temporarily there, whose chosen field is teaching or engineering or business, but who have been unable to find suitable work; and the much more stable element who have voluntarily chosen social work, or who having tried it, like it and plan to pursue this type of public service as a vocation. Case loads are still high, and time allowed for courses is not sufficient to make systematic study easy; but good personnel practice and a less acute situation should allow for staff development.

In the emergency relief administration staffs, the junior supervisory group has proved the weakest element. Promoted much too soon, usually with no professional training, but because of some immediate urgency, these young supervisors are inadequately equipped for the teaching and training of other staff members. Constant help has to be given by district supervisors, educational directors, and case consultants in order to improve their level of performance. Most of these junior supervisors themselves should be following planned courses of study, and many should

return to the field under supervision if they are to develop. The junior supervisors, however, seem to have some resistance to instruction and to fear that admitting the need for more training may mean a loss of status. The drive for "credits" as something that may lead to promotion within the agency does not yet seem so prevalent among the part-time students, as does resistance to courses which appear too "academic," or which threaten a premature security.

Good performance without any theoretical background, although it should be recognized, is apt to burn itself out quickly in supervisory positions. The better plan is to have a thoroughgoing promotional system, in which salary increases are regular for satisfactory work within the job range, but with qualifications for higher positions clearly defined. Professional education is the appropriate requirement for these higher positions, to be waived only if the worker has truly unusual qualities of performance.

In setting up a training plan one must recognize the advisability of hiring college graduates or those with equivalent education. This is made necessary because of the trend in the professional schools toward offering courses only on a graduate level, so that those without a bachelor's degree may find themselves ineligible for whatever is available.

With a careful initial selection of new workers an orientation course within the public agency may be undertaken in order to clarify immediate problems, explain the place of the organization in the community, and outline community resources. After some months an evaluation of workers should be made, and the more serious and competent staff workers may be advised on a systematic training course in a professional school. A few may be selected for fellowships, if fellowships are available; others may embark on a planned course, which should, if possible, include a period of especially chosen supervised field work, to bring the best possible equipment into their practice. To encourage and develop these last is the challenge of the public service, thus insuring promotional strength from within the ranks.

DIVISION OF LABOR BETWEEN THE TWO SCHOOLS

This study would seem clearly to indicate that the city of Pittsburgh does need one strong school of social work, but it has not been found practicable to recommend the discontinuance of one school in favor of the other. Each school has major limitations and no prospects of surmounting them all at once. Moreover, in the present pioneer stages of education for social work there is much to be said for experimental and divergent approaches, such as we find demonstrated in Pittsburgh. Co-operation between these two experimental systems rather than elimination

of either would seem to be the more constructive next step. The natural developments of the next few years and a genuine community control and plan will demonstrate where the greatest efficiency lies. At present the discrepancy between demand and supply is too great to suggest curtailment.

It seems probable that the field of social work, particularly in public service, will continue to expand and develop, although not so rapidly as it has expanded in the relief field during the last four years. A more gradual development with a larger supply of professionally educated workers would indeed be preferable. That professionally educated workers will be increasingly demanded is inescapable. The needs of children, recently somewhat obscured by the problems of unemployed adults, will undoubtedly come again to the front, and social workers will be called for. County and rural development are going to require the services of workers broadly trained in the content of social work, including child and family care, work with adolescents and the foreign-born, with the handicapped and the aged. Social workers must know the fundamental principles of case work, group work, community organization, and social administration. The Federal security program will increase the need for trained workers for both child welfare and public assistance.

Therefore it is desirable that the two schools should bring their strength together by means of informal affiliation and correlation. Carnegie Institute of Technology has a strong, though undergraduate, course in group work. If it were brought to a graduate level, it would be much more economical for case work students at the University of Pittsburgh to take some instruction in group work, both in courses and in the field, at Carnegie than for the University to try now to develop an adequate course in group work. Community organization and social administration should be developed, but probably not immediately, in both institutions. The University of Pittsburgh is in excellent position to develop a course in work with the foreign-born, which is so much needed in the county. Carnegie Institute of Technology already has a field station in the county. If a rounded professional course is not likely soon to be available at each institution, the next best thing is complementary curricula for students at both institutions.

There has been tension in the past over the question of places for field work. This study has shown clearly that field teaching is underdeveloped, not overdeveloped. What is needed is more money to spend on salaries for supervisors and the cultivation of more new areas. We have seen that the University is naturally interested in the development of medical social work in Falk Clinic and that it probably should continue to build courses and prepare for field work in this area. But the Juvenile

Court also needs trained workers and should be used for training. The institutional field will come to demand trained workers as the movement for child hygiene and child guidance gathers strength. In all work with children and adolescents, particularly in the protective field, for really efficient service workers should be trained in both case and group work. Planning jointly appropriate areas for cultivation is indicated, and close administrative affiliation would be the desired goal.

The schools should also agree on a policy regarding agency fellowships. The danger exists that agencies will be tempted, as they appear to have been tempted in the past, by the institution which is the more indulgent and gives the better concessions. The Federation should assist in control and should help establish a fellowship plan in the allocation of funds. Considerations concerning agency fellowship have already been discussed, but matters on which there could be agreement would include: a comprehensive list of agencies approved for training, to which allocations of fellowships might be made by the Fund, consistent with agency facilities and normal training responsibilities in the past. All fellowships should be granted for one year only, subject to review and renewal. The rate of stipend should be agreed upon, and the scale changed only by common agreement of the agency and the schools. No one agency should have a disproportionate number of fellowships assigned to it, but supervisory strength will permit some agencies to use more fellowships than others.

Finally, as has been indicated already, the schools might jointly plan and offer a curriculum for part-time students, selecting the most appropriate courses for each institution and offering, if possible, some advisory service at a central place, so that students will make better use of time and money spent in education than they do at present.

In order to insure the most effectiveness for these coöperative steps a committee representing both the schools and the Federation should be formed. This committee should have as its immediate charge the calling of conferences with the agencies in order to discuss broad matters of policy; the correlation of credit arrangements and tuition charges so far as possible; help in planning a basic curriculum for part-time students; the adoption of comparable practices with regard to agency fellowships for graduate students and for state fellowships; the planning together for the cultivation of new field work areas, not merely in the terms of the "needs" of the institutions or even of the "needs" of students, but also with broadening concepts of the needs of the field, which is the community.

CHAPTER XIII

RELIEF AND SOCIAL CASE WORK

Historical connection between relief and social case work.—Conditions that facilitated technical development of case work.—Functional differentiation of case work.—Confusions: relief, service, personal adjustment.—Agency types related to technical differentiation.—General considerations in relief and social case work: "Judge not"; adequate relief; comprehensive budgeting; minimum standards; cultural self-determination; psychological approach.—Basic planks in a plan for relief and case work services in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County.

THE GROWTH of institutions and practices in social work has not followed a logical scheme or persistent direction. Accidents of individual leadership and the innumerable changes in economic, political, and cultural patterns have accounted now for one emphasis, now for another; they have given the similitude of eternal verity or of the discovery of a new principle to some venerable tradition or to a rediscovered truth.

In the six or seven decades since the charity organization movement began to give new form to the practice of social work by combining free speculation in the social sciences with almost-forgotten practices in improved poor relief, much has happened to confuse, as well as to enrich, the organization of social work. Two concepts, particularly, have been continuously associated and have given rise to much confusion during the last decade or two: treatment of dependency by economic relief and social case work. In the present study we have attempted to keep these concepts separate. The importance of making this distinction lies in its use for future planning. It is difficult to apply, because most, if not all, agencies which include within the scope of their activity either relief giving or social case work have been doing both, in inextricable confusion. The confusion, moreover, was not easily detected, because it was concealed in the sound theory that case work methods should be applied in the administration of relief. This situation has been especially common among family agencies, which have been, and still are, considered the most typical representatives of social work.

At the beginning of the present era in social work, which may be con-

veniently dated from the 70's of the last century, there was no question but that social work was intended to serve the needs of the poor. Sometimes, indeed, the poor would appear to be primarily ill, while also poor; or primarily in conflict with the law, while also poor; or caught in the various difficulties frequently associated with uncontrolled vice, the cumulative ills of hereditary feeble-mindedness, or the inescapable wretchedness of brutalizing living conditions associated with certain industrial practices. The vision of Edward Dennison, the fermentation introduced by practitioners and thinkers such as Robert Owen and Octavia Hill, and the rediscovery of social experimentation such as that of Thomas Chalmers gave impetus to the study and emphasis of means for dealing with poverty other than charitable relief and institutional deterrents. Social case work was one of the fruits of this new emphasis. The attention to modes of treatment other than the giving of relief resulted in sporadic and sometimes in persistent efforts to develop community resources for the service of the poor that were oriented to other phases of their circumstances besides their poverty. Legal services, medical care, more generous and understanding treatment of delinquency, greater attention to housing, and the provision of constructive opportunities for utilizing leisure time thus became more deeply rooted in the social work field. Various forms of guidance and helpfulness beyond material relief were found to be effective in the treatment of the individual client and gave rise to further emphasis on the study and guidance of individual character.

CONDITIONS THAT FACILITATED THE TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CASE WORK

In the United States social case work developed during a period when poverty was of relatively small importance with respect to the number of individuals affected by it or with respect to the general economic trend. There has been, despite occasional interruptions, a period of plenty, of surplus opportunities for employment over a widening area which was constantly extended by receding geographical frontiers. Gradually the need for relief, in the sense in which it had bedeviled England for more than three centuries, seemed to lose reality. The possibility of economic reform and political reconstruction, as preached by single taxers and socialists, was regarded as an unreal speculation that had little kinship with the present, and the word "poverty" itself had so far lost caste in social work that leaders of the profession rarely used the term in speaking, writing, or teaching. Family agencies had come to resent the application of the term "relief agency" as defining their functions and policies.

Case work, originally the assurance of permanent liberation of the

individual poor from his condition of poverty, became an instrument for "the development of personality" and, later, for the development of family life and the salvation of the family as a social institution. Technical processes of social case work were further developed, meanwhile, by their application to patients in hospitals, to delinquent children in courts, and later to patients suffering from mental disturbance but who at the moment did not require institutional care. The content of social case work as a technical process was enriched beyond the dreams of its early sponsors by the contribution of psychiatry and of the new psychoanalytical schools and by reinterpretation of these discoveries into principles of mental hygiene applicable to all human life and all personal relations.

The emphasis in the practice of social case work became technical. This specialization seemed natural because of the speedy expansion of case work into fields not by definition dealing with poverty, such as hospitals, psychiatric and child guidance clinics, children's courts, after-care of patients of psychiatrists and of hospitals for the insane, and domestic relations courts. An increasing number of clients served by family agencies were persons whose principal difficulty seemed, upon study and investigation, to lie less in economic distress than in personal or marital maladjustments. In rendering service to the body of its clients in need of economic assistance, more and more attention was being paid to factors of a psychological nature. Treatment itself tended to become psychological-therapeutic in nature. This movement was further enhanced by the degree to which the care of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children, both in institutions and in homes, extended the useful application of the principles of mental hygiene and of individual social case work. At the same time, a strong bond with the field of economic relief was maintained, because children given foster care inside or outside institutions were, with negligible exceptions, members of families in economic distress.

In addition to the general conditions of prosperity that enabled family and children's agencies to think of themselves as providers of technical services in the form of case work rather than as agencies concerned with aiding the poor, a new movement arose and spread, which emphasized the withdrawal of case work agencies from concern with poverty. This movement manifested itself chiefly in efforts to introduce social insurance and pensions, and to a lesser extent in developing the theory that the support of the economically dependent was a public obligation. This second aspect of the movement was up to the time of the depression only incidental. It has become an equal or even paramount factor in the movement, since the depression made the relief of the unemployed the major problem of local, state, and Federal governments. The first success of this

movement was in the introduction and gradual expansion of mothers' pension laws; next in time and importance came old age pension legislation, followed by its fruition in the present all-important movement for economic security in all its phases through Federal and state legislation and financing. The inevitability of public assumption of responsibility for economic relief as a result of the events of the past half-dozen years has, in a sense, finalized and sealed the movement for the withdrawal of family and children's agencies from responsibility for the relief of those economically dependent. Their withdrawal is now practically a necessity, not a choice.

A community plan for social work, therefore, devised at this time for the future, must be built in large part with the supposition that the tax-paying public will assume the burden of economic relief. It must attempt to provide for institutional instrumentalities logically designed so that economic relief may be thought of as distinguishable from social case work services—except in so far as the latter continue to be a necessary part of a sound method for the administration of relief.

CONFUSIONS: RELIEF, SERVICE, PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT

Confusion, perhaps unavoidable, in ideas concerning the difference between economic relief and social case work continues for the following reasons: First, practically all agencies carrying on social case work draw their clients from that stratum of society which is either actually in economic difficulties or, being part of the working population, so close to the margin that it may at any moment experience an economic deficit. This eventuality is often accelerated by personality problems so that economic distress may have occurred even when it is not the primary reason for seeking assistance. Secondly, social case work comprises a variety of activities; some of the professional personnel in social work tend to apply the term "social case work" to only a part of these activities, the more technical and specialized kind, while others regard it as having a much broader meaning, namely, individualization of treatment.

These two tendencies continue the confusion and make it seem less practical to draw a line between relief administration and case work. In order to minimize this confusion for the present purpose, the term "social case work" will be used to describe that method of dealing with clients, whether individuals or families, which predicates a careful study of the entire situation in which a client finds himself as requisite for determining the type of assistance which the agency may give. Underlying this interpretation of the term is the general recognition that the chief characteristic of social case work is the application of the scientific method of procedure, which requires that ascertainment of facts shall precede any conclusions

and, certainly, any permanent program of treatment. According to this interpretation social case work would be as necessary for the efficient administration of relief as it is for the competent treatment of behavior problems of delinquent children and adult offenders against the law, of cases of school retardation and incompatibility of husband and wife, of the hopeless and desperate aged, and of the able-bodied worker whose morale has been shattered by continuous unemployment.

In so far as economic distress—call it poverty, destitution, dependency, or by any other name—can be met by the provision of material assistance alone, nothing beyond the case work procedure necessary for the scientific efficient and human administration of relief case by case is indicated. If the difficulties of the client are not primarily economic, clearly the application of material assistance, even if given in accordance with the mandates of case study, will prove of little value as treatment. Work with individuals and families for many decades has shown that both in cases of economic distress and in cases in which economic difficulties are not of paramount importance the real obstacle to rehabilitation may lie in deep-seated personal peculiarities, either in the client himself or in members of his family. For dealing with situations of this type the application of psychological procedures may be required in order to remove or to mitigate the existing personality difficulties. These procedures, including both study and treatment, constitute the substance of social case work interpreted as “personal adjustment.” This is the term that might be applied in the interest of greater clarity to diagnostic and treatment methods used for predominantly psychological factors in contrast to the more inclusive definition of case work as the application of the scientific method to the analysis of all particular situations of whatever description and the individualization of treatment in conformity with that analysis.

Personal difficulties naturally may be mild or severe, and they would be different in every case. They range from mere diffidence to involved neuroses, and the psychological treatments required may range from the simple opportunity for talking things over to protracted and complicated psychiatric treatment in which the social worker becomes an auxiliary agent to the psychiatrist. The more difficult and complicated the personal problems of the client are, the more they may require prolonged, as well as expert, psychological analysis and treatment, the more the technique involved in this type of social case work differs from the simpler case work procedure involved in the administration of relief. In their more complicated and deep-seated phases cases present the need not merely for personal adjustment, but also for more far-reaching therapy of the type that leans heavily upon psychiatry and is often indistinguishable from it or auxiliary to it. The tendency for relief cases to become concentrated in

one type of agency to which economic difficulties bring them and of clients characterized by personality difficulties to be concentrated in other agencies, to which these difficulties may guide them, such as courts, child guidance clinics, domestic relations courts, and latterly family service institutes, has accentuated a specialization of functions which sets aside agencies devoted to relief from those practicing primarily social case work of the type here described as "personal adjustment." Even medical social work is thus differentiated from relief administration, because, despite the fact that the vast majority of its beneficiaries are of the low-income group who receive free medical service in clinic or hospital, the problems that bring them to the agency are of a specialized, non-economic type—in this case, illness. The case work process is intended largely to adjust attitudes, prejudices, plans, and family relationships to the purpose, relatively extraneous, of effecting medical care.

In dealing with dependent children it is not simple to differentiate between economic need and personal adjustment. When not an integral part of a family living together, the dependent child may present problems requiring treatment so little different from the services needed by children whose manifest difficulties are in the nature of problems of behavior or personal maladjustment that under a pragmatic view of social work all individual child welfare work may be regarded as personal adjustment, regardless of economic dependency. We shall, therefore, set aside the field of child care for separate consideration and shall assume that every child welfare agency must be a social case work agency, whether its wards are dependent, neglected, unadjusted, or delinquent and whether personal adjustment is a relatively simple service or a task of deep-seated therapeutic personality adjustment.

AGENCY TYPES RELATED TO TECHNICAL DIFFERENTIATION

Inasmuch as the present study was undertaken for the purpose of drawing up practical plans of operation whereby social agencies may contribute the maximum of service to those requiring aid, the importance of the foregoing theoretical differentiation between the treatment of dependency and social case work as a process of personal adjustment lies in the assumption that agencies can best serve the community if, so far as possible, their assignment is to one or the other of these major functions with a clear distinction as to their primary obligations and services. The plan contemplates therefore:

A. One group of agencies, either public or voluntary, whose primary function is to deal with persons and families in economic straits for whom rehabilitation depends principally on material assistance. It is to be expected, of course, that such agencies would use the processes of social case work, so far as they are applicable, in the administration of relief.

B. A group of agencies, either public or voluntary, whose clients present difficulties primarily of a different nature, such as behavior problems or child delinquency, domestic infelicity of husband and wife, family disruption involving parent and child, illness requiring service by a medical institution, and so forth, and in which social case work is more and more the process of analysis and treatment focused on adjustment of personal difficulties of varying complexity and specialization.

C. Agencies primarily devoted to work for children in which the demands of personal adjustment overshadow questions of economic dependency, even if occurring together and inseparably in the same case.

The first group of agencies, their problems and the nature of the needs they are to meet, will be the subject of Chapters XIV and XV; the second and the third will be discussed in Chapters XVI and XVII.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS IN INDIVIDUAL TREATMENT IN RELIEF AND SOCIAL CASE WORK

Because service to clients—whether they are primarily cases of economic distress or whether they are in need of help for other reasons—is fundamentally similar in character and is based upon fairly uniform principles of psychology and administrative practice, it is well to recall certain important principles that should guide the provision of these services and that influence both the structure and practices of agencies giving service, whether under public control or voluntary management. Certain attitudes and points of view, of which the following will serve as examples, should underlie the work of every agency dealing directly with the individual client or family.

The principle of "judge not."—Social case work assumes that the condition in which the client finds himself when in distress and in need of social service is primarily owing to the nature of human psychology, to the ineluctable forces of heredity, to the form of social organization, and the relentless grinding by the blind mechanism of civilized life which leaves some of its members mutilated, with inadequate capacity to make a living or little ability to live peacefully or lawfully in their community. A social worker seeks to understand and to help his client, not to admonish or discipline him. Until otherwise proved the client is assumed to be in need of service. The fact that there is such a thing as a client is considered the result of forces beyond immediate personal control. What an imperfect system of social and industrial life does to render the client helpless, that same society functioning as a community, state, or philanthropic body must seek to right. Services are rendered directly to the client, rather than by attempts to change social conditions and machinery, on the assumption that the client can be helped to adjust to an imperfect world. Since social work does not judge, so must the agency not judge. Agency policies must

not be based on a disciplinary theory, and board members with an ethical "better-than-thou" point of view toward the client and his condition are unfit to guide the work of a modern social agency.

The history of poor relief prior to the present century is filled with references to the "deserving" or "worthy" poor. In addition to the fact of poverty or indigence, the poor had to prove moral uprightness or good intentions as a condition for obtaining assistance from their fellows. The burden of proof was on the beneficiary; the persistent tradition that poverty somehow results from shiftlessness and imprudence or, at least, lack of ambition resulted in the presumption that the poor could be regarded as worthy only when they had proved themselves deserving. This attitude assumed not only an implicit inferiority of character on the part of the poor but also that the general structure of opinions, morals, and points of view of the poor must approximate those of their "betters" in order to justify the voluntary largesse of the giver. Giving as a whole has been characterized as voluntary, as a manifestation of virtue rather than as an obligation, despite the fact that Biblical culture demanded this virtue and made it practically a duty. It was only when poor relief was made part of statutory provisions that this voluntary aspect of largesse tended to disappear, although the administrators of public relief have not always recognized their discretion as administrative rather than personal. In so far as public relief has become a legal provision in Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence, it is mandatory. While the recipient has no legal right to demand relief, the public official has the legal obligation to give it. The qualifications for eligibility are of a formal nature and do not include the sort of item that in the past has characterized the terms "worthy" and "deserving."

Adequate relief.—No social worker has as yet had the temerity to define "adequate relief." Professional social workers have, in fact, admitted themselves guilty of preaching adequate relief while knowingly practicing the opposite and supporting their practice with one or another explanation. The principle of adequate relief may be better expressed negatively than positively. It denies, for example, the theory of the Elizabethan poor law that the standard of relief must be lower than the earnings of the lowest common laborer. That may conceivably have been an appropriate principle as long as the administration of relief was geared to the necessity of deterrence and when no adequate machinery existed for differentiation between the vagabond and the demobilized mercenary, on the one hand, and those who are inevitably poor because of economic conditions beyond their control, on the other. That certain precautions must always be taken against pauperizing the weak-willed or developing the habit of dependence is admitted, but social work now recognizes the much greater importance

of maintaining self-respect for the adult and decent surroundings for the growing child. Food and clothing budgets, rental and fuel allowances are intended to be based not on the smallest amount on which a family could possibly exist without positive damage to health but rather on the amount which they need for maintaining a reasonably respectable standard of living such as may normally obtain in their occupational class and within their cultural tradition. With regard to adequate relief, there is no necessary difference in point of view between lay and professional social workers. Actually, however, there has been considerable resistance on the part of those exercising control over relief agencies, both public and voluntary, against carrying this theory into practice when face to face with its cost in dollars and cents as it appears in individual budgets or in relief appropriations in an annual agency budget.

Comprehensive budgeting.—The basic budget of relief agencies has for some years included not only adequate relief as it pertains to food, clothing, shelter, and fuel but also other items regarded as normally a part of the minimum expenditures of a self-supporting family maintaining an "American" standard of living. These items include: education for the children; a certain amount of recreation for young and old; certain external marks by which people maintain their self-respect among neighbors, such as cosmetics and silk stockings; a modicum of outdoor life and social intercourse; and incidental expenses such as carfare, insurance, tobacco, barber, and so forth. While these things may not be possible because of the mass relief problem imposed by the tremendous dimensions of the depression, failure to meet the principle of comprehensive budgeting is regarded as a temporary relapse from reasonable social work standards rather than the adoption of a new or different principle.

Minimum standards.—Actually, social workers are no more interested than is anyone else of the present day in seeing a large section of the population live on minimum standards, whether these standards are conceived of as applying to food, shelter, comforts, education, cultural activities, or to any other phase of life. The prevalence of the concept of minimum standards is due to the fact that there is danger that a substantial proportion of the population may fall below any reasonable standard.

Two objections are usually voiced to a minimum standard: one, that it may be interpreted as being normal and desirable and thereby set the standard of civilized life on too low a level; the other, a contrary one, that particular minima, as defined, tend to be too high. A variety of reasons are given for this latter objection: one, that a stated minimum is paternalistic and thus disturbs the principle that rewards should be suited to efforts; another, that it is too expensive and imposes too high a basic social cost. Still another—perhaps less honest—that it is not "democratic." The

most conspicuous and best-known minimum standards in current social work use apply to child care and have at different times and places taken the form of a children's code establishing for the child certain basic rights for education, health, play, vocational opportunity, freedom from premature obligations, and so forth. Minimum standards of health and decency have entered into the construction of budgets. Restrictive legislation with respect to women's and children's labor and safety devices in the industrial field are some of the other forms of the principle of minimum standards.

Cultural self-determination.—Cultural self-determination is not a common term in the current technical terminology of social case work, but the idea is actively applied in practice. Roughly speaking, it prescribes that the customs, traditions, and mores of the group to which a client belongs may determine the pattern as well as the standards of living for a particular client. The mode of life of different national and racial stocks, of different religious and sectarian groups, or even of residents in different neighborhoods or localities provides a framework within which any client may be expected to live, compliance with which must be assumed unless the standards of the group are too radically at variance with general standards of the majority of the community. The imposition of a view or of a mode of living unnatural to a person or to a family as a condition for providing him social service is as alien to the spirit of modern social work as the proselyting of those of different religious faiths is foreign to the principles of religious freedom in the social system of the United States.

Psychological approach.—One more general principle requires somewhat explicit discussion, since it determines procedure and policies not only with respect to the client of an agency but also in practically every relationship into which a social work agency or its personnel enters. The most comprehensive phrase that would describe this principle is "the importance of utilizing the facts of psychology." The essence of these facts for social work is that compulsion is the least constructive of social correctives. Whether individual behavior is to be influenced, or the conduct of a group, an agency, a political party, or a government, lasting effectiveness can be assured only in so far as it is based on willing coöperation. For this discussion the most immediate application of the principle pertains to the relationship of a social worker to his client. Whether an applicant for relief, or a child at the Juvenile Court, or an offender arraigned at an adult court, or a child at a clinic, the willingness of the client to recognize what an agency can reasonably give is a condition for any successful work with him. Professional workers have long ago given up, save in exceptional circumstances, the plan of forcing a client into a course of action by giving or withholding relief, or by controlling its adequacy. The classical phrase

which still appears in an occasional case record, namely, "Case closed because client uncoöperative," has often meant that the client would not be coerced and that the agency refused to be reasonable or to recognize the human rights of the client. This is a vanishing phase of social work. The theory that one adult may discipline another because he happens to have the whip hand in the form of money or political power is no longer accepted as one of the working principles of social work. While the abrogation of this theory has long been assumed by progressive educators, its far-reaching applicability to social work has only been recognized since the movement of mental hygiene has come to enrich the understanding of human action and motivation. This principle applies to individuals singly as well as in association. While a social worker does not expect, for example, to adjust his treatment for the individual client to the tenets of a church or political code, neither does he expect to coerce a political party or a church into the acceptance of his own codes. In case of disagreement or clash of ideas, discussion and compromise are resorted to, but no ultimate verities can be invoked to decide the issues. An understanding of the behavior of human beings toward one another has become more important than principles of discipline, conformity and the exercise of power.

THE RELATIONSHIPS OF VOLUNTARY AND PUBLIC AGENCIES

For some time to come services both in the field of economic relief and in social case work will be given side by side by public and voluntary agencies, the former probably increasing in extent and comprehensiveness, the latter diminishing in extent and emphasizing promotion, stimulation, and possibly technical experimentation more than mass operation. If the practices of agencies under this dual system are not to become contradictory in the public mind or prejudicial to the best interest of the individual client, they must become aware of their respective weaknesses, not for purposes of criticism and recrimination but for mutual help and for serving the best interests of the client. It is reasonable to expect that in this way the interest of the community will also be best served. The greatest handicap of the voluntary agency is perhaps the limitation of its resources, which imposes upon it an obligation of self-restraint so as not to attempt impossible tasks or to try to establish its social importance in quantitative terms and impressive statistics. In the light of present-day needs and of higher standards of performance, which increase the cost of meeting these needs, the voluntary agency must recognize an inevitable limitation upon its activities.

Another handicap in voluntary social work is the restriction of objectives imposed by the special interests of its sponsoring group. These special

interests may be religious or denominational convictions, political or social affiliations, racial, ethnic or national groupings, local community consciousness, controlling factors imposed by industrial organization, by family tradition of important backers, by loyalty to individual institutions (churches, fraternal organizations, and other institutions). The modifications imposed upon social work objectives by the characteristics of sponsors necessarily reflect the interests and ideals of the sponsors more than the needs of the client. When sponsors provide funds and management, these ideals may become deciding factors.

By contrast the weakness of public agencies is most evident at present, at any rate, in a relative inflexibility of service and the subjection, in varying degrees, of the management of public agencies to the demands of political organization. This is a fundamental characteristic of our cultural pattern and must be so recognized. Only slowly and not until the complete removal of politics as a factor can the administration of public agencies be entirely free from the demands of this phase of our public life. To the extent to which the influence of political demands can be pushed further and further from the field of operation and restricted to the selection of incumbents for the highest administrative posts the client will have greater assurance of the technical soundness of the service he receives. Part of this political difficulty takes the specific forms of insecurity of tenure and of inadequate qualification of appointees to service, especially under so inadequate an organization and administration of civil service laws as obtains in Allegheny County at present.

Another weakness still inherent in the administration of public economic relief to a serious degree is the rigidity of the legal provisions and definitions circumscribing the service. Maximum standards imposed upon the administration of mothers' assistance, old age pensions, emergency relief, and other forms of public assistance may be recognized as temporary ills but need not and must not be accepted as irremediable attributes of public service. Just as mothers' assistance, originally devised for widows alone, has from time to time been expanded to include a variety of other forms of absence or incapacitation of the head of the family, so also the amounts legally established for per capita allowance may be raised from their present unnecessarily low maximum. While public departments figuratively shuttle applicants from one department or division to another, and because of legal restrictions or administrative red tape insist on technicalities of residence, citizenship, age, and so forth, before providing the services intended, so voluntary agencies also have been shunting clients back and forth for jurisdictional reasons of different types, despite the greater flexibility possible for them. The game of battledore and shuttlecock has also been played between public and voluntary agencies largely

because of the consciousness and the overemphasis by each of the weaknesses of the other and because of a sense of rivalry, which is still not extinct, between the exponents of public and voluntary social work.

In proposing a plan of organization under which certain duties are assigned to tax-supported bodies, while other duties are suggested for practice under voluntary control, one cannot be unaware of the dangers incurred because of these characteristics of public service. A consciousness of the limitations of voluntary work should help, however, to minimize the terror in which public service is held by so many earnest partisans of voluntary social work. There is no reason why the existing weaknesses of either type need be regarded as permanent and irremediable if the interest of the client is constantly held in focus and the concept of the community is allowed to override the consciousness of separate group loyalties.

BASIC PLANKS OF A PLAN FOR RELIEF AND CASE WORK SERVICES IN PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY COUNTY

Certain fundamental ideas, partly embraced in the foregoing considerations and partly coming from other phases of experience, underlie the plan of organization outlined for economic relief in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. It is assumed, for example, that under ideal circumstances, there should be no categorical definitions of client classifications, nor special laws differentiating between the widow, the old, the handicapped, the veteran, the unemployed, and so forth. Whosoever is in need and unable to re-establish self-maintenance should have the assistance of the public authorities in whatever form, to whatever extent, and at the cost of whatever expense may be justified by the particular situation in which the client finds himself. Categorical definitions emphasize the cause of distress, and, inasmuch as one would rarely find a single cause operating exclusively, an attempt to define a principal cause by which the case is to be labeled may lead to endless complications. Treatment, moreover, may only to a very limited extent vary with the cause of dependency. Absence of the breadwinner requires funds, whether he died in war, is confined in prison, is in a hospital with a chronic disease, has deserted, or is incapacitated by old age, blindness, or some undefinable psychosis. It has been typical of the case work agency at its best that for purposes of treatment it has discarded any consideration of causes except as these causes may give a clue to treatment. Theoretically, therefore, it would seem best that public responsibility for economic relief should also be exercised without categorical definitions, without differentiating between widow and veteran, child and adult, blind and unemployed. There are, however, paramount considerations of public policy which emphasize the importance of "categories" for reasons that transcend the needs of the individual

client. It has been necessary, for example, to recognize social responsibility, either directly or through the employer, for death, accident, or illness due to industrial occupation. Special legislative provision has therefore been made for the victims of industrial accident, death, and disease. Similarly, it has been necessary to recognize the social rather than the individual responsibility for widowhood, old age, unemployment, illness, and so forth. A system of economic relief through public bodies supported by taxes must therefore combine the need for definitions imposed by public policy with the need for individualized treatment demanded by the particular case. A plan for effective service must provide for a maximum degree of integration of these two desiderata. It must do this by introducing as much flexibility and ingenuity as possible into the administrative procedures by which rights to economic relief are defined and established for the several categories.

The recognition of this public obligation for economic relief must be followed by the devising of means of financing the work through general funds derived from local or state taxation which will remove any uncertainty or limitation of the type represented by special emergency relief taxes or sales taxes. For both theoretical and practical reasons the administration of public assistance must rid itself of the unreasonable phases of restrictions imposed by settlement laws, residence clauses, distinction between alien and citizen, and a too-minute differentiation between local, state, and Federal obligations. Some of these fundamental considerations and others which the nature of the subject matter will disclose should serve to guide not only the initial structure of the administrative set-up but also modifications and improvements such as are always necessary in the legislative and administrative life of a political body.

CHAPTER XIV

PROBLEMS AND PRACTICES OF RELIEF

Traditional classification of persons in receipt of relief.—Factors tending to revise traditional groupings.—Provisions for categorical relief in Allegheny County: Mothers' Assistance Fund, old age assistance, pensions for the blind, unemployment relief, medical relief, economic assistance to other groups.—Extent of economic assistance.—General relief policies: indoor and outdoor relief, cash and commodity relief, adequacy of relief, direct and work relief, supplementation of wages and coöperative cases, policies with respect to items of relief, eligibility, personnel aspects, public subsidies to voluntary agencies.—Summary.—Special problems: the problem of the dependent aged, relief of the homeless and transient.

TRADITION, we have seen, has habituated us generally to think of the poor as an undifferentiated mass below the standards of civilized and self-respecting life which characterize the rest of the community.¹ On closer view and as aid is extended to the individual, they emerge from the mass impression and tend to fall into more sharply defined classes, distinguished either by the type of charitable assistance or by the causes of their condition. Thus destitution, illness, orphanhood, blindness, incarceration, or homelessness come to be recognized as types of poverty, while death of breadwinner, injury in a war, addiction to drink, physical or mental handicaps become crystallized as causes of poverty, more or less related to the conditions found. Provisions for economic relief have tended throughout their long history in Western civilization to fall into categories largely defined by the concept concerning the condition found and the cause assumed to have operated. A grouping, such as that which follows, of those requiring economic relief would therefore seem natural, as combining both type and cause concepts:

- I. Families in economic need, either temporarily or permanently, because the natural head of the family or chief provider is unable to procure the usual means of support. Certain frequently recurring causes operative in this category are:
 - (a) Illness of breadwinner, more or less temporary

¹ The material in this chapter was drawn chiefly from reports prepared by Herschel Alt, assisted by Celeste M. Post, Hertha Kraus, Manfred Lilliefors, and Burdette G. Lewis.

- (b) Incapacitation of breadwinner by lingering or chronic illness
 - (c) Incapacitation of breadwinner by industrial accident or disease
 - (d) Incapacitation due to war service or other traditionally pensionable event
 - (e) Unemployment of breadwinner
 - (f) Absence on war service
 - (g) Underemployment, due to local overspecialization of industry, seasonal occupation, dying industries, etc.
- II. Families destitute through actual or virtual removal of the natural head and provider and presenting the situations typified by the widow with children, as in cases of:
- (a) Death of the head of the family from ordinary causes
 - (b) Death of the head of the family related to war service
 - (c) Death of the head due to industrial accident or disease
 - (d) Permanent or virtually permanent absence of head by reason of institutionalization, desertion, etc.
- III. Families or individuals destitute through insufficient or irregular earnings or similar inadequacies.
- In this class belong a variety of types of which the more frequent and characteristic are:
- (a) Families of unskilled laborers and small tradesmen, hawkers, peddlers, etc., especially those with numerous children
 - (b) Homeless families and individuals
 - (c) The head of family handicapped, both physically and mentally
 - (d) The industrially or occupationally superannuated
 - (e) The aged
 - (f) Families with unusual burdens due to special problems, e.g., ill member, dependent adult, etc.

In any large American community today agencies may be found which are designed to meet the needs presented by some one type or a combination of types contained in the lists. The variety of combinations may be complicated (or specialized) by denominational, racial, or ethnic groupings, by voluntary or public sponsorship, by local organization or wider geographic interest with respect to supporter or client. The form of assistance, infinitely varied in detail, falls into two major classifications historically known as indoor (or institutional) relief, most commonly provided for the aged and for children, and outdoor (or home) relief. Either type may serve almost every variety of client previously listed.

FACTORS TENDING TO REVISE TRADITIONAL GROUPINGS

Relief practices have been characterized by a number of new developments in recent years, some of them quite paradoxical, tending to concentrate discussion and interest in channels somewhat removed from the traditional groupings we have considered thus far. These new developments give the problem of relief new dimensions, a new setting, and a different orientation, although they still necessarily deal with the perennial subjects of food, shelter, and clothing; families and individuals; the

able-bodied and the ill. The effects of these developments, as well as the persistence of types, will be the subject of the present and of the three following chapters. A few of the more general events and changing points of view must, however, be briefly mentioned here.

First, for reasons too well known, the need for relief has grown to such dimensions as to render it a question of major public policy in contrast with its earlier status as a charitable or religious exercise of chiefly cultural significance. This same fact has introduced a new factor into the division of labor between public and voluntary agencies, to which reference has already been made, and which will recur repeatedly in subsequent pages. So far as technical procedures go, indoor relief has been falling into disfavor for both young and old, and the entire subject of economic relief has tended to be de-institutionalized, while, on the contrary, the pressure for institutional provision has been increased with respect to certain special groups such as the chronically ill, insane, epileptic, and so forth.

The somewhat paradoxical developments in the field of relief have, curiously enough, arisen from the same foundations: the recognition of multiple causation in individual instances and of the necessity of individualized treatment for particular cases; the recognition of social responsibility for aiding the individuals, and the inefficacy of individual treatment in dealing with large causes and in effective prevention. When focused on problems of individual cases, the emphasis being on treatment, the infinite variety of possibilities argues for differentiated approach so that individual peculiarities may not be lost in type definitions. The fact of indigence is common; the combination of causes and treatment is unique. When, on the other hand, social responsibility, rather than individual treatment, is the central thought and when possibilities of prevention are considered, then *types* of social maladjustment seem most important and provision becomes categorical: old age, unemployment, widowhood, industrial accident, and so forth. The upshot is a dichotomy of interest, inimical in theory, yet both favored in practice: general relief with individualized treatment, on the one hand; categorical relief, with formal eligibility as the chief qualification for assistance, on the other.

Advances have taken place on both fronts, and we now have in Allegheny County public provision for both categorical and general relief. There are public bodies for:

- Mothers' Assistance, serving mothers with children under 16, where the head of the family can no longer support his dependents
- Old age assistance, designed for dependent persons of 70 years or more
- Blind pensions, for dependent persons
- Veterans, for the incapacitated and the dependent
- Unemployed and able-bodied

These agencies are controlled and supported by a variety of local, state, and Federal funds, singly or in combination. Two public bodies, not counting the emergency organization, serve unclassified dependents:

County directors of the poor, for Allegheny County outside Pittsburgh, provide both institutional and outdoor relief;

Department of Public Welfare of Pittsburgh, provides institutional relief, including medical care, and some outdoor relief in the form of medical service.

The voluntary agencies in the county serve all varieties of dependents, running practically the whole gamut of types comprised in the foregoing classifications and differing from one another as agencies, chiefly in the nature of their sponsorship. Voluntary agencies also conduct special institutions exclusively designed for the care of children or for the care of the aged and the infirm, subdivided along religious and denominational lines; they also provide free hospital beds in medical institutions.

A brief résumé of existing organized provision for economic assistance in Allegheny County may serve the purpose of introducing the general analysis of the relief problem existing in the community at the time of this study.

MOTHERS' ASSISTANCE FUND

The Mothers' Assistance Fund was established by an act of legislature in 1913. It provides for care of children under sixteen years of age in their own homes when the mother is either a widow or the wife of a man permanently confined to an institution for the insane. Unlike some other states, Pennsylvania does not recognize in its law certain other types of situation; for example, cases in which the husband is declared legally dead, is mentally or physically incapacitated over a long period, is incarcerated for a long term, has deserted and cannot be located, or in which persons other than natural mothers have responsibility for the care of the children. The law becomes effective in any county upon favorable action by the county, which involves agreement to match funds provided by the state for the purpose. The enactment of this law represents the first instance in Pennsylvania in which the state contributed funds for home relief, the first time when the ancient boundaries of poor districts were disregarded by making the county the administrative unit, and the first time the state introduced the exercise of supervisory power over locally administered outdoor relief. Supervision was lodged at first in the State Department of Public Instruction, and it was transferred in 1923 to the newly established State Department of Welfare. There has been some doubt as to the constitutionality of the law, but it has never been actively challenged. The local administration of mothers' assistance is in the hands of a county board with certain restrictions; for example, the reser-

vation of the right by the state to determine the amount of money that the county must provide to match state funds and the approval by the state of appointments to the county boards administering mothers' assistance.

The maximum monthly grant permissible under the law is \$20 for the first child under sixteen years of age and \$10 for each additional child within the age limit. This maximum has created considerable difficulty, as we shall see, in the coördination of the work of the several state and local agencies and of some of the voluntary agencies sharing responsibility for economic relief in Allegheny County. It is, perhaps, not generally known that despite the complete acceptance in law and public opinion of the idea of mothers' assistance, funds made available for this purpose have not made it possible to serve the number actually eligible in accordance with the provisions of the law. We face the situation in which the state recognizes its responsibility, declares its obligation to help those eligible under its provisions, but fails to provide the funds. On May 1, 1934, 7,835 families in the Pennsylvania counties which were then organized were receiving mothers' assistance; within a month from this time (June 1, 1934) eligible families on the waiting list numbered 4,500.² Figures computed for May 31, 1932, showed the probable annual cost at that time to be \$2,828,984; no such amount, however, was appropriated by the legislature. So far as Allegheny County is concerned there has been a continuous waiting list of mothers eligible for pensions but unable to receive them because of lack of appropriations. The records for June 1, 1935, show 1,488 beneficiaries and an additional 1,333 on the waiting list for the county.³ Obviously, if this group of persons is not to be transferred to general outdoor relief, at least twice the funds available at the present are required. In view of the fact that the maximum grants allowed by law are inadequate, however, a legislative amendment is necessary in order to raise or, preferably, to remove the limit. The law should, moreover, be liberalized to include other classes of mothers with dependent children in case the husband for various reasons other than death has been removed as the supporter of the family. Following the introduction of the Federal Social Security Act and the much more liberal interpretation included therein a still further expansion in the category of mothers' assistance must be expected.⁴

² Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare, *Biennial Report, 1932-34*, p. 28.

³ Federation of Social Agencies, Pittsburgh, *The Federator*, Vol. IX, March, 1936, pp. 3-4.

⁴ Federal Social Security Act, Sec. 406, says: "(A) the term 'dependent child' means a child under the age of 16 who has been deprived of parental support or care by reason of the death, continued absence from the home, or physical or mental incapacity of a parent, and who is living with his father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, stepfather, stepmother, stepbrother, stepsister, uncle or aunt, in a place of residence maintained by one or more of such relatives at his or their own homes; (B) the

OLD AGE ASSISTANCE

Old age assistance is a relatively new resource in the state of Pennsylvania. The law providing it was passed on January 18, 1934, and became effective in December of the same year. Its administration has been entrusted to the Mothers' Assistance Fund boards, which helps to establish the theory of unified administration of various funds. The law provides assistance to persons seventy years of age⁵ or over who qualify under the following provisions:

1. They must have been citizens of the United States for at least fifteen years.
2. They must have been residents of Pennsylvania for at least fifteen years immediately preceding the date of application.
3. If their residence has been interrupted, they must have been residents in Pennsylvania for a total of 40 years at least, five of which must immediately precede the application.
4. They must be dependent, that is, their income from all sources must be below thirty dollars a month and their personal property must not exceed \$300.00, except that they may own unlimited real estate from which they draw no income.
5. They must not be inmates of prisons, jails, workhouses, insane asylums, or any other public reform or correctional institution, or a tax-supported home of any kind.
6. Without just cause they must not, for six months or more during the fifteen years preceding the date of application, have deserted their wives or husbands or have failed to support their children under fifteen years of age.
7. Within two years preceding the date of application for assistance they must not have been professional tramps or beggars.
8. There must be no children or other persons who are responsible for their support under the laws of the state and able to render it.

A maximum rate of \$1 a day is established, to be expended exclusively for stated purposes, to wit: food, fuel, rent, and clothing. Provisions for medical and nursing care, medicines, and insurance are excluded, while some leeway is introduced with respect to burial expenses. Here again, as in the case of mothers' assistance, legal enactment was not followed by adequate appropriations, so that there is a waiting list. In June, 1935, for which month figures of the Mothers' Assistance Fund have been quoted, there were 4,563 beneficiaries of old age assistance and almost double that number on the waiting list—7,562 persons.⁶

PENSIONS FOR THE BLIND

The act providing pensions for the blind in the state of Pennsylvania was enacted in January, 1934. Its local administration was entrusted to

term 'aid to dependent children' means money payments with respect to a dependent child or dependent children."

⁵ To be lowered to 65 when legislative action has established conformity with Federal provisions. ⁶ *The Federator*, Vol. IX, pp. 3-4.

the administrative officers of the Mothers' Assistance Fund when local administration existed. Eligible persons must be over twenty-one years of age, residents of the state for ten years immediately preceding date of application, must have less than 2/60 or 10/200 vision, and must "by reason thereof be unable to earn a livelihood except through special training and in occupations which can successfully be carried on by blind persons." The pensioner must be without "sufficient means of his own to enable him to maintain himself, and incapable of or lacking the opportunity of self-support." Persons in prison, jail, workhouse, insane asylum, or similar institutions are not eligible, nor are those classified as public charges because of mental or physical infirmity other than loss of sight. As in the case of old age assistance, the maximum payment is \$30 per month.

UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

To the question whether unemployment relief constitutes a special category of economic assistance, the only answer that could be given would be the colloquial "yes and no." The onrush of destitution following the depression which began in 1929 resulted at first merely in an increase of the load of relief agencies—public and voluntary: in the city of Pittsburgh exclusively voluntary, in the rest of the county mostly public, through the County Directors of the Poor. The resources of voluntary agencies were soon exhausted, and into a general reservoir for relief under voluntary administration were poured a succession of public funds, starting with an appropriation of \$275,000 by the City Council of Pittsburgh, continuing with the local share of the Talbot Act appropriation, and the regular appropriations from the State Emergency Relief Board, which in turn drew its funds in part from state resources and in part from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. When these emergency funds and their administration came to be thought of as unemployment relief rather than as general unclassified relief to the destitute is not ascertainable. In a more formal way, perhaps, unemployment relief became a separate category when the Federal Government decided in the fall of 1933 to distribute unemployment relief exclusively through public relief agencies. This action had been foreshadowed by the organization in September, 1932, of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board appointed by the State Emergency Relief Board.

A peculiar contradiction is shown in these changes, for, while unemployment relief gradually became a categorical concept, the number of persons and families actually receiving relief because of unemployment so completely overshadowed the number receiving relief from other

causes that it seemed useless to make a distinction. The Emergency Relief Administration, therefore, covered practically the entire field of public poor relief.

MEDICAL RELIEF

The categorical nature of medical relief has been established in a roundabout way; first, by the fact that the institutions providing such service have necessarily been distinct and separate agencies—mostly hospitals, out-patient departments, and clinics—and by the fact that hospitals have been receiving state aid to supplement their income in recognition of the services given to free patients. Legislative recognition of free medical aid may, perhaps, be regarded as restricted to the biennial appropriation bills granting state aid to hospitals and, perhaps, to the assumption of responsibility by the state for the care of the insane.⁷ The tendency has been to recognize the special character of medical relief by the employment of county and city physicians; by the establishment of clinics under health departments and other public agencies; and by the special regulations applying to medical relief which have guided the emergency relief activities under state and Federal regulations.

ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO OTHER GROUPS

Another special group is represented by veterans of the several branches of the public defense for whom Federal and sometimes state pensions are available, usually administered independently and without supplementation by local authorities. No special county or local funds are available for veterans in Allegheny County.

In the relief of other persons not contained in the preceding categories, voluntary and public agencies have both been active. Prior to 1914 both the city of Pittsburgh and the rest of Allegheny County carried public responsibility for outdoor relief. The county, through the Directors of the Poor, has continued that responsibility to this day. The city of Pittsburgh discontinued its outdoor relief, curiously enough in the light of our present-day experience, at the request of private relief-giving agencies. Up to the final organization of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board and its assumption of practically complete responsibility for public relief, there continued to be, therefore, the following agencies responsible for undifferentiated poor relief: in Pittsburgh, in addition to independent church charities seven so-called "family agencies"⁸ and three children's agencies, ostensibly carrying on specialized child care work, but actually

⁷ For a more detailed discussion of medical relief, see chap. xviii.

⁸ Family Society, Lutheran Inner Mission, Association for Improvement of the Poor, American Red Cross, Catholic Charities, Jewish Family Welfare, Salvation Army.

functioning to a large extent as equivalents of family agencies;⁹ in the county outside Pittsburgh the work was conducted by the Directors of the Poor, supplemented to a very limited extent by the private agencies serving the city of Pittsburgh. In addition to these, free services were available through hospitals and clinics and through the Public Health Nursing Association. With the establishment of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board the lines of division gradually broke down, and it became the commanding relief agency, in comparison with which other private and public bodies carried on only supplementary services. Other relief agencies under voluntary management, as we shall see, performed their relief activities during the early depression almost exclusively with public funds, so that by 1935 there was to all intents and purposes no relief administration by private agencies through voluntary funds. There should also be added to this array of agencies the Juvenile Court, which has been responsible for the support of dependent children brought under its jurisdiction.

EXTENT OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

Economic assistance in Allegheny County, as probably in most communities of its size has been characterized, first, by the great change in the sources of funds and in the administrative organization—from chiefly voluntary to predominantly public control; second, by an increase in volume between 1928 and the present, greater than in any previous period, of the total amount of relief service whether reckoned in terms of individuals or in terms of expense; third, by the discrepancy between changes in the general field of home relief and in institutional child care or indoor relief. While some of these changes may be temporary in nature, due to the emergency character of the last few years, the general trend toward a much greater need to be met by economic relief would seem to be of a more permanent character. Even though considerable reduction from the recent high levels of economic distress may take place with the progress of recovery, none of the indications with regard to economic processes throughout the nation or in Allegheny County justify faith in any approximation of the situation preceding the thirties.¹⁰ The following brief tables and graphs present in a concentrated form the trend of relief activities in recent years. It will be noted that the expansion has come not only from the absolute increase reported owing to the effects of the depression, but also because of the assumption of new obligations by the state for the support of dependent mothers, of aged, and of the blind. The legislative enactment providing for public responsibility has brought under the care of public bodies not only those cases previously

⁹ Children's Aid Society, Children's Service Bureau, Jewish Children's Bureau.

¹⁰ See chap. iii.

supported by voluntary agencies but also, as elsewhere, a submerged stratum of persons who, while not charges of charitable agencies, have lived below acceptable material and social standards. The corresponding shrinkage in institutional care, especially of children, has been practically negligible in comparison with the growth of services.

The total expenditures for economic relief in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County for 1934 amounted to \$33,305,000.¹¹ This was made up of \$30,-595,000 in home relief to families; \$772,000 in what is practically the same sort of thing, that is, non-institutional relief to children; \$592,000 for the institutional care of children; and \$1,309,000 for the institutional care of the aged. Over the eight-year period for which dependable figures could be obtained, covering several years before the depression and through the year 1934, the growth took place first gradually and then in leaps and bounds from about 1932 until it reached a total of \$33,000,000. The grand total, as will be seen from Table 47, advanced from \$4,071,000 to \$33,305,000. The table itself tells the rest of the story in the tersest form: public funds outstripped voluntary resources despite the earnest effort in 1931 and 1932 on the part of the philanthropic community to retain responsibility for relief through special campaigns which raised large amounts in each of these two years. The extent of this growth, particularly in the field of home relief, is shown in contrast with a relatively small increase in the non-institutional care of children, an actual decrease in absolute cost of maintaining children in institutions, and general reduction in the institutional care of the aged. Both in the totals and in these several large subdivisions the progressive increase of public funds and the consistent decrease of funds from voluntary agencies is manifest.

The only form of categorical relief which has had a fairly long existence at this time is mothers' assistance (included in the total expenditures from public sources), which has grown from \$365,000, in 1927, to \$664,000, in 1934. This expenditure represents, to judge from the experience of Philadelphia, where a case study of potential costs was made¹² probably not more than 30 percent of mothers eligible for such assistance and perhaps half the service needed by mothers annually widowed. Funds for other groups did not become available until 1934, in which year \$96,400 was appropriated for blind pensions¹³ in Allegheny County and \$95,352 for old age assistance.¹⁴

Roughly speaking, expenditures indicate the volume of service so far

¹¹ All amounts are given in round thousands.

¹² Elizabeth Hall, *Mothers' Assistance in Philadelphia—Actual and Potential Costs*, The Sociological Press, 1933.

¹³ Bureau of Social Research of the Pittsburgh Federation of Social Agencies, *Social Research Bulletin*, Vol. II, May 15, 1935, p. 5.

¹⁴ Data from the Bureau of Social Research.

as trend, at any rate, is concerned. How far a dollar goes in service and what it covers depends, however, entirely upon theories and policies held by agencies, the competence and point of view of the staff, and the general cultural setting of the community. It would, therefore, be futile, on the whole, to use expenditures as a basis of comparison between communities, or, to a certain extent, among agencies. It is only in a given setting and within the limitations imposed by fortuitous changes in administrative practice and technical policy that the trend of expenditures may be regarded as reflecting the volume of service. This volume is not easily ascertainable. Lack of uniformity in statistical reporting and in the definitions of the various terms used by social agencies makes the value of service statistics at the present stage of their development inferior to those based on expenditures. An approximate picture is, nevertheless, attempted which may suggest the trend of the volume of service in the contrasting areas of home relief and institutional relief and, to some extent, home relief during the pre-depression, privately financed system of poor relief, in contrast to home relief current during the later years of the depression. Detailed monthly figures have been available for the entire group of agencies only since 1931. Table 48, page 592, gives the case load of these agencies on the first of each month from January, 1931, to December, 1934, inclusive.

It will be noticed that the total family case load of the voluntary agencies at the beginning of this period had already reached 12,800,¹⁵ in contrast to its case load in pre-depression periods in which available figures indicate about half that number as usual. This is due, however, to the fact that the entire responsibility for emergency relief was borne by the existing voluntary agencies in accordance with the natural custom of using existing agencies first and the sentiment, especially strong in Pittsburgh, that the function of relief should be regarded as a voluntary activity, even though the funds were, to increasing extent, coming from public sources. In January, 1931, when the case load of voluntary family agencies numbered 12,800, the Mothers' Assistance Fund carried responsibility for 841 cases and the County Directors of the Poor accounted for 4,132, all clearly public cases therefore coming to 4,973, in contrast to 12,800 under voluntary administration. The average for 1931 shows 13,220 as the case load of voluntary agencies, 935 for the Mothers' Assistance Fund, 6,493 for the County Directors of the Poor, or a total of 7,428 tax-supported cases.

During 1931 an emergency campaign which attempted to carry out the presumption of voluntary responsibility for home relief increased funds available from voluntary sources from \$781,000 to \$3,295,000. Roughly, \$1,600,000 was expended during the same year for home relief

¹⁵ Tables 48 and 49, *infra*.

through public funds. The corresponding volume of service as reflected by average monthly case loads continued to grow during 1932, the voluntary agencies showing greater gains than public agencies, although the funds expended came increasingly from public sources. However, the distribution of the volume of service is no longer truly indicated by the figures, for the voluntary agencies had become practically distributing agents for public funds. This situation is reflected in the expenditures for family relief, which, despite another emergency campaign for voluntary contributions show that \$3,949,000 was expended for home relief from these sources during 1932 as against \$5,865,000 from public funds.¹⁶ During 1933 the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board came into full operation, taking over, at an increasing tempo, not only cases theretofore served by voluntary agencies from public funds but also practically all cases from the Directors of the Poor, who had remained in the field only as a supplementary agency. Thus, the voluntary agencies while still showing an average case load for the first of each month in 1933 of 60,262, actually began with 58,627, rose to a maximum of 83,087, in July, and wound up with 12,808, on December 1; meanwhile the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board showed a case load of 98,536, and the total public, including Mothers' Assistance Fund and blind pensions, 100,426 cases.

Correspondingly, for 1933 and 1934 expenditures from public sources rose to \$17,356,000 and \$29,673,000, respectively, while the voluntary agencies expended \$1,129,000 and \$876,000, respectively.¹⁷

GENERAL RELIEF POLICIES

The tremendous increase in dependency brought about by the recent depression has served to clarify many of the puzzling questions that have troubled those engaged in relief for the past few centuries. There is, of course, no agreement as to ultimate verities of relief policies, but we have, at any rate, been shunted from the narrow perch of earlier years to a wider arena, better lighted and better ventilated by the varying winds of social doctrine.

Several different objectives seem to be involved, and often confused, in the relief policies characteristic of any period or agency. Foremost from the point of historical continuity, perhaps, is the desire for repression and deterrence and the concomitant insistence upon making the conditions of life for those who receive charitable contributions unpleasant and dishonorable. The policies of both public and voluntary agencies have

¹⁶ Cf. chap. x, *supra*.

¹⁷ Tables 35 and 36, *supra*; Table 47 includes operating income. A summary of the volume of service of children's work and of the care of the aged will appear in connection with the discussion of these institutions *infra*.

TABLE 47

EXPENDITURES^a FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FROM PUBLIC AND VOLUNTARY SOURCES, 1927-34
Amounts in thousands of dollars

FUNCTION	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Total	4,071	4,000	4,053	4,695	7,771	12,471	21,074	33,305
Voluntary	1,932	1,901	1,919	2,041	4,397	4,971	2,097	1,863
Public	2,139	2,099	2,134	2,654	3,374	7,500	18,977	31,442
Home Relief								
Voluntary	1,176	1,276	1,242	1,755	4,895	9,814	18,533	30,595
Public	601	619	620	781	3,295	3,949	1,177	922
	575	657	622	974	1,600	5,865	17,356	29,673
Children, non-institutional								
Voluntary	645	548	599	559	637	752	728	772
Public	112	95	108	115	119	160	165	188
	533	453	491	444	518	592	563	584
Children, institutional								
Voluntary	816	826	835	870	769	678	596	592
Public	801	796	807	781	677	588	510	505
	15	30	28	89	92	90	86	87
Aged, institutional								
Voluntary	1,354	1,273	1,300	1,439	1,388	1,117	1,134	1,309
Public	338	314	307	296	255	231	205	218
	1,016	959	993	1,143	1,133	886	929	1,091
Institutions, other								
Voluntary	80	77	77	72	82	110	83	37
Public	80	77	77	68	51	43	40	30
	...	...	...	4	31	67	43	7

^a Includes operating income.

been permeated with manifestations of this intention of deterrence. Among the most obvious of these policies is the practice of rendering the pauper list public and even of publishing the names of recipients of poor relief. This practice had a strong revival in the early periods of the emergency relief, when public, especially local, government officials could not bring themselves to believe in the reality of the existent destitution. Another clear objective is economy, whether it relates to the public treasury or to voluntary contributions. This objective has had its constructive phases as well as its "shadier side," resulting in persistent niggardliness and in inability or unwillingness to give adequate relief. The demands of orderliness and the corresponding necessity for accurate auditing, book-keeping, and recording has been a less obvious objective, but when manifest, it has tended to be a stabilizing and corrective factor. Most recent and a most important objective of relief policies in the opinion of the present-day practitioners has been the rehabilitation of the client: relief policies are to answer, so far as possible, the requirements of reestablishing for the person or family in distress a normal degree of self-reliance. As necessary parts of such an objective, the maintenance of self-respect, of responsibility, of sustained habits of work, have been given high rating and have drawn in their wake insistence on higher standards of relief and a more inclusive and generous concept of budgets.

In a more specific way relief practices concern themselves with certain primary and generally recognized types of procedure and an indefinite number of items pressing for recognition as parts of a basic relief budget. Among the items in the first class have been included food, clothing, fuel, and medical relief. Less generally recognized as legitimate expenditures are rental, moving expenses, special medical services (such as dental care or dentures), education for children, and household equipment; still further down, we find recreation, personal expenses, vocational training, and general case work service. It is around these items that the concrete problems of relief and the changing policies of relief agencies have tended to revolve.

In one sense, the method or manner of providing whatever items may constitute the program of relief have been even more prominent in the discussion of policies than has the amount or content of the relief budget. First in historical importance is the choice between indoor and outdoor relief, that is, between demanding that the applicant prove his utter destitution by accepting maintenance in an institution or almshouse as against providing necessary assistance in his normal residence and under the normal conditions of his life. In Pittsburgh and Allegheny County public relief has been partial to institutional care. The city of Pittsburgh to this day has practically no other form of public relief from municipal

funds.¹⁸ The responsibility for this situation is partly directly ascribable to the voluntary agencies, which, confident of their ability to cope with the problem and convinced of the higher code of ethics likely to guide private philanthropy, as recently as 1914 requested the city authorities to discontinue public outdoor relief.

A second important question of policy is cash relief versus relief in kind. Modern practice unswervingly supports the former; local practice in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County has to this day been partial to the latter, both in its public outdoor relief and in some voluntarily supported relief agencies. Lesser controversies revolve around the relative merits of work relief and of direct relief; of exclusive and complete responsibility by one agency and of mutual supplementation by several agencies. The importance of trained workers, though recognized as early as 1875 by the newly organized Association for the Improvement of the Poor, is not yet generally accepted, for several agencies are still seeking to translate the charitable spirit into voluntary service. The technical merits of basing relief on individual needs ascertained and defined in budgetary items, while accepted in theory, is not yet universal in practice; there is still an attachment to the idea of receiving public subsidies for the partial support of voluntary agencies, even though the term "subsidy" itself gives the recipients considerable uneasiness. Many of the most puzzling and troubling aspects of relief policy revolve around the question of eligibility, which in turn tends to be a requirement of categorical relief provisions and of public relief in general and in which the timidity and bureaucratic tendencies of public officials may easily take refuge.

INDOOR AND OUTDOOR RELIEF

As already indicated, the policies of Pittsburgh city and Allegheny County favor institutional relief. The city and the county conduct extensive institutions at Mayview and Woodville, respectively, intended primarily for the economically dependent. They represent, of course, an ancient practice inherited from Elizabethan times and still characteristic of the backwash of poor relief. The principal drawback of this almshouse system is not so much its institutional character, perhaps, as the fact that it tends to confuse medical service with economic relief, for it is only those physically incapable of somehow managing in the free community that tend to accept institutional relief. The nature of that relief, however, is still conceived as merely relief or custodial services and the true needs more frequently definable in terms of medical service fail to receive appropriate attention. The city of Pittsburgh offers no other form of poor relief except the giving of medical service by municipal physicians in the

¹⁸ Except for city physicians, for which cf. chap. xviii, *infra*.

homes of the indigent who are physically incapable of visiting out-patient departments or clinics. The County Directors of the Poor have continued the practice of providing economic assistance to those in distress in their own homes, having had no occasion, such as the request of private agencies to the city of Pittsburgh, to withdraw from this field of service. As a result there is available outside the city of Pittsburgh public home relief, as well as institutional relief, though the caliber of that service has tended to remain on the level of almshouse days. It should be said to the credit of those responsible for county relief, however, that they have not failed to respond to the stimulation given by the Federal-state supported emergency organization for more generous, more understanding, and more varied provision of relief along a wider front of needs presented by clients.

CASH AND COMMODITY RELIEF

It would be difficult to prove whether cash relief or commodity relief is the more ancient and time-hallowed form of help to the poor. The gleanings from the edge of the field seem to have at least as ancient standing as tithes, which frequently must have been cash contributions to be used partly in poor relief. The mendicants at the doors of the churches received coins; but the charitable persons who visited the poor and the sick and those responsible for their servants and retainers were accustomed to giving commodity relief rather than cash. Almost without exception, public relief in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County has been in the form of commodity relief. This was true up to January, 1935, of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board as well; it has been true of at least two of the family agencies financed from voluntary funds (Association for the Improvement of the Poor and the Lutheran Inner Mission). On the other hand, it has been the practice of the Mothers' Assistance Fund, the oldest public agency in this community, to give cash relief. Whatever the relative merits of the two methods may be—modern practitioners unanimously prefer cash relief—the mass problem presented by the growing clientele in the latter years of the depression gives force to the persistent propaganda carried on by exponents of modern relief practices for the introduction of cash relief throughout the county. This form is more expensive, but in efficiency and particularly in the social values to the recipients of relief it is infinitely superior and more flexible, especially in view of the fact that permissible budget items extend beyond the bare provision of food, clothing, and fuel. At the termination of this study, commodity relief was practiced only by the County Directors of the Poor. This practice is also in transition here, especially since the county authorities, under the influence of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board, have tended to introduce budgetary planning in their standard of family relief.

Commodity relief itself has changed from delivery to the client at the offices of the agency to the system of "orders" to be presented by the client to selected merchants, who in turn cash these orders by presenting them to the issuing authorities. A considerable amount of the relief just prior to the introduction of the cash system was conducted on the "order" plan, orders being drawn upon county, city, state, Federal, and upon mixed public and voluntary funds under the Allegheny County Emergency Association.

ADEQUACY OF RELIEF

On one point modern practitioners are in complete agreement: that relief should be adequate. But what constitutes adequacy is more difficult to ascertain. It is important, however, that the concept itself enjoys general acceptance, in view of the fact that it is a complete antithesis of the Elizabethan principle of "less eligibility," that is, that in order to be eligible for relief the condition of a person should be less desirable than that of the lowest-paid worker. It is also, in a sense, a declaration against the theory of repression which has so thoroughly permeated the history of poor relief. Frequently it is assumed that voluntary agencies, when responsible for relief, provide it more adequately than do public agencies. It would be difficult to substantiate this assumption, despite the fact that the legislative enactments which provide for the relief of widowed mothers, of the aged, of the blind, and other kinds of dependents have adopted much too low maxima: only \$20 a month is permitted for the first child under the mothers' assistance law, with \$10 for each additional child; while \$1 a day, or \$30 a month, is the highest amount permitted for the old age and blind groups.

A comparison of these amounts with the average amount for relief per family per month allowed by voluntary agencies and those public relief departments which do not constitute a part of the categorical system of relief will leave no one with a stone to throw. According to the other interpretation of the adequacy of relief, which assumes that all those in a given condition who qualify for relief would actually receive the amounts deemed proper for them, the shortcomings in the categorical divisions are flagrant. Probably not more than one-third of the widows and perhaps no more than one-fifth of the aged above 65 years of age receive pensions; but the majority of these, to judge by the case loads of voluntary agencies over a period of years, were receiving no assistance from any other agency and only in the rarest instances were given as high an amount as now provided for by the law. Indeed, the first time that anything approaching adequacy of relief was attained in the history of this country was during the later period of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. While

this body has been subject to considerable criticism, and while it has not adopted standards of relief justified by the basic standard of living of the enormous mass of beneficiaries who suffered destitution through unemployment, its standards have been, nevertheless, far in excess of most local standards, and were constantly being expanded in the direction of adequacy. By 1934, in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, the highest standards of adequacy in relief were undoubtedly held and propagated by the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board, which left an indelible impression on other public and voluntary agencies. This standard has been maintained, not only with respect to total amounts, but perhaps more important, with respect to the inclusiveness of the list of items to be permitted in a relief budget. Among the more important steps in this progress was the inclusion of rent in this budget and the change from commodity to cash basis.

DIRECT AND WORK RELIEF

Among the moot questions in the field of relief policies, none has been more widely discussed than the relative value of work relief and direct relief. From every theoretical approach work relief commends itself as the preferable type. In the earlier stages of the depression, the insistence upon giving relief in the form of labor was well-nigh universal throughout the country. Even the fact, increasingly impressing itself upon the public, that work relief was more expensive, more difficult to administer, and burdened with many problems, did not lessen the apparent cogency of the theory that work and wages were preferable to idleness and relief. All the ancient fears about the danger of pauperization and the cumulative experience of relief-giving agencies with the shiftless idle combined to discourage the granting of outright relief to masses of people. As work relief tended more and more to become "made" work, or "boondoggling," the arguments in favor of work relief began to lose merit. When, moreover, the Federal Administration, groping to escape a permanent burden of national relief and to contribute to the economic recovery (and show an increase in employment) combined and confused work relief with employment on public works, first under the guise of C.W.A., then by combinations of P.W.A. and W.P.A. (to say nothing of L.W.D. and R.W.D.), the clear and honest recognition of the legitimacy of direct relief seemed to gain both social justification and practical preference on the part of social work practitioners. If one could get a general consensus of opinion on this subject on the part of such practitioners, it would be found that in their opinion work relief should have a minor position, since they regard it as a desirable technical auxiliary rather than as a basic form of economic assistance to those in need.

"SUPPLEMENTATION OF WAGES" AND "COOPERATIVE CASES"

In the early days of the nineteenth century and of the factory system of employment England found herself subsidizing private industry by the provision of relief from local tax funds to workers and families of workers whose depressed wages made it impossible for them to support themselves. The extent of this practice and the intensification of the vicious circle by which low wages and poor relief became a cynic-tragic carrousel in the life of the industrial worker has created a ghost in the conceptual world of the social worker; he has feared to give relief to the underpaid worker and his family lest he encourage low wages and exploitation by industry. The word "supplementation" has become a sort of bogey in relief policies of agencies. Actually, this type of supplementation has been going on all the time, although within our own history it never became a social and governmental scandal as it did in early nineteenth-century England. It has been a troublesome factor, nevertheless, during the last three or four years as the difficulties of combining work relief with direct relief and with attempts to encourage clients to find work establish a favorable medium for exploiting employers. Employers have branded workers receiving relief as malingerers and chiselers if they refused employment on their terms, preferring to remain on the relief rolls. The public, willing to believe the worst, has been ready to embrace the idea that clients prefer relief to work.

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration was forced to make a series of special studies¹⁹ to test the truth of the allegation that those on

¹⁹ Cf. W.P.A. No. 7701, *Summary of Surveys of Job Refusals by Relief Clients, Reported in Six Counties, March to May, 1935*, Series I, No. 15, December 12, 1935.

The series of job refusal studies as a whole reveals common problems in six diverse communities and leads to certain fairly definite conclusions.

One feature common to all the situations studied is a tendency toward popular overstatement of the number of cases in which relief clients had refused to accept private employment. Out of 943 reports of job refusals in five communities 340, or more than one-third, applied to individuals who either had never received public assistance or who had been removed from relief rolls before the reported refusal. The extent of the exaggeration due to this faulty classification varied: in Buffalo, where such overstatement was most serious, 42 percent of the reported job refusals pertained to people not on relief rolls; in Memphis only 5 percent of those charged with refusing jobs were not on relief rolls.

In the six communities, some of them with large relief loads, only 603 relief clients were discovered whose alleged job refusal could be investigated. The number of clearly unjustified refusals was very small in every community; of the 603 relief clients studied in the five communities only 20 fell in this category.

The reasons given by relief clients for their refusal of employment are often difficult to classify. Even if the different reasons could be clearly separated, there would still be some overlapping because certain clients offer more than one excuse for their refusal of a job. Despite these difficulties a survey of the three broad classes of reasons is useful in showing the nature of the problem.

1. Two hundred and thirty-six relief clients, or 34 percent of the 603 investigated,

relief prefer "to live on the dole" rather than to accept jobs and work for their living. Returns from these studies indicate that the number of such cases is actually negligible and probably less, rather than more, than experienced relief workers recall as existing in normal times. Indeed, this conclusion seems to be logical, in view of the fact that the depression brought to relief agencies multitudes of persons of all occupations and ranks of society who had never before called for organized relief. Where applications to the Emergency Relief Administration had been cleared through the social service exchanges, in which the slightest contact with a social agency is usually recorded, as the depression proceeded and the usually competent and self-maintaining were forced by unemployment and exhaustion of their resources to seek for aid, applicants represented a smaller and smaller percentage of those known to social agencies.

The sense in which "supplementation" has been more generally used in this recent period is somewhat more technical and refers to the practice of having agencies other than the one that has chief responsibility for the particular client supply a portion of the needed relief. This practice has had many variations, from having the principal agency do nothing except to advise to having the principal agency supply certain basic materials while other agencies filled in the gaps in the budget. Within its own technical sphere this form of supplementation, except under emergency conditions, is no more desirable than the kind in which the agency comes to the aid of the client whose natural income from wages is insufficient—

refused jobs because they were either already employed, because they were permanently or temporarily unemployable, or because they could not do the specific kind of work offered them. Most of the refusals based on such claims seemed reasonable, although claims of physical disability were particularly numerous in Buffalo, where nearly one-fourth of all the clients gave that excuse for refusing jobs. Doubt attaches to the validity of some of these claims, since all the cases were registered as employable at the New York State Employment Service.

2. The second type includes clients who did not get jobs because of defects in procedure of notification and contact with employer. This occurred in 160, or about 27 percent of the 603 relief cases investigated. The practice in the six localities is to regard all clients who fail to answer a job notification as having refused jobs. As a result, those who do not receive their notices or who do not respond promptly or who do not realize their obligation to accept private employment are classed locally as cases of job refusals.

3. The third group—slightly more than one-sixth of the total—consists of those clients whose refusal is based upon considerations attached to the particular type of job offered. This group is difficult to judge because of its heterogeneous character. It includes: people unable to take jobs because they could not make provision for the care of small children, invalids, and other dependents; persons who refused jobs because the employer was seeking to take advantage of the desperate condition of labor by offering substandard wages or requiring abnormally long hours; persons unwilling to jeopardize their union status by accepting subunion standards; and persons who misrepresented their own condition in order to justify refusal of a particular job. The majority of refusals with an indeterminate degree of justification would be found in this group.

and in a sense there is less excuse for it. For the rate of wages and field of labor is beyond control of the individual worker or of the social agency, and the fact of low wages and a family budget beyond the earning strength of the worker confronts client and agency as an irreversible fact woven into the entire industrial structure, whereas the practices of agencies are, to all intents and purposes, within their own control and jurisdiction.

There have been degrees of undesirability in the system of agency to agency supplementation. For example, the limitations imposed by law on the Mothers' Assistance Fund established certain maxima for this type of family. The Emergency Administration, on the other hand, being bound by no such hard and fast legislative fetters and responsive to public opinion and professional pressure from social workers, established budgets more generous and reasonable and in excess of grants permitted by the Mothers' Assistance Fund. In many instances, therefore, the latter might refuse to accept eligible cases out of goodwill for the client, who could then apply to the emergency administration and receive more reasonable and appropriate assistance. The County Directors of the Poor of Allegheny County found themselves providing coal to Mothers' Assistance Fund families whose incomes did not exceed \$40 a month, and both coal and shoes to those whose incomes were \$30 a month or less. Also, medical care was provided by either city or county physicians or, as in ordinary times, by dispensaries and out-patient departments to many families under care of some other agency. A special form of arrangement for supplementation was established between the Mothers' Assistance Fund and the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board after the adoption of cash grants by the latter, by which the Emergency Administration agreed to supplement the income of Mothers' Assistance Fund families where there was at least one unemployed employable in the family (for example, if among the children of the widow were included a seventeen-year-old boy). In this case there is an approximation to the idea underlying unemployment insurance which renders such an arrangement more reasonable or at least more systematic. But the type of understanding by which agencies line up as it were, in accordance with the types of commodity or relief to be supplied, verges on the ridiculous. Yet, for some time this situation existed, especially with respect to the operations of the County Directors of the Poor. The directors assumed particular responsibility for coal, shoes, stoves, oil, mattresses, transportation, medical care, and burials as supplementary items for clients primarily cared for by the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board. As the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board was able to expand its services, the need for supplementation decreased and the policy changed accordingly. This change was reflected in the following interesting figures giving the number of families served

by the County Directors of the Poor, amounts expended in toto and per family.

YEAR	AMOUNT	NUMBER OF FAMILIES	AMOUNT PER FAMILY
1932	\$313,647.71	32,465	\$ 9.66
1933	703,311.46	53,541	13.14
1934	233,891.10	57,664	4.10

The increase from 1932 to 1934 in the number of families served reflects almost entirely the practice of supplementation.

The most serious form that supplementation between agencies has taken is probably the development of coöperative cases. The seriousness in this case is not because of loss to the client so much as because of loss to the community and to the intellectual honesty of the agencies involved. For a "coöperative case" is a full-fledged responsibility of all coöperating agencies, calls upon the services of the workers of all agencies, including the overhead, and gives an appearance of justification to programs, budgets, and personnel of agencies that might easily be discontinued if they were subjected to a logical, consistent examination of their proper function in the community. It is, indeed, upon the basis of such an examination that the present study has recommended the practical elimination of voluntarily-supported family agencies²⁰ from the field of economic relief to families in their homes. As summarized by a member of the study staff: "Supplementation has very little in its favor. It does not reduce expenditures; it necessitates a number of distributing and accounting procedures, and results in waste of effort and employment of extra personnel. Sometimes relief to the clients by more than one agency tends to conceal the true character of the relief problem. This condition presents opportunities for the shifting of responsibility by officials and subjects the relief policies more often to considerations of political maneuvering."

The coöperative case service came into existence in this, as in other, communities by a perfectly natural process. Voluntary relief agencies (or family agencies, as they regarded themselves in most cases) attempted to meet the growing relief needs from their own resources, later within their own organization by the use of additional voluntary or public funds, and eventually they found it necessary to cede the task as a whole to the emergency administrations. At this point, they were faced with the difficult question of deciding what their own remaining functions would be:

Could it be that of furnishing relief to those in need? This question was answered in the negative by the size of the problem, and invariably the voluntary relief agency recognized the necessity of withdrawing from this responsibility. Should they withdraw entirely from the field of relief? The little they could do in comparison with the total demand seemed

²⁰ See chap. xvi, *infra*.

negligible. Their status in the community depended, nevertheless, on being associated with the relief of the poor. No logical division of the burden with the public administration seemed possible. An empirical division took place, therefore, chiefly because these agencies thought that they could not safely relinquish the function of relief, even though they could no longer carry the responsibility. For example, it was thought that:

- (a) Normal times might return and the responsibility become theirs again; whether it ought to return or merely was likely to was a question to which the agencies were not ready to give a final answer.
- (b) They must remain in the field in order to carry on the principles of adequate relief and high standards of service.
- (c) They must be ready to give service to those ineligible for public relief or unwilling to accept it.
- (d) Relief was often required for clients whose basic needs were for case work service, but whose contact with the agency either arose from actual or fancied economic need or depended on relief as a "tool of case work."
- (e) Public agencies at this time (and in the opinion of many family workers at any time) were incapable of giving the sort of professionally competent case work service that frequently should accompany relief.
- (f) Many families whose need was only for social case work could not be reached by the family agency except by the willingness of the latter to supply relief, which, in a sense, provided the condition of contact, and without which, in the general run of cases, the client would find no interest in continuing his relation with the agency.

At any rate, it was clear: that the family agencies were not ready to quit the field or completely to disassociate themselves from the relief problem; that they were ready neither to recognize the relief problem as a primary obligation nor completely to devote themselves to social case work proper, unrelated to problems of relief. And being supported by voluntary contributions in search for which the charitable motive of "helping the poor" was required, the retention of relief obligations seemed necessary for their continued existence.²¹

²¹ When the Allegheny County Emergency Association, primarily organized for the purpose of obtaining funds for the fast-rising relief needs of the voluntary agencies in the earlier stages of the depression, ceased to exercise any direct functions in raising money or in allocating it to the voluntary agencies, it turned into a supplementary agency. Funds were made available through the Allegheny County Emergency Association for the provision of those items not available or allowed by other agencies, especially by the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board. In order to facilitate this peculiar function the executive officer of the latter was made executive also of the Allegheny County Emergency Association, and in the effective position of Poobah could order supplementation from one organization to fill in gaps that as executive of another he could not authorize. What made the situation more peculiar is the fact that the Allegheny County Emergency Association was distributor of a variety of funds: those raised by private subscription through special campaigns, later, funds assigned to it through the regular budgetary procedure of the Community Fund, and some funds still available from the municipal appropriations of the city of Pittsburgh and from the results of a bond issue by Pittsburgh, authorized by the City Council

The fact that many families in need required also case work services other than those strictly associated with relief, that the Emergency Administration, under the tremendous task of keeping up with the mass of service, was unable to give case work service, and that the staffs of many of them were not competent to give it, seem to supply the logic for having the voluntary agencies offer case work service by way of supplementation to the actual relief provided by the Emergency Administration. Coöperative relationships could be established, therefore, on the theory that the public emergency administration provided relief and the voluntary agency supplemented it by case work. In the light of the current attitude among family case work agencies of regarding "relief as a case work tool," a way seemed open by which these agencies could continue to have a relief budget obtained through the usual forms of appeal, especially in Community Fund cities, for out-and-out relief without being responsible for the basic relief problem. Once the concept of coöperative cases was established there seemed to be no reason why cases might not be referred by the voluntary to the public agency or vice versa, with an opportunistic division between them of basic and supplementary relief, of relief and case work service, or of primary responsibility and supplementary status. In June, 1935, approximately 70 percent of the case loads of voluntary agencies in Allegheny County were public relief cases for whom the private agency supplied supplementary or service relief.²²

A count made some two months earlier, probably representing, therefore, a higher number than was shown in June, showed 335 cases among all the seven voluntary agencies in Pittsburgh where the relief responsibility was carried exclusively by these agencies. At this time, the total case load of these agencies was close to 4,900; the total of Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board cases at the same time was close to 104,000. The group of clients, therefore, who were exclusively relief cases of the voluntary agencies numbered less than 7 percent of the total family case load and less than one-third of 1 percent of the total load of public and voluntary relief agencies in the county. The three largest of these agencies had 588 "service only" cases from a case load of 2,993, indicating that the case work function as an independent activity accounted for less than 20 percent of their cases, while the remainder, even though taking up most of their resources and constituting four-fifths of their load, constituted merely a drop in the bucket of the total relief problem and

for raising of unemployment relief funds. The purposes for which these funds were most extensively used were the provision of rentals prior to the time when the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board came to recognize rent as an essential form of relief.

²² See Table 51, pp. 597-98, *infra*.

hardly justified the large place these agencies kept in the minds of their management and of the public as actors in the arena of relief to the poor.

This peculiar form of supplementation as a form of agency relationship raises, in the words of our staff, such questions as the following:

1. How fully did this plan of coöperation meet the needs of the clients of the public relief agency for case work service?
2. What effect did it have upon the recognition of the need of case work service by the public agency on the part of the community, the board, and agency staff?
3. Did it stimulate or retard the improvement of standards of administration in the public agency?
4. What educational values did this coöperative relationship have for the workers in the public agency?
5. Is it sound to place all skilled service in one department in the public agency, or are their distinct case work skills needed at various points in the relationship between the client and agency, for example at the point of application, and the determination of relief need, as well as in planning treatment?

Consideration of the interests of the private agency suggested other questions:

1. Did the arrangement serve to strengthen the private agency in community support?
2. Did it retard or promote the development of the private agency's own service program?
3. In so far as service was provided to clients, who came seeking relief without recognition on their part of their own need for service, does it represent a proper function for a voluntary agency?²³

The history of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board gives answers to some of these questions. The conclusions to which we were forced in formulating the proposed system of agency service in the field of relief, as presented in the following chapter, leave no room for the function of the voluntary family agency in the field of relief, as such, and assign to it relief activities only during a period of transition and for certain unusual and experimental purposes.²⁴

POLICIES WITH RESPECT TO ITEMS OF RELIEF

Aside from the question of adequacy there has never been much disagreement on the inclusion in relief budgets of some primary items, but

²³ Many of these problems will be considered in further reference to proposed plans of organization in subsequent chapters.

²⁴ In coming to these conclusions the staff of the study did not content itself with the erection of a theoretical syllogism but read a considerable number of so-called coöperative cases in both the voluntary and the public agencies to see whether the nature of the work in the cases themselves justified a system which on the basis of administrative logic was not justified. The result of an examination of these cases and of a detailed analysis of the case load itself and of the intake of the voluntary agencies supports the general administrative logic which underlies the proposed elimination from the field of economic relief of these agencies.

there has been considerable difference of opinion as to others. Food has, of course, always stood at the top of the list. The concentration of interest on food has militated against the inclusion of other, often equally important, items among those permitted. Thus the first relief distributed by the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board was exclusively for food, in the form of commodities only. Coal was added in November, 1933; medical relief in December of the same year; the Federal surplus food and clothing in January, 1934; gas and light in April of the same year; and rent still later. Prior to November, 1933, therefore, other items of relief necessarily came from other sources. From their own funds or from supplementary sources of the Allegheny County Emergency Association the voluntary agencies provided food, light, shoes, and medical relief. The Directors of the Poor supplied coal, oil, stoves, shoes, mattresses, and so forth. The old age assistance law specified use of their funds for food, fuel, rent, and clothing only. Critical situations with respect to items of relief arose at various times, first in connection with the food items and culminating in the change from commodity relief to cash relief, which made it possible also to make the still more important change from the listing of items to the adoption of formal budgets. This took place in the Allegheny County Relief Board in 1934.

Difficulties in connection with the provision of clothing occurred early in 1934. Prior to this time the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board had been distributing clothing from some twenty stations in various parts of the county, while other supplementation was given by the Directors of the Poor and by the voluntary agencies. Complaints from clients arose and multiplied as clothing, particularly shoes, failed to fit, and because traveling to the distributing stations imposed undue hardship. The principal source of difficulties, however, was the rent policy of the Emergency Administration. Unlike some other communities, the Allegheny County Board had not included rentals among items permitted in its relief budget until a relatively late date in its development. Up to this time the emergency administration depended either on voluntary agencies or on the amphibious Allegheny County Emergency Association which, while voluntary in form, served as distributor of public funds as well. Its function of rent paying represented, in fact, in the minds of a considerable body of influential persons, one of the justifications for the continuing existence of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Association. The amounts actually provided under this system, however, not only failed to provide necessary relief to tenants, but also imposed an increasing hardship upon the landlords themselves. The situation was aggravated by a peculiar policy, practiced in the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board for a considerable time, of aiding tenants in arrears to find new quarters by

offering them rental for one month at the new home; this process was repeated until a succession of landlords had been deprived of their legitimate income. Eventually a concerted effort was made by the landlords to force a change of policy upon the public relief administration. After considerable negotiations Allegheny County was made one of the first territories in which an experimental program was worked out by which landlords were allowed approximately one percent of the assessed tax value in lieu of rentals by relief clients. This provision, while not adequate, constituted a first step toward a more reasonable system of relief allowance for shelter. This amount was increased shortly to $1\frac{1}{2}$ percent of the assessed value plus taxes, and later it was converted into a more regular system of rental payments.

There was another side to the failure of tenants or relief authorities to pay rentals, which was not apparent in the relief policies or administration, but which constituted one of the most pitiable and, in some instances, disgraceful conditions brought about by the depression. Much of the housing of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County had been known for a long time to be poor and even unfit for habitation. The returns to owners from these low-rent habitations had been uncertain in many instances, and repairs were not always kept up. As the depression deepened, and landlords, both individuals and corporations, found upkeep not matched by income, the immediate result was neglect of repairs, which in turn brought about in a considerable portion of the county a housing condition hardly equalled at any previous time.²⁵ Not least serious among these conditions was shutting off water in houses where absence of rental payment was followed by failure on the part of the landlord to pay water rates, and the subsequent refusal of water service. Apparently no action by public health authorities or by the relief administration was taken in most cases where the water was shut off under these conditions.

Disturbances in other aspects of relief were relatively mild and unimportant. Roughly speaking, the provision of coal, oil, stoves, and the like was recognized as proper and became, therefore, merely a matter of applying sufficient pressure until the appropriate bodies had accepted their responsibility. Special items such as the cost of burials had always been regarded as a thing apart. The Directors of the Poor were providing this service in the county outside of Pittsburgh; voluntary agencies frequently provided it in the city and the Jewish community has had a special organization to meet this need for some years.

More critical was the situation with respect to medical relief. In certain groups, such as old age assistance cases, medical relief was entirely omitted from items for which grants could be expended. The Public Health Nurs-

²⁵ See chap. v, *supra*.

ing Association had been carrying on nursing service, to the extent of its resources, less adequately outside Pittsburgh than within the city limits. City and county physicians employed by the Pittsburgh Department of Public Welfare and the county authorities, respectively, provided, with certain restrictions described elsewhere in this report,²⁶ medical service to families in their homes who were not able to go to dispensaries and were not hospital cases. The County Directors of the Poor limited medical care to families having an income of not more than \$30 a month. A crisis in medical relief came about when the city and county physicians found themselves pressed beyond their capacities for medical relief to cases who were clients of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board. In this community, as elsewhere, a change of policy was therefore forced upon the emergency administration by which increasingly generous allowance was made for medical service. In view of the fact that clinic and hospital provisions, as well as the services of the city and county physicians, already existed, there was no theoretical question involved, but merely one of method and expense. The major burden of this task fell upon the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board which agreed to include compensation for medical services given by family physicians to clients already under the care of the organization upon orders to be honored in the same way that orders for other commodities or services were honored. A special arrangement had been made with the Public Health Nursing Association, both by the city and by the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board, for a similar treatment of necessary nursing services and the reimbursement of orders made out by the field workers.

ELIGIBILITY

Much of the confusion in the field of public relief and no little of the apparently justified dissatisfaction with public administration of relief results from the hardships that are caused by questions of eligibility. In its crudest form the problem is to establish settlement and residence, and it has filled the history of public relief with legal technicalities, bickerings, and the passing back and forth between communities of the responsibility for the care of persons in distress. The curse of settlement laws was inherited from the Elizabethan era and has interfered with common-sense public relief administration in this county for many years. Eligibility is determined, moreover, not alone by the law but also, within certain areas of discretion, by its administering personnel. While this might be expected to introduce a degree of flexibility into the technically rigid categories of the law it may and does frequently result in the imposition of additional restrictions arising from lack of sympathy or rigid legal attitudes on the

²⁶ See chap. xviii, *infra*.

part of administrators. While voluntary agencies are not necessarily free from imposing arbitrary conditions of eligibility determined by race, denomination, conformity, or ethnic grouping, these requirements constitute not so much factors of exclusion as factors of preference, and they are, therefore, less dangerous to the welfare of the individual. Frequently also, into the sphere of discretion, local mores are permitted to enter, some of which may not have constituted part of the intentions of the legislators. Whenever the moral fitness of the client is considered a condition of eligibility, an area of discretion is created which is quite unpredictable and which throws the burden back upon client and private charity. Further difficulties may be created by limited intelligence of field workers, lack of training, or conditions imposed by the mass demands of an emergency situation. Thus the provision of relief for legally established categories of clients may be prevented by administrative regulations, by the accidental personal qualifications of the personnel, or by that particular variation of discretion which appears in the form of offering unacceptable standards of relief, sometimes below decency and even below subsistence.

One of the essential conditions for minimizing the evils of these mutually exclusive categories with their own special rules of eligibility is to combine the administration of categorical divisions of relief, as well as general public assistance, within the same administrative personnel and offices so that the determination of eligibility may become a technical procedure within the organization rather than a series of transfers or referrals of the client from one agency to another. The attainment of such an objective will be considerably facilitated by a similar administrative merger of corresponding funds and personnel in a supervisory state organization. While such an administrative method of counteracting the limitations of special categories is desirable, it is equally important to render the conditions of eligibility more generous and more in accordance with the primary intentions of the community.

PERSONNEL ASPECTS

Whatever the policies of a relief agency may be, their conversion into actual practice takes place in the field at the hands of the workers. Within certain limits the nature of the dispensing personnel constitutes the real relief policies of the agency. The problem of providing appropriate personnel seems simpler in theory than it proves to be in practice. To some, a benevolent impulse and common sense seem the chief qualifications, while to others, formal training and preparation in the social sciences seem the paramount requirement. As the lion's share of the task of relief is coming into the hands of public officials, a responsiveness to public opinion, or

more particularly to political expediency, if not partisan affiliations, seem to represent to some the chief virtues. Most experienced social workers recognize that there is a considerable element of truth in each of these points of view. A sympathetic and imaginative understanding of the client's problem is as important as the correctives provided by training in psychology and in the social sciences, by which the worker is enabled to recognize the client's problem in its larger relations; it is equally true that no agency, voluntary or public, may long continue to carry on activities or practice theories that are repugnant to public opinion and contrary to the political persuasion of the community through which support and public responsibility are conveyed. It is no reflection, therefore, upon the first voluntary association in Pittsburgh, the Ladies' Relief Society, which was organized in 1839, that it sought to staff itself with volunteers considered "generally faithful and efficient"; nor necessarily a condemnation of their work that the new Association for the Improvement of the Poor, upon its organization in 1875, decided to introduce "a broader plan and more adequate methods" and brought about the disbanding of the Ladies' Relief Society. The constitution of the new society provided for districting the entire city and also planned to have trained "visitors." This whole plan, involving the employment of salaried workers, had the support of the leading local philanthropists of the day, including Rev. C. G. Hussey, Dr. S. S. Scovel, Dr. L. H. Harris, Dr. George Woods, Charles J. Clark, William A. Herron, and William Thaw. It is reported that William Thaw contributed as much as \$7,000 in one year and personally assumed responsibility for the salaries of the paid workers, that feature being considered by many an objectionable innovation. He even went so far as to include in his will, drawn up in 1889, a statement of his confidence in the Association, accompanied by a bequest of \$10,000 to the Association, "the same to be an attestation of my belief of the advantage of paid superintendents and visitors, to be used for their compensation if need be."

At the present time we find all stages of practice and theory represented by the different agencies, their boards, and their staff. It is a fundamental thesis of the staff and sponsors of the present study that special preparation and training are necessary for the adequate practice of social work and that the chances of effective work by persons whose qualifications are mostly sympathy, goodwill, and a responsiveness to public opinion and political loyalty are negligible. Partly for this reason, probably, the relief policies of the Directors of the Poor as practiced by its present staff are characterized by kindness and also by a degree of naïveté and absence of individualized treatment or adequate recording. Similar characteristics are found in some of the voluntary agencies, and with respect to

several of them we are forced to the conclusion that they might withdraw from operation in the field of relief without loss to client or community.²⁷ Those public agencies which have been organized in more recent years show a full recognition of the importance of trained personnel. This has been especially true of the Mothers' Assistance Fund. Not only are the qualifications of the central staff at the state Capitol determined by the State Department which appoints the chief executive, but the employment of each member of the staff in the entire system must obtain approval of the State Department of Welfare, which exercises also a degree of responsibility for job specifications and takes an active part in examination of applications. The Allegheny County office of the Mothers' Assistance Fund stands high among organizations of its kind in the caliber of its work, the fitness of its personnel, the training and education required of its workers. It is to the credit of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board also that it recognized the importance of employing a personnel of maximum educational qualifications and increased the requirements of professional training to the extent permitted by the rapid development of the problem of mass relief. This achievement was made possible in part, at least, by the fact that the voluntary agencies through which the emergency relief task was handled during the early stages of the depression generously released a substantial portion of their personnel so that the rapidly expanding Emergency Relief Administration would have the advantage of a corps of trained and experienced field workers and administrators during this early and difficult period. It is also to the credit of the administration of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board that it was able to adjust itself with remarkable rapidity to the unpredictable changes of many kinds that were brought about in the development of the enormous relief task of the county—to situations and events without precedent and demanding a high degree of imagination and good sense.

One of the unpredictable developments in the Emergency Relief Administration took place, indeed, within the field of personnel problems and may represent a very important development for the future of relief administration. Necessarily, an agency averaging 100,000 clients and serving close to one-quarter million persons, had to employ a staff many times larger than any previously available and could not take time to select and develop such a staff with an eye to all possible qualifications. Moreover, there was a tendency in the earlier period to draw the field personnel itself from the body of relief clients. This fact, combined with low salaries, insecure tenure, subjection to sudden and apparently unreasonable changes in policy, contributed to the establishment of a sense

²⁷ See chap. xvi, *infra*.

of kinship between worker and client that produced, from the administrative standpoint at least, an excess rather than the desired degree of "sympathetic understanding" and responsiveness to public opinion, the latter being interpreted as being the opinion of the quarter million clients. While, on the one hand, this understanding facilitated bringing to the attention of the administration the increasing hardships experienced by the clients as inadequate relief policies created or continued suffering among the unemployed, it also expedited the combination of interests between staff and pressure groups and created unexpected difficulties for the administrative organization. It is true that the general public and the older leaders of social work were also forced by the catastrophic dimensions of the depression to give more and more thought to questions of fundamental social order and basic economic facts and to be increasingly troubled by the paradox of "want in the midst of plenty." These concepts came, however, with greater impact upon the field staff of the relief agency who not only had their own difficulties of low pay, insecure tenure, and so forth but also were in more direct contact with the effects of niggardly relief and the slow response to additional needs, such as clothing, shoes, and shelter.

These facts led, thanks to the good sense and imagination of the administration, to the setting up of the Public Relations Office, headed by a professor of the University of Pittsburgh²⁸ who was known for his sympathies for the working population and for his interest in relief movements and basic systems of amelioration. Through this office, which soon gained recognition as an honest, direct, and unbiased arm of the administration, it was possible to clear up, or to mitigate a great many of the troublesome situations which were due in part to the mass nature of the distress, and in part to the complications which arose from the presence of a new body of previously self-maintaining, responsible persons in the relief clientele.

For the future of relief administration the experience of the past few years has contributed invaluable lessons on the need of an appropriate combination of training, natural endowment and understanding of public opinion and of methods of administration which emphasize conference and discussion rather than autocratic management by self-willed martinets.

PUBLIC SUBSIDIES TO VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

In some ways the question of subsidies may not be properly a part of the subject of relief policies. Yet indirectly it affects them in much the way that inter-agency supplementation affects them. For the availability of funds, the sources from which they are derived, the certainty with

²⁸ B. J. Hovde, later appointed director of the Department of Public Welfare, in Pittsburgh.

which they may be counted on, and the conditions under which they may be obtained are important factors in the structure, function, and policies of agencies. Indeed, it sometimes determines their very existence, or becomes the center of attention in their struggle for existence. The subsidy system is generally in disrepute in the field of social work, where leaders have been straining for its discontinuance in the interest both of the agencies and their work and of public policy.²⁹

Public subsidy in Pennsylvania dates back to state aid granted to the Philadelphia Hospital in 1751. The first grant of a similar nature in Allegheny County was made to the Western Pennsylvania Hospital, in 1838. State aid is one of the principal resources of hospitals under voluntary control in Allegheny County at present.³⁰ State subsidy is given to a variety of other institutions in Allegheny County. The city of Pittsburgh also contributes to seven local social work agencies, while Allegheny County makes other direct contributions, including an annual contribution of \$25,000 to the Tuberculosis League.³¹ On the theory adopted as a basic plank of the plan submitted in the present report (see Chapter XV) that all public relief should be derived from public funds the progress in the public support of dependent persons represented by some of these subsidies is a credit to the state of Pennsylvania; to the degree, however, to which this support is given to and through privately managed organizations the state is automatically imposing upon its public departments a serious handicap toward the attainment of a high standard of performance. The availability of these public subsidies and particularly the fear of losing them have constituted factors in the relief policies of the local agencies on the whole unfavorable to progress and detrimental to the development of sound public policy and performance. It has amounted, on the other hand, to a confession of inability on the part of public authorities to deal with problems of institutional care in some areas, while at

²⁹ In the field of health services and medical relief there is no such strong sentiment, and there is even some growing support for it since the hospitals have experienced such serious financial difficulties with the shrinkage of pay-patient support during the depression.

³⁰ See chap. xviii, *infra*.

³¹ The amounts of government aid given by city, county, and state to private agencies are as follows:

YEAR	CITY	COUNTY	STATE
1927	\$ 7,839	\$ 6,247	\$21,401
1928	41,784	11,486	35,827
1929	44,171	10,734	34,159
1930	47,811	9,166	50,263
1931	58,836	10,308	52,038
1932	79,817	10,125	51,579
1933	104,121	17,090	53,563
1934	84,713	23,163	52,307

the same time government agencies provide care and custody in other institutions for the same types under their own management and no less efficiently than such care is provided in privately conducted institutions. Consequently they work under the handicap of a public opinion which regards private endeavor as necessarily of higher caliber than public service. Certainly with respect to the care of insane, public authorities have nothing to be ashamed of. In the conduct of hospitals there are privately supported organizations that fall much further below criteria established by national authorities than do public hospitals. Some of the best institutions for delinquent children are managed and controlled under public auspices. In so far as the acknowledgment of public obligation is involved in these subsidies, modern social work thought is in agreement; in so far as it represents abdication of public authority, it would seem gratuitous self-defamation of government by government.

SUMMARY

In summary, the outstanding features of existing relief policies in Allegheny County indicate too persistent adherence on the part of public bodies (County Poor Directors and the Department of Public Welfare in Pittsburgh) to the outmoded methods of institutional, that is, indoor, relief; to the provision of commodity relief instead of cash relief; to low standards of relief and inadequate use of the system of budgeting; to dependence on supplementation; to arbitrary differentiations of eligibility indicative of the tradition of repression; and to an Elizabethan concept of poor relief. Several agencies under voluntary control are also still addicted to commodity relief, among these being the Association for the Improvement of the Poor, despite its early history of progressive inclination, and the Lutheran Inner Mission. The standards of relief, both from the point of view of requirements for eligibility and from the point of view of maxima permitted, are much too low in the light of modern concepts in the three pension systems (mothers', old age, and blind) and have only begun to approximate acceptable standards through the activities of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board in the outdoor relief system of the county. The confusion of thought between the merits of work relief and direct relief continues and is further complicated by frequent administrative changes in the relief program of the Federal Government. The leading family agencies have an honorable history not only of granting cash relief but also of insisting upon its adoption in the public departments. They are now, however, to all intents and purposes, outside the field of economic relief to dependents and should be regarded (and in our recommendations are so designated) as agencies for the provision of social case work to families outside the strictly dependent group. As

a result of the progressive development of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board the advantages of the case work procedure in the administration of relief have been recognized and bid fair to become an integral part of the administrative technique of all public agencies giving economic assistance. Care for dependent children is being more extensively accepted by the public at the present time through the agency of the Juvenile Court, and it is to be hoped, later through a Department of Public Assistance. The advantages of supervision and the setting of standards by state, and to some extent Federal, authorities are clear and should prove a benefit to the building up of constructive policies in the administration of relief. The confusion introduced into the field of relief by the development of the so-called "coöperative cases," which were cared for by the public and voluntary agencies, is about to disappear, since the voluntary agencies recognize that their place in the scheme of economic relief is negligible and is about to be abandoned. In view of the fact that a substantial proportion of the working class and even of the white-collar group are included among the beneficiaries of economic relief, the fact that they constitute a large group of the voters, and of the likelihood that mass relief is to be a continued part of our social and political life, the stigma of relief is disappearing and with it probably the insistence on mere subsistence budgets in favor of a more decent standard of living approximating the normal conditions of the American working class.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS

Many special problems have naturally arisen in such an ancient and complicated field as poor relief. Those discussed in the preceding pages by no means exhaust the list. The actual or apparent seriousness of problems has varied with time and place: now one is apparently the paramount issue, then another; some difficulty seems to take on unmanageable dimensions in one place, while it is hardly noticed at the same time in some other community or under another form of local government or social practice. In the following pages two of these special relief problems will be given somewhat extended treatment: both ancient, both troublesome, both representing types of theoretical and administrative difficulties that have confused and retarded the reasonable solution of basic relief problems. One of these is the treatment of dependent aged; the other, the treatment of the homeless and transients. Of these, the former seems to have a better chance of systematic solution in the early future, despite the fact that it is an increasing problem and one that reaches far back into characteristics of our social and industrial organization. To the question what to do with the transients, less logical, convincing, and practical answers are available.

THE PROBLEM OF THE DEPENDENT AGED³²

That the total number of aged persons and their proportion to the general population has been increasing in recent years is common knowledge. Both the diminution of death rates in the upper age groups and the decreasing birth rates have contributed to this end. We have not yet taken adequate cognizance of this change in our economic organization and our system of vocational training and employment service, nor had we seriously re-examined the implications of this fact with respect to the social services of the nation as a whole or with respect to individual communities until the recent movement for old age pensions forced the subject into focus.

The mandate of the present study to examine the needs and existing facilities for social service in Allegheny County provided an opportunity for an intensive inquiry into the new problem of the aged and the social provisions existing to meet it. Although the present analysis of the situation of the aged in Allegheny County and the recommendations submitted with respect to it is condensed and abbreviated from the original report, it may seem to exceed the proportions usually assigned to this phase of social work. It is, however, a subject that has received far less attention than it requires. State and national governments and some of the largest industries are at last coming to grips with the puzzling problem of old age and superannuation through legislation and pension funds; but communities also may find themselves facing the necessity of reshuffling existing facilities and establishing new ones for the purpose of adequately serving the aged.

There cannot be any doubt but that the problem of care for the dependent aged is increasing rapidly in scope and importance in social planning. It is a problem not only of the future resources of the people who at present are 65 years and more but also largely of the younger group—the people of 45 to 64—who are struggling through a depression.

Institutions.—The institutional care of aged persons in Allegheny County, exclusive of mental patients, is divided about equally between the two almshouses, Woodville and Mayview, and twenty private homes for the aged. In addition, 116 patients (November 6, 1934) of the three private homes for the chronic ill, or roughly 50 percent of their residents, were found to be 60³³ years and more. Altogether approximately 2,500

³² The following discussion is drawn from a condensed version of the full report on "The Care of the Aged," both prepared by Dr. Hertha Kraus, of the study staff. The full report is being used in present efforts to reorganize care of the aged in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County.

³³ There is a certain inconsistency in the use of statistics in these pages, now taking 60, then 65, and again 70 as the lower limit. Dr. Kraus, whose analysis of the problem of the aged is presented here, has deliberately chosen to change the base in an endeavor to shift emphasis from chronological age to functional superannuation.

men and women of 60 years and more were found to be under institutional care, exclusive of those in mental and other hospitals, as follows:

Two almshouses	1,181
Twenty private homes	1,246
Three homes for chronic patients	116

This group represents roughly 4.6 percent of the group 60 years of age and more in the county.

Public institutions.—Parallel to the general trend of development of almshouses, Mayview and Woodville admit large numbers of aged persons, most of whom are not eligible for private homes because they are without resources, without church connections, or infirm and ill. Both almshouses had the same percentage of aged persons among those admitted in 1934, 29.9 percent.³⁴ Woodville accepted 200 persons of 60 years and more in a total intake of 669, while the corresponding figures for Mayview are 408 out of 1,389.

In view of loose methods of intake practiced at these institutions, it is not surprising to find a large turnover in both almshouses. It has not been unusual, indeed, for clients of Woodville to come in just for a change of clothing. Little of this turnover is, however, due to the operation of the new old age pensions.³⁵ There were comparatively few applications for pensions, since the majority of the aged inmates were not able to leave the institution.

It should not be expected that the present aged inmates of the almshouses will be affected by the Old Age Assistance Act to any considerable extent. Only a few of them are well enough to leave the institution without provision for continuous medical and nursing care or brave enough to break away to an independent life on a scanty allowance after having been institutionalized. The fact that during the last few years unemployment relief has enabled many aged people to continue living in the community has automatically resulted in a more selective intake by the institutions. More than at any previous time, applications for admission to the almshouses have come from the seriously disabled aged and the group who, because of personal peculiarities of character and temperament, find themselves rejected by their own families. The aged who are admitted to the two almshouses are absorbed in the general population of

³⁴ A count of the population in the two institutions at a given time shows a somewhat divergent percentage; in the county home (Woodville) 39.6 percent of its total, 1,204, were non-mental cases over 60 years of age; in Mayville, serving Pittsburgh, there were 47.5 percent of its 1,308 inmates of that age in the same age group.

³⁵ At the time of this inquiry (1935) twenty-five men and eleven women had left the two institutions for this reason. About one-half of these, twelve men and five women, were able to make their new homes with friends and relatives, while the rest went out to shift for themselves as best they could.

those institutions. They are not recognized as a special unit, and they are in no way segregated or given specialized attention.

Institutions for the aged on voluntary support.—The study included twenty private homes for the aged, ten of which are situated in Pittsburgh and ten in the county. The homes range from a minimum capacity of six to a maximum capacity of two hundred and sixty with a total capacity of 1,323 beds. At the time of the visits, they had a total population of 1,246, or 94 percent capacity.

Nine of the homes accept women only, eleven accept both men and women, and most of these accept couples.

Thirteen of the homes are sponsored by religious associations, two by fraternal organizations, and five by independent agencies.³⁶ The scope of service of a good many of the homes is not clearly defined. Only two limit their service specifically to residents of Pittsburgh, seven to residents of the county. Three accept applicants from the entire United States, while the remaining eight homes serve predominantly western Pennsylvania.

The homes derive their income mostly from endowments, investments, and membership contributions. Only two homes receive state aid, the Ladies' G.A.R. Home and the Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Women; three homes are members of the Community Fund, the Jewish Home for the Aged, the Home for Aged Ministers and Laymen (colored) and the Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Women. The total expenditures of the homes as far as stated range from a minimum of \$253.00 per capita to a maximum of \$557.00 per annum.

Certain practices not known in other fields of social service have grown up in the care of the aged and have created peculiar conditions. The system of "life contracts," for example, is used by seventeen institutions. This system provides for a bilateral agreement by which the institution obligates itself to provide full care to the inmate for the remainder of his or her life, while the inmate pays a flat sum upon entrance and assigns to the institution any assets which he or she may possess. The inmate

³⁶ The denominational homes are: the Aged Ministers' and Laymen's Home (Colored Baptist), the Baptist Orphanage and Home for the Aged, the Episcopal Church Home, the Evangelical Home for the Aged, the German Protestant Home for the Aged, the Home for Aged People of the United Presbyterian Church, the Jewish Home for the Aged, the Little Sisters of the Poor Homes on Benton Avenue and Penn Avenue, the Methodist Episcopal Hospital and Home for the Aged, the Reformed Presbyterian Home for Aged People, and St. Joseph's Home.

The two homes sponsored by fraternal organizations are the Ladies' G.A.R. Home and the Rebekkah Home for Widows supported by the Odd Fellows of Pennsylvania.

The five homes sponsored by independent agencies are: The Christian Home for Women, the Home for Aged Protestant Women, the Home for Aged Protestants, the Hannah M. Martin Home for Protestant Teachers, and the Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Women.

forfeits all property rights, after the initial payment of a substantial cash amount, while the institution undertakes the risks of longevity and must depend, if the average cost of maintenance of its inmates exceeds the value of entrance fees plus assets, upon contributions and endowments. What cultural and social values attach to this system is for the present irrelevant, in view of the fact that the system itself, as we shall see, is encountering difficulties which may automatically lead to its reorganization or abandonment. Its particular importance here may lie more in the fact that the majority of privately controlled homes are conducted on this plan and that the plan itself is suited only to a fast-diminishing portion of the problem of caring for the aged, as superannuation and life expectation both increase. Only three of the homes studied provide care on the basis of monthly boarding arrangements rather than life contracts. Rates charged by the boarding homes are thirty and thirty-five dollars per month, depending on the size of the rooms and on whether the accommodations are private or semi-private. All the boarding homes stated that they had a few boarders who had not been able to pay for some time.

Entrance fees of homes charging a flat rate range from \$300 to \$1,000 for single persons. Two are in the minimum classification, two in the maximum; the largest group (six homes) charge \$600. Five homes charge neither entrance nor boarding fees. Entrance qualifications other than financial requirements are rather similar in all homes. In fraternal and religious homes membership and good standing in the respective organizations are always required, while residence requirements are usually somewhat vague. Applicants must not be under a fixed minimum age, varying from sixty to seventy years, although two homes do make occasional exceptions.

In most cases two references are required to testify to the applicant's character and standing in the community. All homes are most anxious to exclude persons who would prove difficult and disturbing. Thus, we find in two homes the following question on the application blanks: "In case you are admitted to the Home will you refrain from all manner of gossiping, tattling, backbiting and mischief-making both inside and outside the Home?"

The most important prerequisite besides the submission of all property and the payment of an entrance fee is good health. All the homes ask for a physician's reference to be submitted at the time of application. In addition, eight of the homes have the applicant re-examined by their own physician. With the exception of the Jewish Home for the Aged the homes tend to exclude applicants who are suffering from chronic diseases or who are severely handicapped by other disabilities of old age. Most homes require a probation period of several months during which both the home

and the resident are free to withdraw from the life contract on short notice. In such cases the entrance fee and the property are returned, minus a deduction for board and lodging for the probation period.

As might be expected, the residents represent a cross-section of the aged population from sixty to one hundred years of age. Many of them are active and alert and keenly interested in their environment. Others are frail, handicapped, and shut off from normal contacts and companionship by increasing disability. Not more than 15 percent are bedridden, but many more are unable to leave their rooms and need a great deal of assistance. Not a few of the residents give indications of previous comfortable incomes and of the privileges of higher education. This type of resident predominates in a few homes, while other homes have a home-family of very mixed background.

Many of the residents are in constant need of medical or nursing care. Such care is not provided in any of the boarding homes, but all other homes appear to make real efforts to meet these needs whenever they arise. Board members and matrons frequently stressed in personal interviews their feeling of responsibility for complete care of their life guests in their good days and bad. On the whole there is a feeling of reluctance to allow seriously sick guests to be sent to the hospital. Matrons stated with emphasis that only in the case of a surgical operation do they allow a patient to go to a hospital, and they always reserve their place in the home even during prolonged hospitalization. No special arrangements have been made with these hospitals, nor is there any provision for reimbursing them for their services. In case of mental illness patients are always turned over to a mental hospital except when the family can afford to provide a private nurse for full-time duty. Sixteen homes out of twenty provide a separate infirmary. Fourteen homes have nurses on their staffs, including five homes where the matron is a nurse.

All homes have some arrangement for medical service with the exception of two of the boarding homes, which expect their boarders to provide their own physicians. In eleven homes physicians volunteer their services, while seven homes pay physicians on an annual basis. In a few homes doctors alternate in volunteering their services. One home has a panel of thirty doctors, twelve of whom give regular medical attention which is supplemented by eighteen specialists.

EVALUATION OF THE INSTITUTIONAL PROGRAMS AND SPECIAL PROBLEMS

As we have seen, in the main private homes aim to assist the able-bodied aged of excellent community standing and high degree of social adaptability, preferably the persons of some means. After taking pains to select the individuals whom they plan to help, they serve them in a most

comprehensive way, in health and in illness, until the end. In the restricted environment of the institution practically all the necessities of life are supposed to be provided in kind for every resident, active or handicapped, alert or senile. The completeness of the service offered is matched only by the complete dependence of the resident group, who in order to qualify for any home, except the few boarding homes, are expected to strip themselves of all their earthly belongings.

Residents of public institutions have neither benefits nor disadvantages that are comparable. They leave whenever they please, while the resident of a private home leaves only on penalty of losing his place, is unlikely to qualify for a second admission, and cannot expect any return on his original investment. Even though the inmate of a private home should find the institutional environment uncongenial after a long effort at adjustment, or his changing physical condition should call for a different type of medical and nursing care, he is not free to make a change. Possibly the economic situation of his children may urgently demand a restitution of the property which at an earlier date had been turned over for the sake of purchasing final security in the home; yet the decision cannot be revoked, and the balance of the property cannot be saved for the benefit of the children, even if the service of the home is no longer required.

It is only recently that aged persons of limited means, insufficient for independent livelihood for the balance of their days, have had any choice between self-respecting assistance in their own homes and institutional care. This opportunity represents the first results of this changed situation of the dependent aged, due in large part to the old age pension and other cash relief systems. The coming of the Federal system of old age insurance (1942) points in the same direction.

It seems that the private homes have not faced this new and coming situation and are not yet fully aware of its implications. Many remarks of board members and superintendents indicated that unemployment relief and old age pensions were considered a somewhat undesirable competition for which there was no real need, since the homes stood entirely ready to provide "security." When there was pointed out the very limited capacity of the existing homes, which at the very best could not possibly take care of the entire old age dependency problem, reactions varied. Some homes felt that they would be glad to extend their services if there was real need, while others declared that even the existing facilities were not used to capacity.

The changing demand for institutional facilities, affecting both extent and type of service, calls for redefinition of functions and clearer specialization. This reorganization may eventually crystallize the institutional care of the aged in three distinct forms: boarding homes for able-bodied or

slightly handicapped persons, nursing homes for those needing mainly nursing or custodial care under medical supervision, and hospitals for the chronic patients in need of active medical treatment.

As in the field of child care, the possibilities of a combination of institutional and individualized boarding care for aged persons may have to be reviewed. Some of the institutions, especially those with capacity for leadership and high traditions of service, may want to experiment in organizing an area of individual family boarding homes for more independent living, with the original institution as the center of supervision, medical and nursing care, social contacts, and recreation for the total group of boarders under their care. In thus extending the function of the home more individualized service could be combined with a saving in overhead and other costs. Individual boarding homes in the neighborhood of the institutions and under their general supervision might also be chosen as a temporary solution, especially if the institution would be ready to recognize an extra-mural boarder as a member of the home family and allow him to share the usual home privileges before actually moving in.

Placement in supervised boarding homes need not be confined to the applicants of private institutions. It may be a sound policy to develop a similar plan for the more able-bodied clients of the Public Assistance Department. Incidentally, placement in boarding homes may permanently relieve the pressure on the institutional provisions now available under city and county authorities in Mayview and Woodville.

The questions of selection of residents, of methods of investigation, and of referral of those not eligible may also prove to be important subjects for joint planning and exchange of experiences. It may be helpful to establish a system of medical and social investigation of all applicants, utilizing the services of specified public agencies, or, following the precedent of some other communities (among them Chicago) by establishing a joint application bureau. With a fuller understanding of available services, both institutional and non-institutional, more satisfactory placements would be likely to result than under present conditions, largely dependent on the chances of neighborhood information and church membership.

The investigating agencies or the joint application bureau should also assume responsibility for suitable follow-up care and temporary provisions whenever immediate placement of selected applicants is not feasible. At present the fate of applicants on the various waiting lists, who have been discouraged from filing their applications because the home of their choice is not likely to have a vacancy in the near future, is not known.

With the change in functions, the medical and nursing facilities for those homes which plan comprehensive care and concentration of physically handicapped residents will also have to be reorganized. An exchange

of experiences among the physicians now connected with homes for aged and for the chronic sick, as well as among the nursing staffs, may be helpful in effective planning.

Finally, the solution of numerous problems in internal management could be aided by closer contacts among the homes in the institutional group, including exchange visits and regular conferences on such matters as policies concerning intake, menus and diets, occupations of residents, the provision of spending money, recreation and visiting, solicitation of contributions in kind, and budget making.

As the most effective means toward increasing joint planning, an active relationship with the Federation of Social Agencies seems to be highly desirable. Since only three of the private homes are members of the Fund, a new form of contact would have to be established, preferably through a special section or committee, affiliated with the Family and Child Welfare Division of the Federation.

In summing up the major problems of the private homes of the community and in evaluating their situation specific mention should be made of their peculiar financial condition. While the homes share with other voluntary social agencies the problem of shrinking investments and shrinking contributions, they are faced by a particular handicap, their traditional policy of life contracts of care.

It is probable that entrance fees were originally not computed on an actuarial basis, considering average life expectancy of the group in question. When income from endowments and investments and from annual contributions by the institution's friends were fairly ample, it was not so important that entrance fees should approximate the total cost of maintenance for the resident's remaining years.³⁷ Besides, it should be remembered that many of the residents turned over surplus property at the time of entrance, frequently in the form of real estate or insurance, and thus in the long run paid their way.

The reluctance in accepting new applicants who may have nothing to

³⁷ A study conducted in one of the homes in the county where adequate records happened to be available disclosed that the average length of residence of its inmates was six years and ten days, while half the group had completed less than five years of residence. This paralleled findings in similar studies of the Pennsylvania Commission on Old Age Pensions (March, 1919). Actual data relating to the last hundred of the deceased persons in the home were then compiled for the purpose of calculating the relative sums that would have been expended for the maintenance of these persons (*a*) at fifty cents a day and (*b*) at one dollar a day; the actual stay on this basis was compared with the putative stay based on life expectancy tables and with the income to the home from life contract payments at \$600. The results indicated that with negligible exceptions the guests' actual residence fell short of expectancy; that if the flat sum for admission had been based on life expectancy instead of guess the inmates would have paid too much; that despite this fact the home would still have incurred a deficit if maintenance had had to come out of the flat \$600 admission fees.

offer but the entrance fee is understandable. At the same time the homes are faced by the fact that with fewer newcomers per year their income from entrance fees, traditionally considered part of the current income, is also dwindling. Yet widespread loss of savings and insurance during the depression and possibly prolonged family unemployment make it highly improbable that there will again be many applicants of the "desirable" type in the near future.

In order to find a way out of this situation, various methods have been tried, none of them really effective and some of them decidedly disadvantageous to the clients. Entrance fees and the age limit have been raised repeatedly, clearly indicating preference for the person who is less likely to live long. Health requirements are more strictly enforced, because the able-bodied resident will cost less than the person needing a great deal of physical care, special diets, medicaments, excess laundry. A few homes have tried to interest children and other relatives of the residents in contributing currently to their maintenance according to individual ability, despite payment of the normal entrance fee, while others have informally closed their intake, waiting for better times. In most homes, economies have been effected in the usual ways by refraining from desirable or even urgent repairs and expenditures for upkeep of the property, in addition to restrictions affecting daily budgets for food, clothes, and service. There have also been some efforts at raising additional income in various ways, for instance, by planned solicitation of contributions in kind. Despite all these commendable efforts more radical deviations from the accepted policy seem necessary in order to bring the supply of institutional facilities in line with the community's present and future demand. It seems essential to develop a method of payment which will allow the homes to accept such applicants as are in the most urgent need of institutional care, irrespective of their savings, definitely including the physically incapacitated and establishing more generous age limits.

Following the precedent of the few boarding homes for the aged, all homes should accept residents on the basis of weekly or monthly rates, payable out of their own incomes or relief grants from public or private agencies, or from the benefits of the old age insurance scheme. The arrangement of such boarding care should by no means have the elements of the life contract. Boarders should be free to leave, and homes should be free to arrange for transfer of boarders to other community agencies, including more specialized nursing homes and hospitals when the resident's individual requirements can no longer be met. Homes with limited facilities for nursing should have a definite understanding with other homes as to such transfers, gradually allowing for a clear differentiation of services among the homes for the aged, both public and private,

and also among the major denominational groups. Needless to say, such a change would also call for a changed policy on behalf of the various relief agencies, including the Old Age Assistance Fund. Aged individuals should be permitted and, if necessary, encouraged to use relief or insurance payments to meet the current cost of institutional residence.³⁸

Proposed services to the aged by voluntary case work agencies.—If the entire responsibility for dealing with economic dependency is to be assumed by governmental bodies and if the provision of social case work services independently of poor relief is to remain for the present within the scope of the function of voluntary family agencies, the latter can make an outstanding contribution to the improvement of the care of the aged.

Among these would be two particular types of service: one, professional assistance in making an adjustment to a life of undesirably early leisure and to permanent changes of the entire mode of living forced upon the dependent aged; the other, some experimentation in meeting the new needs of such changed living conditions, by providing additional community facilities or widening existing ones. The demand for such facilities as sheltered housing, inexpensive table board, luncheon clubs for old people and people in need of special diets, sheltered occupations, guidance to avocational interests, health care, and recreation seem to offer practically unlimited opportunities for initiative and voluntary activities. The most challenging opportunity in this respect is offered in the housing field. The local housing situation for the low-income group as a whole is rather serious. It is even more so with relation to the peculiar needs of the aged, especially the non-family persons. Not only are the majority of available dwellings too expensive for the aged person, but his choice is very limited by the prevalence of one- and two-family houses. Doubtless there are numerous rooming houses of varying standards for the non-family person and the childless couple. It seems highly desirable to study and analyze this supply with an eye to the needs of the aged relief client or person living on an income of similar size provided from savings and family resources. There is need for setting up standards for the housing of this group, especially with regard to furnished and unfurnished rooms, with or without housekeeping privileges. A room registry under the auspices of some suitable agency should be available. Such a registry should also be in close touch with the family boarding homes which are willing to take in the aged in the community and should help to develop their standards. A policy of voluntary licensing of such homes might be considered, since there are no state requirements for licensing in Pennsylvania³⁹ as

³⁸ Under the Pennsylvania Old Age Assistance Act, pensioners are not allowed to reside in state-aided or public institutions.

³⁹ State licensing for institutions for the aged is also lacking.

there are, for instance, in Massachusetts. Information as to suggested standards has been worked out in detail.⁴⁰ There can be little doubt but that a carefully checked and differentiated supply of housekeeping and other rooms and family boarding homes suitable for aged people with various backgrounds would allow for more individualized planning and quicker assistance in many cases.

Following the same general trend of thought there seems to be also a distinct demand for more experimentation along the lines originally introduced into the county by the Allegheny Widows' Association, which has eighteen houses on Taylor and Sherman Avenues and on Armandale and Atlanta Streets, containing 110 one- and two-room unfurnished apartments. Rentals range from \$2.50 to \$5.00 a month, with large single rooms rated at \$3.00. The association was founded immediately after the Civil War, when the plight of many widows was discovered. Mrs. Brunot, the first president of the Christian Home for Women, was among the charter members. It is the Association's purpose to provide at low rentals housing for Protestant widows and elderly unmarried women of good character and limited incomes, who wish to keep house "on their own."

Several European countries, for example, Germany, Holland, and Denmark, have found the provision of this type of sheltered housing and living arrangements an essential feature of their old-age programs, which was inherited from the medieval past and everywhere revived in the most recent and progressive plans. Not all the unattached aged will be able to assume full responsibility for housekeeping, even after the actually sick and seriously handicapped persons have been excepted. There will be some difficulty in finding inexpensive commercial places where a square meal can be bought every day on their allowance. The establishment of a widely decentralized system of luncheon clubs⁴¹ under the auspices of a variety of interested non-commercial groups would help meet the situation. It seems essential to provide square meals at cost, with due respect to the likings of aged persons, in cheerful environment, easily accessible in different neighborhoods. There are other housekeeping aids which may well be tried out in a comprehensive community plan for care for the aged: cooking classes for the older men or women inexperienced in housekeeping on a small budget; a unit of visiting caretakers and attendants for temporary help; a non-profit-making laundry, a tailoring, dry-cleaning, and shoe-repair shop, organized in the same way; sewing, remodeling, knitting clubs for women, conducted under expert leadership, but also as social affairs. There are also numerous needs, as well as possibilities, in

⁴⁰ See New York Welfare Council, *Suggested Standards for Family Boarding Homes for the Aged*, section on the Care of the Aged. 1935.

⁴¹ See Edith W. Close, "Lunch at Your Club on Relief," *The Family*, April, 1935. Vol. XVI, p. 55.

the field of recreation and the cultivation of avocational interests. It is a new leisure class, whose opportunities for making enjoyable use of their time are as yet at a minimum. The very lack of funds for transportation makes many community resources inaccessible, although they may be free and within reach of younger people and those physically active. Many resources which have originated in more recent years may be entirely unknown to this group. A few possibilities may be listed: bridge, reading, hobby and card clubs in different neighborhoods and under various auspices; mailing lists for free (donated) tickets to concerts, movies, and sports; provision of free transportation for group outings; day camps and picnics in the public parks (including transportation); provision of comfortable benches and rest rooms in the neighborhood parks and other selected sites suitable for outdoor lounging. Finally the need for extending facilities for sheltered employment should not be forgotten. It appears doubtful whether any efforts should be made at the present period of our civilization to replace more aged people in the occupations and professions from which they have come.

In adjusting the social measures to the needs of the aged as described in the foregoing pages, changes will have to be made on several fronts. The further extension and liberalization of the old age pension system will undoubtedly provide the most important factor in converting what is now a problem of the aged to what should more properly be social measures for meeting the conditions involved in advanced age and superannuation. In so far as the principal difficulty in being aged manifests itself in economic need, the obligation becomes part of the total governmental obligation for providing public assistance, which is assumed as a fundamental principle in the future system of poor relief. It is becoming increasingly clear that the traditional assumption that the dependent aged is necessarily an institutional inmate was a form of neglect that could more easily be overlooked when the numbers were small, but which becomes as impossible as it has always been undesirable when the number of dependent aged increases. Those aged dependents, therefore, who can remain outside of institutions will constitute part of the general body of dependent persons, except as they require certain special forms of treatment and thoughtful provision of services by reason of their age alone, these services including the provision of a certain amount of social life, recreation, medical and nursing services. In so far as some of the dependent aged, or the aged in receipt of pensions, may be better served in institutions, the methods and quality of institutional care must be improved both in public and in voluntary institutions. During the period of transition, which may be of considerable duration, in which we pass from the problem of the aged as a small institutional one to the new situation

in which the numbers will be large, extra-mural care will increase and a more generous and imaginative provision of services will have to be supplied. The social work community, particularly through its coördinative instrumentalities, will have to give special attention to the gradual working out and adjustment of new plans to old conditions, of the care of those already public wards and those who may be received for care under a better and more enlightened system.

RELIEF OF THE HOMELESS AND TRANSIENT

Complicated as the general problem of relief is, the larger lines that must underlie its organization have become relatively clear, and the formulation of a plan of action has become possible. The family as a whole, the dependent child, the person requiring medical relief, even the aged can be planned for according to some rational combination of theory and practice. The treatment of the homeless and the transient remains puzzling, and plans can only be tentative, since they are lacking in assurance and clear orientation. Considering the fact that the problem has been with us as long as has any relief problem, the inability of modern civilization to evolve a conclusive program for dealing with the transient⁴² must seem inexplicable. Perhaps the key to our difficulty lies in the fact that we have tried to identify as a special problem something that is merely an elusive phase of other and more complicated ones. It is possible that there is no homeless or transient problem, despite the long history of attempting to deal with it.

In the light of these considerations, it would appear rash to find fault with existing provisions for the transient homeless or for other local homeless, or to propose plans for a future system with any degree of conviction. It may be possible, however, to suggest directions of effort which will deprive the problem of its apparent complexity and make the failure of complete success seem less a defeat than the acceptance of conditions that are determined by forces outside the field of welfare administration or philanthropy.

Studies thus far have shown conclusively that there is no one type of transient or homeless. The individual of unstable character who cannot hold his own in a complex community life, the petty criminal whose safety lies in mobility, the migrant worker whose search for employment makes him transient, and whose occasional economic dependence subjects

⁴² The terms "homeless" and "transient" are of course not identical, but for practical purposes they constitute the same problem when single persons are involved. The fact that non-family units are involved here has been most important in the private agency procedures; that settlement and residence difficulties are involved has constituted the center of the problem for public authorities: "homeless" in the one case; "transient" in the second.

him to the iniquities of settlement laws, the run-away child, the superannuated or senile person without family ties, and the penniless invalid may all alike be homeless and transient; but they in no sense represent one problem and should not be looked upon as demanding one program for treatment. Each of these (and other classifications not listed) represents a number of persons whose presence among the homeless or transient is due to different sets of reasons and whose withdrawal from the body of transients may be effected, if at all, by widely divergent methods of treatment. Better organized employment service and larger job opportunities, institutions for the chronically ill, case work services and adequate relief policies, sheltered workshops, suitable custodial institutions—each may represent a mode of treatment suited to some part of the body of homeless and transient. There is likely to remain, however, a residual group of locally homeless or transient dependents who may not be treatable either individually or in groups, and who will continue to supply the population of cheap lodging houses, of municipal shelters, of rescue missions, and of protected workshops as long as the system of production which characterizes our civilization continues to demand qualities of skill, stability, or training which these persons do not possess. It is possible, therefore, that instead of dealing with the homeless or transient as such, we must face the necessity of conceiving the task in simpler terms—namely, of dealing with those who are more or less permanently unattached, or homeless on the one hand, and of those who are only temporarily homeless and who therefore constitute a temporary part of the general relief problem.

From this point of view, therefore, a treatment program would comprise the following special tasks:

1. Providing general relief for persons young or old, attached or unattached, whether having local settlement or technically transient, whose chief problem is temporary economic dependency, and who should be treated no differently from families that are not "homeless."
2. Providing temporary shelter for those temporarily homeless for whatever reason.
3. Providing permanent shelter for those who cannot be reclaimed for productive maintenance because of personal disability induced by age, illness, instability, and so forth.
4. Sheltered workshops for the permanently homeless who have some capacity for production but none for independent self-maintenance.

There will be cutting across this classification and apparently complicating it, the pensionable old, criminal or near-criminal, convalescent, and other classes of persons who do not constitute distinct groups.

In examining the facilities in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County for the transient and homeless it may be most useful, therefore, to do so with respect exclusively to what is available by way of shelter, temporary or

permanent, and by way of protected employment to that residual body of homeless or transient persons who do not properly fit into the general relief program of the community covered by the first group in the above classification. In so far as the anachronistic observance of settlement laws imposes on public and private benevolence restrictions that have nothing to do with the true situation of the client, these may be regarded as flaws in the general scheme of relief rather than as parts of a problem of transiency. They provide additional evidence of the pressing need of clearing the statutes of this ancient rubbish that still litters the path of a clear-cut public relief program.

This analysis of the problem may seem oversimplified to some, especially in the light of conditions of the past half-dozen years. The depression had multiplied all dependent groups to such an extent as to make each seem unique and important in itself, requiring some special machinery for adequate treatment. As the general body of relief recipients increased to unprecedented numbers, so necessarily every subdivision took on extraordinary and unexpected dimensions. This is what happened to the transients. Thus when the number of persons receiving relief in the Federal relief program attained, as it is reported, a maximum average of twenty to twenty-one million persons⁴³ between January, 1935, and March, 1935, transients receiving emergency relief also attained a maximum approximating 300,000 persons.⁴⁴ That a task exceeding usual proportions would be presented by the transient group was recognized by the Federal relief authorities and a special division for their treatment was therefore established in the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in July, 1933. Local bureaus, transient centers and camps were established almost overnight. By April 15, 1935, 280 camps and 310 centers were reported in operation.⁴⁵ The entire elaborate transient program thus sponsored by the Federal government was discontinued, however, by an order issued September 20, 1935, and practically liquidated before the end of that year. The number of transient persons reported as receiving relief under the program by September, 1936, was 6,653, or a little more than 2 percent of the number reported in the early months of 1935, whereas the total relief beneficiaries of the combined emergency relief and W.P.A. programs showed, in comparison, only negligible shrinkage. The new national problem of transients was, in other words, deprived of its apparent special character and reabsorbed partly in local programs and partly in the usual framework of the transient problem. Important as the Federal transient program was in many ways during the period of

⁴³ Dorothy Kahn, *Unemployment and Its Treatment in the United States*, published by the American Association of Social Work, 1937. A report submitted to the Third International Conference of Social Work in London, July, 1936, p. 18.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

its operation, it has little bearing on the permanent situation with respect either to its character or to the methods applicable for its treatment.

We must assume, therefore, that the general system of relief and personal adjustment, as discussed in this and subsequent chapters, is applicable to as much of the transient problem as is not contained in its specialized form of need for temporary shelter and of permanent care of unemployables and sheltered workshops for those incapable of complete self-maintenance. Because of the sudden expansion of the general relief task and the effects of the establishment of the Federal transient program, it is more difficult at this time to gauge the adequacy of the special provisions for the homeless in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. Some time must elapse before the dimensions of the task can be adequately estimated, especially in view of the fact that the entire system of providing economic relief will have to be rebuilt with an inclusive public department of assistance at its center and with a different distribution of agencies and policies for the care of the old, of dependent children, and of maladjusted individuals. If the several distinct groups that tend to constitute the body of homeless or transient persons are dealt with by the several methods respectively appropriate to them, such as relief, personal adjustment, old age pensions, and special care of the aged, then we may regard the particular problem of most significance in the treatment of the homeless or of transients as institutional provision, temporary or permanent.

Of public facilities there are at present only the almshouses at Mayview and Woodville and, as usual, the police stations for overnight shelter. There is no modern municipal lodging house. Provisions under voluntary sponsorship have been almost exclusively under denominational auspices. There are two of these places under the Association for the Improvement of the Poor (which might more properly be called nonsectarian), two under the Salvation Army in Pittsburgh, and one in McKeesport. The Association for the Improvement of the Poor opened its first shelter in 1912, erected the present building in 1921, and another building in 1925. The Lutheran Inner Mission opened an institution in 1929.

The Helping Hand, which opened a five-story warehouse at the beginning of the depression, was the beginning of the complicated system of mass provision that has given to the care of transient persons during the past five- or six-year period a character entirely its own, and has little relevancy to the permanent situation. As part of the history of the care of the unemployed during the depression, this is an important area of activity. As part of the permanent problem of shelter for the homeless the pre-depression period has greater significance. Since it is with the permanent program that we must be specially concerned, the depression history, despite its tremendous importance, must be considered as secondary.

For years to come there will continue to be unattached men and women, unemployed and constituting part of the large body of persons for whom the community must provide relief. There is likely to be an increasing number of unemployable persons in whose service shelter for homeless men and women must be developed. The public relief program must include this need among its problems. The size of the task, therefore, will continue to be greater than it was prior to the depression, but not necessarily different in character or complexity. It seems inevitable that such a program will be built upon the experience and facilities provided by the voluntary institutions enumerated, such as the Association for the Improvement of the Poor, the Salvation Army, and so forth; but just as in the general field of relief, so here also the public may have to assume complete responsibility for management as it does for financing. It will seem logical that the county authorities assume, organize, and systematize the provisions of temporary shelter for some and the extension of permanent shelter for others, who are unemployable because of some physical disability or for other reasons. To the extent to which voluntary agencies may wish to continue in the field by conducting such valuable institutions as the sheltered workshops of the Association for the Improvement of the Poor they will provide supplementation and examples to the public authorities. There are altogether five such industrial shelters in Pittsburgh, two of them operated by the Association for the Improvement of the Poor (one with a capacity of 750 beds and 57 rooms, the other with 460 dormitory beds and 29 rooms), two by the Salvation Army Social Service with capacity for 46 and 65, respectively; one by the Lutheran Inner Mission, with capacity for 30. At the time of this study (1935) none of these was filled to capacity.

The general system upon which these industrial shelters are operated is well known. Each institution operates trucks which collect used furniture, clothing, and paper from the people in the community. Usable articles are taken to the shop, painted and repaired if necessary, and sold in stores which the organizations operate. Paper and rags are sold. Most of the men are employed for use on trucks or in the baling room. The repair shops are very small. Pay rates vary. The Association for the Improvement of the Poor gives the men tobacco money each week. The Salvation Army has a wage scale for its men—the Nixon Street pay ranging from \$1 to \$5 a week, except for truck drivers, who get \$14. The Plummer Street Social Service Department pays \$3 to \$3.50 to the men in the shop. Helpers on the trucks get a commission which ordinarily amounts to \$3 or \$4 a week. The Lutheran Inner Mission pays what it can on the basis of weekly receipts. It is never less than \$1 a week, and sometimes it runs as high as \$3 or \$4. The men are also given clothing.

The number of trucks varies, from nineteen, the number operated by the Association for the Improvement of the Poor, to three, the number operated by the Nixon Street Salvation Army. Many of the men stay with an institution a long time. One might almost consider them subsistence projects. In good times, the programs have been self-supporting. Some of them still are.

The Association for the Improvement of the Poor program, being the largest and somewhat different from the others, calls for special mention. A study once made by that agency indicated that fifty men could operate the industrial plant, including the collections. All men cared for beyond this are in one way excess help. Their stated object, however, is to help men rather than operate a business. In spite of this, sufficient profit was made in some years to pay the overhead of the family department of the Association for the Improvement of the Poor. Before the depression any man staying with the agency more than two weeks was called into the office for an interview. If he was not reporting regularly to the Employment Office, he was told to do so or leave the shelter. After the depression began, they had so few jobs to offer that they could not carry on this program. Some of the older men have the feeling that they are "getting by." The work is not hard, and knowing the difficulty they would have in getting along outside these men plan to stay indefinitely. As long as they are able to keep up with the program, they will be permitted to stay.

If any special recommendations may arise out of this general statement of program, they could be briefly summed up as follows:

1. Within the public relief department some special personnel for the administrative responsibility and continued study of the problem as it changes in size and character.
2. Adequate case work service for those men or women given temporary shelter or temporary care, for whose permanent planning it is important that they do not establish a habit of institutionalized care and thereby lose their individual initiative.
3. The abolition of the antiquated settlement laws and the ideas associated with them. These are no more important for the transient group than for the general relief program. It may be necessary for the next few years to give special study either through the proposed case work agency or through the Bureau of Social Research to the changing character of the administrative and technical problems involved in the transient program so that the construction of a permanent policy may be as tentative as desirable in view of changing conditions, and as sound as possible in view of the underlying factors that determine the problem of the homeless and the transient.

TABLE 48

NUMBER OF CASES OPEN ON FIRST OF EACH MONTH WITH RELIEF AGENCIES,
PRIVATE AND PUBLIC, ALLEGHENY COUNTY, 1931-34

YEAR AND MONTH	NUMBER OF CASES OPEN WITH		
	<i>All agencies</i>	<i>Private family agencies^a</i>	<i>Public relief agencies^b</i>
<i>1931</i>			
January	17,813	12,840	4,973
February	19,021	14,009	5,012
March	20,377	14,558	5,819
April	18,504	14,103	4,401
May	20,875	13,080	7,795
June	20,748	12,476	8,272
July	18,613	12,474	6,139
August	17,728	12,421	5,307
September	19,305	12,834	6,471
October	21,752	13,543	8,209
November	27,088	16,473	10,615
December	36,000	19,979	16,021
Average	21,485	14,065	7,420
<i>1932</i>			
January	25,544	24,381	1,163
February	31,273	30,099	1,174
March	36,680	35,499	1,181
April	41,006	39,820	1,186
May	41,962	40,776	1,186
June	43,128	41,950	1,178
July	44,751	43,822	929
August	46,137	45,209	928
September	47,203	46,222	981
October	47,730	46,681	1,049
November	49,988	48,830	1,158
December	53,608	52,314	1,294
Average	42,417	41,300	1,117
<i>1933</i>			
January	60,012	58,627	1,385
February	65,738	64,333	1,405
March	73,778	72,370	1,408
April	79,895	78,481	1,414
May	86,894	82,939	3,955
June	86,627	82,770	3,857
July	86,396	83,087	3,309
August	78,543	73,308	5,235
September	72,742	62,844	9,898
October	67,046	48,451	18,595
November	73,165	36,440	36,725
December	73,327	12,808	60,519
Average	75,347	63,038	12,309

^a Includes agencies for which details appear in Table 50.

^b Includes agencies for which details appear in Table 49.

TABLE 48—*Continued*

YEAR AND MONTH	NUMBER OF CASES OPEN WITH		
	<i>All agencies</i>	<i>Private family agencies</i>	<i>Public relief agencies</i>
<i>1934</i>			
January	83,327	9,865	73,462
February	90,261	9,281	80,980
March	99,619	9,139	90,480
April	98,680	8,119	90,561
May	101,548	8,061	93,487
June	96,904	7,188	89,716
July	91,882	6,576	85,306
August	90,709	6,052	84,657
September	92,717	5,995	86,722
October	98,695	5,895	92,800
November	102,527	5,740	96,787
December	106,145	5,719	100,426
Average	96,085	7,303	88,782

TABLE 49

NUMBER OF CASES OPEN ON FIRST OF EACH MONTH WITH INDIVIDUAL PUBLIC AGENCIES, 1931-34

YEAR AND MONTH	ALLEGHENY COUNTY EMERGENCY RELIEF BOARD ^a	MOTHERS' ASSISTANCE FUND	BLIND PENSIONS ^b	DIRECTORS OF THE POOR ^c
<i>1931</i>				
January	...	841	...	4,132
February	...	839	...	4,173
March	...	839	...	4,980
April	...	845	...	3,556
May	...	848	...	6,947
June	...	853	...	7,419
July	...	907	...	5,232
August	...	955	...	4,352
September	...	1,009	...	5,462
October	...	1,052	...	7,157
November	...	1,094	...	9,521
December	...	1,135	...	14,886
<i>1932</i>				
January	...	1,163	...	...
February	...	1,174	...	...
March	...	1,181	...	...
April	...	1,186	...	...
May	...	1,186	...	...

^a Began to function.

^b Law granting pensions to the blind passed in January, 1934.

^c Since the beginning of 1932, practically all relief has been supplementation of that given by other agencies.

TABLE 49—*Continued*

YEAR AND MONTH	ALLEGHENY COUNTY			
	EMERGENCY RELIEF BOARD	MOTHERS' ASSISTANCE FUND	BLIND PENSIONS	DIRECTORS OF THE POOR
<i>1932</i>				
June	...	1,178	...	...
July	...	929	...	...
August	...	928	...	...
September	...	981	...	...
October	...	1,049	...	...
November	...	1,158	...	...
December	...	1,294	...	...
<i>1933</i>				
January	...	1,385	...	...
February	...	1,405	...	...
March	...	1,408	...	...
April	...	1,414	...	...
May	2,530	1,425	...	...
June	2,430	1,427	...	...
July	1,990	1,319	...	...
August	3,910	1,325	...	...
September	8,570	1,328	...	...
October	17,260	1,335	...	...
November	35,389	1,336	...	...
December	59,190	1,329	...	...
<i>1934</i>				
January	72,127	1,335	...	...
February	79,641	1,339	...	...
March	89,138	1,342	...	...
April	89,215	1,346	...	...
May	92,134	1,353	...	...
June	88,358	1,358	...	...
July	83,518	1,359	429	...
August	82,826	1,362	469	...
September	84,841	1,370	511	...
October	90,916	1,374	510	...
November	94,893	1,385	509	...
December	98,536	1,384	506	...

TABLE 50

NUMBER OF CASES OPEN ON FIRST OF EACH MONTH WITH INDIVIDUAL PRIVATE FAMILY AGENCIES, 1931-34

YEAR AND MONTH	AMERICAN		CATHOLIC CHARITIES	FAMILY SOCIETY	JEWISH		LUTHERAN MISSION ^a	PITTSBURGH		ALLEGHENY VALLEY	
	RED CROSS				WELFARE ASSN.			ASSN. FOR IMPROVEMENT OF THE POOR ^b	SALVATION ARMY ^c	EMERGENCY RELIEF ASSN. ^d	
1937											
January	1,697	1,000		6,260	437		1,126	795	1,525	...	...
February	2,004	1,000		6,760	464		1,200	1,000	1,581	...	...
March	2,052	1,000		6,820	491		1,334	1,083	1,778	...	...
April	2,163	1,000		7,516	521		391	1,521	991	...	...
May	2,263	1,000		7,419	537		185	1,511	165	...	...
June	2,016	1,000		7,361	566		191	1,241	101	...	...
July	2,087	1,000		7,275	563		197	1,204	148	...	...
August	2,152	1,000		7,071	582		185	1,198	233	...	...
September	2,271	1,000		7,434	595		223	1,086	225	...	...
October	2,166	987		7,745	584		259	974	828	...	...
November	2,361	1,291		10,008	617		270	939	987	...	...
December	2,621	1,024		13,029	652		288	992	1,373	...	...
1932											
January	2,833	1,484		17,853	696		431	837	247	...	...
February	3,056	2,347		22,271	740		489	1,001	195	...	...
March	3,153	3,112		26,251	803		581	1,394	205	...	...
April	3,173	4,275		28,992	835		757	1,185	603	...	...
May	3,223	3,931		30,253	853		783	1,169	564	...	...
June	3,321	4,382		30,716	849		822	1,357	503	...	...
July	3,455	4,709		32,212	818		882	1,117	629	...	...
August	3,449	4,168		33,931	831		899	1,180	751	...	...
September	3,667	4,220		34,516	843		929	1,145	902	...	...
October	3,786	4,690		34,005	857		971	1,141	1,231	...	...
November	3,726	5,061		35,708	895		1,017	1,121	1,302	...	...
December	3,733	5,511		38,107	938		1,096	1,198	1,741	...	...

^a Figures on total relief cases used in 1931, 1932, and 1933 since figures on total load not available. "Agency only" figures used in 1934.

^b First seven months of 1932 estimated. ^c Figures on total relief cases used throughout, since figures on total load are not available.

^d No records available in 1931 and 1932, not functioning after November, 1933; total relief cases only figures available.

TABLE 50—Continued

YEAR AND MONTH	AMERICAN RED CROSS	CATHOLIC CHARITIES	JEWISH FAMILY WELFARE ASSN.	LUTHERAN INNER MISSION	PITTSBURGH ASSN. FOR IMPROVEMENT OF THE POOR	SALVATION ARMY	ALLEGHENY VALLEY EMERGENCY RELIEF ASSN.	
							FAMILY SOCIETY	
1933								
January	3,648	5,934	992	1,166	1,255	2,061	2,185	
February	3,603	6,749	1,072	1,248	1,331	2,457	2,267	
March	3,503	7,073	1,123	1,307	1,455	3,757	2,401	
April	3,531	7,611	1,181	1,290	1,491	3,123	2,443	
May	3,255	7,967	1,216	1,334	1,520	3,080	2,423	
June	3,303	62,144	1,239	1,397	1,515	1,089	2,116	
July	3,164	64,148	1,245	1,434	1,506	1,569	1,746	
August	3,261	64,091	1,261	1,385	1,552	809	1,586	
September	3,370	7,413	1,242	1,117	1,530	584	1,256	
October	3,458	46,332	1,148	1,079	1,491	739	1,264	
November	3,543	32,453	1,113	990	1,497	696	1,408	
December	3,690	20,618	974	1,496	1,549	253	...	
1934								
January	3,742	2,168	850	22	506	24	...	
February	3,677	2,129	555	15	401	27	...	
March	3,593	2,057	563	18	299	24	...	
April	3,410	1,270	565	17	258	26	...	
May	3,345	2,573	565	20	261	25	...	
June	2,603	2,492	556	20	266	25	...	
July	2,085	1,278	534	20	266	25	...	
August	1,613	1,231	533	17	258	26	...	
September	1,693	1,224	518	11	265	28	...	
October	1,761	1,237	522	13	274	27	...	
November	1,749	1,187	501	11	279	27	...	
December	1,712	1,092	481	9	274	24	...	
		1,101	473	29	283	24	...	

TABLE 51

CASE LOAD OF THREE PRINCIPAL FAMILY AGENCIES IN PITTSBURGH, BY EXTENT OF AGENCY RESPONSIBILITY FOR RELIEF,
JANUARY, 1934-JUNE, 1935

YEAR AND MONTH	TOTAL CASE LOAD	NUMBER OF NON-RELIEF CASES	NUMBER OF CASES IN AGENCIES RECEIVING RELIEF FROM				
			All relief cases	Agency funds only	Agency supple- mented by public funds	A.C.E.R.B. funds only	"Agency only" relief cases percent of case load
THREE PRINCIPAL FAMILY AGENCIES COMBINED							
1934							
January	5,571	1,416	4,155	111	1,167	2,877	2.0
February	5,161	1,049	4,112	115	1,184	2,813	2.2
March	5,205	1,747	3,458	108	1,299	2,051	2.1
April	4,408	1,000	3,408	100	1,282	2,026	2.3
May	4,410	1,017	3,393	85	1,249	2,059	1.9
June	4,274	982	3,292	124	1,028	2,140	2.9
July	4,190	936	3,254	78	1,118	2,058	1.9
August	4,135	863	3,272	116	812	2,344	2.8
September	3,988	807	3,181	130	747	2,304	3.3
October	3,817	669	3,150	142	796	2,212	3.7
November	3,684	639	3,045	151	830	2,064	4.1
December	3,671	672	2,999	148	1,042	1,809	4.0
1935							
January	3,502	731	2,771	136	836	1,799	3.9
February	3,381	584	2,797	125	592	2,080	3.7
March	3,283	565	2,718	120	646	1,952	3.7
April	3,216	612	2,604	118	608	1,878	3.7
May	3,082	573	2,479	139	564	1,786	4.5
June	2,999	588	2,411	128	555	1,728	4.3
Average	3,999	858	3,139	121	908	2,110	3.0

TABLE 51—Continued

YEAR AND MONTH	TOTAL CASE LOAD	NUMBER OF NON-RELIEF CASES	NUMBER OF CASES IN AGENCIES RECEIVING RELIEF FROM					“Agency only” relief cases percent of case load
			All relief cases	Agency funds only	Agency supple- mented by public funds	A.C.E.R.B. funds only		
FAMILY SOCIETY								
1934								
January	2,553	649	1,904	27	410	1,467	1.1	
February	2,477	561	1,916	24	427	1,465	1.0	
March	2,585	622	1,963	24	587	1,352	0.9	
April	2,573	654	1,919	24	593	1,302	0.9	
May	2,576	629	1,947	23	579	1,345	0.9	
June	2,492	578	1,914	45	466	1,403	1.8	
July	2,426	567	1,859	27	481	1,351	1.1	
August	2,393	546	1,847	15	471	1,361	0.6	
September	2,229	489	1,740	17	404	1,319	0.8	
October	2,129	366	1,763	24	391	1,348	1.1	
November	2,111	365	1,746	26	481	1,239	1.2	
December	2,097	410	1,687	26	676	985	1.2	
1935								
January	2,033	394	1,639	37	474	1,128	1.9	
February	1,950	368	1,582	26	272	1,284	1.3	
March	1,930	383	1,547	26	277	1,244	1.3	
April	1,876	399	1,477	30	258	1,189	1.6	
May	1,761	363	1,398	32	236	1,130	1.8	
June	1,718	432	1,286	29	232	1,025	1.7	
Average	2,217	487	1,730	27	429	1,274	1.2	

Year	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2035	2036	2037	2038	2039	2040	2041	2042	2043	2044	2045	2046	2047	2048	2049	2050	2051	2052	2053	2054	2055	2056	2057	2058	2059	2060	2061	2062	2063	2064	2065	2066	2067	2068	2069	2070	2071	2072	2073	2074	2075	2076	2077	2078	2079	2080	2081	2082	2083	2084	2085	2086	2087	2088	2089	2090	2091	2092	2093	2094	2095	2096	2097	2098	2099	2100	2101	2102	2103	2104	2105	2106	2107	2108	2109	2110	2111	2112	2113	2114	2115	2116	2117	2118	2119	2120	2121	2122	2123	2124	2125	2126	2127	2128	2129	2130	2131	2132	2133	2134	2135	2136	2137	2138	2139	2140	2141	2142	2143	2144	2145	2146	2147	2148	2149	2150	2151	2152	2153	2154	2155	2156	2157	2158	2159	2160	2161	2162	2163	2164	2165	2166	2167	2168	2169	2170	2171	2172	2173	2174	2175	2176	2177	2178	2179	2180	2181	2182	2183	2184	2185	2186	2187	2188	2189	2190	2191	2192	2193	2194	2195	2196	2197	2198	2199	2200	2201	2202	2203	2204	2205	2206	2207	2208	2209	2210	2211	2212	2213	2214	2215	2216	2217	2218	2219	2220	2221	2222	2223	2224	2225	2226	2227	2228	2229	2230	2231	2232	2233	2234	2235	2236	2237	2238	2239	2240	2241	2242	2243	2244	2245	2246	2247	2248	2249	2250	2251	2252	2253	2254	2255	2256	2257	2258	2259	2260	2261	2262	2263	2264	2265	2266	2267	2268	2269	2270	2271	2272	2273	2274	2275	2276	2277	2278	2279	2280	2281	2282	2283	2284	2285	2286	2287	2288	2289	2290	2291	2292	2293	2294	2295	2296	2297	2298	2299	2300	2301	2302	2303	2304	2305	2306	2307	2308	2309	2310	2311	2312	2313	2314	2315	2316	2317	2318	2319	2320	2321	2322	2323	2324	2325	2326	2327	2328	2329	2330	2331	2332	2333	2334	2335	2336	2337	2338	2339	2340	2341	2342	2343	2344	2345	2346	2347	2348	2349	2350	2351	2352	2353	2354	2355	2356	2357	2358	2359	2360	2361	2362	2363	2364	2365	2366	2367	2368	2369	2370	2371	2372	2373	2374	2375	2376	2377	2378	2379	2380	2381	2382	2383	2384	2385	2386
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TABLE 51—Continued

YEAR AND MONTH	TOTAL CASE LOAD	NUMBER OF NON-RELIEF CASES	NUMBER OF CASES IN AGENCIES RECEIVING RELIEF FROM					“Agency only” relief cases percent of case load
			All relief cases	Agency funds only	Agency supple- mented by public funds	A.C.E.R.B. funds only		
JEWISH FAMILY WELFARE ASSOCIATION								
1934								
January	850	425	425	84	218	123	9.9	
February	555	136	419	91	235	93	16.4	
March	563	130	433	84	278	71	14.9	
April	565	137	428	76	263	89	13.5	
May	556	127	429	62	271	96	11.2	
June	534	126	408	79	234	95	14.8	
July	533	133	400	48	241	111	9.0	
August	518	110	408	52	258	98	10.0	
September	522	100	422	58	249	115	11.1	
October	501	88	413	53	264	96	10.6	
November	481	69	412	63	260	89	13.1	
December	473	63	410	75	251	84	15.9	
1935								
January	470	57	413	50	273	90	10.6	
February	477	53	424	46	258	120	9.6	
March	477	55	422	42	237	143	8.8	
April	483	63	420	40	281	99	8.3	
May	482	45	407	46	267	104	9.5	
June	451	53	398	47	251	100	10.4	
Average	527	109	417	61	255	101	11.6	

CHAPTER XV

PROPOSED AGENCY STRUCTURE AND POLICIES FOR ECONOMIC RELIEF

Present characteristics of agencies providing relief.—Fundamental principles for reorganization of care of dependents.—Administrative structure for the public provision of economic assistance.—Size of the task for a County Department of Public Assistance.—Financing public relief.—Recapitulation of changes proposed.

THE SYSTEM of agencies now in operation to provide economic relief¹ as the need for it occurs in Allegheny County has been briefly outlined in an earlier chapter.² There are organizations under voluntary and under public control. The former may be nonsectarian or denominational, local or county-wide, designed for special groups or for all applicants. The latter may be serving exclusively the city of Pittsburgh, the county outside these municipal limits, or the entire county. Sources of income and power of control may in either group be local, general, or a combination, which in tax-supported bodies may mean a variety of patterns involving state, Federal, county, and municipal units. Other classifications of agencies may arise from the groupings of beneficiaries by age, sex, denomination, residence, or cause of economic distress. The question involved in the present inquiry is whether the existent administrative system based on the traditional pattern of these divisions is sound, and if not, what new system would seem to be more desirable in the interest of both the client to be served and the community which supplies funds and services.

PRESENT CHARACTERISTICS OF AGENCIES PROVIDING RELIEF

What is unsatisfactory in the present system and structure of agencies that serve the economically dependent? The characteristics of this system as they appeared in 1935 may be listed as follows:

1. The permanent administration of relief conforms in design to the theory that economic relief (charitable assistance) is a voluntary activity; that the task is to be performed by voluntary agencies and financed by philanthropic funds.

2. The extensive machinery of public relief that has been built up since 1932

¹ For this chapter material was utilized from reports prepared by Herschel Alt, A. H. Prasse, Marc Feldstein, and Mildred S. Fletcher, of the staff.

² Chap. ix. *supra*.

is regarded as an emergency structure which will be demobilized sooner or later, whereupon relief will again be a voluntary activity, except so far as the antiquated system of outdoor relief represented by the Directors of the Poor and the Department of Public Welfare continues to operate and except for the activities of pension systems for mothers, aged, blind, and certain other special groups.

3. The group of agencies providing economic relief tends to be arranged on the basis of an artificial classification which differentiates among family and child dependency, mothers' assistance, care of aged, veterans' service, and so forth.

4. The possible change in the client's condition and the shifting of his status among designations such as "handicapped," "unemployed," "old," "widowed," and "ill" may, under the present system, result in the shunting of the client from agency to agency by referral, refusal, or eventual conference. This results in uncertainty, discomfort, and mental anguish to many clients, occasionally to hesitancy on their part to appeal for help when they need it, and frequently to jockeyings and bickerings among agencies.

5. The services available to those receiving public "indoor relief" in both the city and the county are of a relatively low level in view of the fact that their actual needs tend to lie within the medical field, while the fact of their being regarded as "dependent" militates against the appropriate development of these institutions in accordance with standards of medical service.

6. Medical relief as organized at present under the County Directors of the Poor and the Department of Public Welfare, is administered through nonmedical administrative agencies without appropriate supervision which results in a tendency to poor service and lack of economy.

7. Only the emergency relief administration and the work of the Mothers' Assistance Fund are fully organized on a county-wide basis. The County Directors of the Poor operate in the county, but they exclude Pittsburgh. Practically all other agencies, particularly the voluntary organizations, concentrate their services in and around Pittsburgh, leaving a considerable area of the county without service or with very inadequate attention.

8. Pittsburgh city has no public relief provision except through its institutions and city physicians and in the form of supplementary allowances, such as for dentures, prosthetic appliances, carfare to A.C.E.R.B. cases.

9. The subsidy system obtains in a variety of forms, and apparently little is being done by either the voluntary agencies receiving subsidies or the governmental bodies distributing them for a revision or a rationalization of the system. Hospitals receive state aid, but irregularly and to the exclusion of certain "sectarian" institutions. The municipality and the county, as well as the state, make appropriations to agencies under voluntary control, for children, blind, aged, and other clients.

10. The Juvenile Court has responsibility for the care of both delinquent and dependent children. There is no reason why dependent children should be treated by a court, while there are many reasons why they should not be. The dependency of children is, moreover, part and parcel of the total problem of dependency and should be integrated with the handling of family dependency.

11. There is insufficient standardization and supervision: city, county, and state do not exercise functions of supervision over voluntary agencies except children's institutions, nor is the state supervision of local work, whether voluntary or official, adequate.

12. Standards of relief are generally low: exceedingly low in some of the

voluntary agencies; low under the management of the County Directors of the Poor; better, but still low in the state pensions for mothers, the aged, and the blind.

13. Standards are low in a considerable section of the institutions caring for dependent children and still low in the work of the Juvenile Court for dependent children. This is particularly hard on the requirements of education, recreation, and in too many instances also, with respect to physical care in the institutions.

14. Standards of care for the aged are low. No adequate thought is given to the varied needs of the aged as individuals, or to the extent of medical care that they should receive; the absurd method handed down from days gone by of "buying in" to institutions for the aged by payment of lump sums is still in extensive operation.

15. There is no well organized, active interest on the part of the citizenry in the problem of dependency as a whole, especially as it is dealt with by official agencies.

16. For only part of the field are statistics of public relief available and adequate. The building up of an integrated system of statistics by which the entire community service for economic relief might be coordinated and clarified is not yet in existence except in so far as a voluntary agency, the Bureau of Social Research, performs this function, partly in cooperation with the Federal Children's Bureau. Statistical service of this kind should be a public function.

17. There is and has been uncertainty as to plans and operations of Federal authorities. While the Federal Emergency Relief Administration has, in the observation of social workers at least, practically saved the nation through its expanding and increasingly generous attitude toward the vast army of persons and families who were in distress through no fault of their own, it has gone through so many changes of policy and procedure, and at the same time has been the fountain-head of so large a proportion of the actual funds made available for relief that local communities, as well as states, have developed a dependency on Federal authorities and frequently a lack of initiative in building their own plans if Federal assistance might be utilized. The fact of this Federal uncertainty has been an excuse in many communities for making no plans of their own. There are as yet no plans in Allegheny County by which the community, recognizing its permanent relief problem, could enter upon a course of efficient and generous assistance to the unemployed and other dependents. The evasion of this responsibility or of its recognition is a pervasive if subtle undertone that entails serious consequences if continued.

One would have to be too great an optimist to believe that any one system could immediately eliminate all the difficulties implied in this enumeration or that enough understanding and interest could be created in citizenry or government for the establishment of a comprehensive and well integrated system at short notice which would immediately reduce these difficulties to a minimum. It is, however, with a view to their elimination that any proposed plan of organization must be conceived.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES FOR REORGANIZATION OF CARE OF DEPENDENTS

It may be well to set forth certain fundamental principles that are postulated for the structure and relation of agencies proposed to care for the problem of dependency in Allegheny County:

1. The entire obligation for providing economic assistance to those in need is recognized as a public function, and the structure of agency machinery should be devised with the intention of carrying this obligation into effect in the most efficient, economical, and constructive way possible. Such areas of service as may be appropriately left to voluntary agencies are conceived in the proposed plan as transitional and temporary or as serving to help in the development of high standards in public services.

2. For reasons which seem obvious after having observed a great many facts during the study—facts that are well known to the citizens of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County—it must be assumed that the entire system of public assistance will be organized on a county basis, in which municipal limits and the various township boundary lines and governmental differentiations will be disregarded.

3. A centralized county organization for economic relief should unify the administration of all forms of economic assistance including those constituted by law as special categories, such as mothers' assistance, old age and blind pensions.

4. Administrative relationships should be worked out and changed as conditions may require between the county department of public assistance and other public bodies now in existence or to be established, particularly those proposed elsewhere in this report, to wit:

A county department of health

A county department of hospitals

A county department of recreation

A county department of correction

5. Institutional care and assistance for those in economic need is recognized as falling into two main divisions: one in which medical service is of paramount importance, including perhaps half the aged, dependent, chronic invalids, some convalescents, and those special groups requiring long hospitalization, such as the tuberculous and certain cardiacs, and another much smaller number of persons who either temporarily or, at any rate, for much shorter periods might benefit from institutional treatment and do not necessarily constitute medical problems. The former should be regarded as properly the charge of a department of hospitals; the latter may constitute a proper, but proportionately small, part of the load belonging to the department of public assistance. Long-time institutional care is regarded by modern practitioners of social work as appropriate in only a small number of cases. Usually institutional shelter is a temporary need and can best be fitted in as part of the total program of care for persons in economic distress and, therefore, as only an episode in what is primarily home relief.

6. The principle of county-wide organization carries with it the assumption that distance from the metropolitan center and the absence of social facilities within a distant local community or its surrounding area would not be permitted to deprive a needy person of all the services that the county has at its disposal.

7. While clearly recognizing that the extensive machinery for supplying economic relief is intended primarily to meet the material needs of those in distress, we also realize that the proper administration of relief in the interest of the most effective rehabilitation of the client with the greatest economy to the public requires the application of the principles of social case work adjusted in extent and form to the particular needs of the client. The actual administration of relief should therefore be in the hands of a personnel trained, so far as possible, in the principles of case work and recognizing that the nature and degree of these

skilled services varies with the situation of the client. It is only in a relatively small proportion of cases of economic distress that extensive and elaborate case work service requiring special skill and advanced training on the part of the worker may be necessary. All workers should, however, recognize when and under what circumstances the assistance of auxiliary services may be indicated, whether these be in the form of special medical care, psychiatric examination, child guidance clinic, "immigrant aid," or group work activity.

8. Detailed fiscal, supervisory, and coöperative relationships remain to be worked out with the state government in its several departments and with such Federal bodies as may have an active concern with the relief of veterans, unemployed, and others.³

In colonial days the official units of poor relief were the township and borough. Poor districts that exist today vary in size from borough or township to county, while some actually overlap county lines.⁴ County units for poor relief in Pennsylvania were first established in 1798. There is, however, in the administrative history of local government throughout the country, as well as in Allegheny County itself, ample reason and justification for the county-wide organization of official machinery for public relief.

The system as here proposed leaves out, except in an incidental way, the general field of "case work service" so-called, that is, the professional assistance given to persons or families who find themselves unadjusted in their relationships to family, friends, or community without necessarily manifesting economic distress or need. Perhaps the day will come when the provision of such case work services may in itself be regarded as a public function comparable to that of economic assistance. It is so regarded at the present only in connection with psychiatric problems of patients who are public charges, such as inmates or ex-inmates of state or local hospitals for the insane; it is so regarded to the extent of the community's progress along modern lines of thought in the treatment of delinquents, whether young or old; it is so regarded in the more advanced school systems, and to some extent in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, where children in the classroom present behavior difficulties that require skilled administration; and it is so regarded in connection with the auxiliary services of patients in the medical institutions under government control where hospital social work is given as part of the total scheme of medical treatment by the institution. Social case work (or personal adjustment) in the community at large is not, however, as yet recognized as a public service in this sense.

³ The report of the Goodrich Commission issued on December 15, 1936, contains proposals that would meet these conditions in all the most important phases.

⁴ *Poor Relief Administration in Pennsylvania*, published by the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare, Harrisburg, 1934, pp. 195 ff.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE FOR THE PUBLIC PROVISION OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

The hub of the system proposed here would be a County Department of Public Assistance, coördinate with certain other departments, also to be established, to wit: a department of hospitals; a department of health; a department of recreation; and a department of correction. The Department of Public Assistance would not have control of the institutions now administered by the Department of Public Welfare and the County Directors of the Poor, respectively. These would, with small exceptions, be assigned to the department of hospitals and possibly in the case of hospitals for contagious diseases to the department of public health.

The Department of Public Assistance would have the following functions:

1. To provide relief or services for needy individuals and families in their own homes, whatever the cause of their dependency. When specialized relief or service is part of the need, to provide or procure such relief or services (e.g., medical relief, mental hygiene treatment) as may be deemed needful.
2. To provide institutional maintenance for adults and children, where such placement is deemed wise and is voluntarily accepted on the part of families.
3. To provide care in their own homes or in foster homes or institutions for dependent, neglected, delinquent, incorrigible, and handicapped children, who may be received by the department upon commitment by the Juvenile Court or upon voluntary application by the parent or guardian.
4. To receive, for protective oversight, dependent or neglected children referred by the Juvenile Court after adjudication.
5. To investigate complaints of neglect, abuse, and cruelty to children and of community conditions promoting child neglect, and to take appropriate action to protect children from such neglect, abuse, or cruelty, by petition to the appropriate court and/or by any other suitable means.
6. To provide institutional care needed by wards of the department; the department to be authorized to compensate institutions existing under other auspices for such care or, in its discretion, when needed facilities do not exist, to take over, administer, or provide required institutions. Among the institutions to be transferred to this department are the Thorn Hill and Gumbert Schools, as suggested elsewhere.⁵

The question of administrative bureaus and divisions under such a department is one on which considerable leeway should exist in accordance with individual choice or predilection. These subdivisions, therefore, should not be established in law but should be left flexible to be designed and changed as varying conditions may dictate. Presumably some bureau or individual official would have particular responsibility for the institutional group, another for foster home care of dependent children, still another for such special and clinical services as may be conducted under auspices of the department, while legal, fiscal, and statis-

⁵ See chap. xvii, *infra*.

tical services might constitute further subdivisions. The county department should be under the exclusive administration of a director, to be appointed, preferably on the recommendation of an advisory board by the executive official of the county, whether a manager, mayor, board of supervisors, or board of county commissioners. In order to give reasonable representation geographically and culturally to the citizenship of the community there should be selected an advisory board whose function would be to observe and assist the administrative personnel and to interpret their task to the general public, more particularly in connection with the budgeting and appropriation and with local, state, and possibly Federal legislation affecting the department. It should include employer and employee, Pittsburgh and the county, men and women. In the light of the general system obtaining in Pennsylvania the State Department of Public Assistance would presumably participate in some way in the selection or approval of important personnel in the county department.

The specific responsibilities for relief for the department of public assistance would include the following: the administration of all local and state pensions—the so-called “categorical relief,” which now includes assistance to dependent mothers, the aged, and the blind; it would include the care of dependent children, whether temporarily or permanently dependent, and would have the responsibility for the placement of such children, when not supported in their own homes, in suitable foster families, or when necessary, in such institutions as may be deemed appropriate for the purpose by its administrative personnel. The department would conduct a series of clinics and would have available the services of specialists in so far as these may not be better organized under the departments of health or hospitals. They would, at any rate, require staff specialists within the fields of home economics, legal advice, and psychiatry. The department would have responsibility for both residents and transients, and as long as the present system of settlement and residence laws exists, would carry responsibility for any fiscal arrangements by which equalization of expenses among responsible communities is adjusted.

If a county organization of this type is logically sound, similar consolidations should be made in the state administration of public welfare as well. Indeed, such consolidations have been discussed before.⁶ Considerable experimentation in the methods by which local and state administrative bodies might be coördinated has taken place in Pennsylvania. With respect to the emergency administration, for example, there has been considerable concentration of power in Harrisburg, while the more permanent structure for Mothers' Assistance administration favors decen-

⁶ See The Goodrich Commission report. Compare also the new state administration being set up in New York State.

tralization. In the former, the county board is appointed by the state relief administrator, and both the board and the executive serve at the pleasure of the state body. The board of the Mothers' Assistance Fund, appointed for a definite term of years, shares with a local board considerable of its authority over administration. The county board, moreover, is appointed by the Governor. Funds are provided in equal amounts by state and county. The local board appoints the necessary state-paid staff; and their work is under the supervision of the permanent staff of the State Department of Public Welfare, which visits and advises the local boards, staffs, and secretaries. It would seem reasonable to combine in the State Department of Public Welfare the power of supervision and fiscal control of the existing pension systems and of all forms of relief which would be administered locally by the consolidated department of public assistance. Field supervision, as well as the building up of uniform criteria for budgetary allowances, training, promotion, and salary of workers, and the auditing of payments could thus be made uniform, while in actual overhead only limited expansion would be required.

Within the voluntary field for the provision of economic relief there would be left under this plan only the following: Special institutions for children and the aged, conducted by their own choice and at their own expense by nationality, fraternal, or denominational groups as alternatives for public assistance, but without receiving subsidies from public funds for persons so cared for, except as such cases may be arranged for at the initiative of the public, case by case. There would exist funds through the Community Fund or other channels for the provision of supplementary relief in cases where economic assistance is not a primary need but one which may be resorted to as auxiliary treatment in the service to unadjusted persons and in the case of behavior problems. The particular function of voluntary agencies under such a system in relation to the function of public relief would be that of organized vigilance, which would, on the one hand, exercise the natural function of the citizenry to see that its public service and instrumentalities are honestly and efficiently conducted. On the other hand, it would give assistance, always required by competent public authorities, such as may be given through the public press and other channels of publicity and interpretation for gaining support of public opinion and of voters, to help in the maintenance and expansion of these services in line with development of the best practice of the time. The voluntary agencies would, moreover, continue to have an opportunity to demonstrate new and experimental services, even though they were no longer the exclusive type of agency carrying this function, since public bodies have also shown themselves competent to experiment and study.

SIZE OF THE TASK FOR A COUNTY DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

The first question that might arise in connection with a proposal for the organization of such a department is how large a task it might be called upon to perform, how much of the taxpayers' money it would be expected to distribute, and whether the probable size of its task would be sufficient to justify the organization of an elaborate and comprehensive departmental system. The answer might be given from three perspectives: that prior to 1928; that between 1929 and the present; and that of a future which can only be surmised.

Prior to 1928 there did exist, as we have already seen, the equivalent of a department of public assistance for Allegheny County outside the city limits of Pittsburgh, the Directors of the Poor. This body has conducted both home relief and institutional relief on a relatively extensive scale, but in accordance with standards not in harmony with modern practice. In Pittsburgh institutional or indoor relief is given by the Department of Public Welfare. Home relief in Pittsburgh has been left to a group of voluntary agencies and church organizations. These comprised some seven family agencies, so-called, a nearly equal number of agencies for the care of dependent children, and more than three score institutions for children and the aged. During part of this period, also, there existed a county board for the administration of mothers' assistance.

Between 1928 and 1936 the task of providing relief increased to an extent now well known and involved, in addition to the agencies already mentioned, first the Allegheny County Emergency Association, then the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board, organized for the distribution of state and Federal emergency funds, and, more recently, the introduction of pensions for the old and for the blind. The size of the task performed during these two periods has been shown in Tables 49-50.⁷ At the peak of activity nearly 110,000 cases, involving approximately 300,000 persons, were served in Allegheny County outside the institutions, in addition to the persons cared for on tax funds in homes conducted by voluntary agencies. The period prior to 1928 lay in what we have been pleased to call the period of American prosperity with ups and downs but mainly swinging upward. The latter period has been designated as a depression, more or less temporary but generally severe. What the future period, for which plans are now to be made, will be, is a matter of guesswork, calculation, or desire. As nearly as possible, plans ought to be based on calculation. Unfortunately, much of it must be guesswork. It would be inexcusable to have any of it merely desire.

The constituent parts of the case load of a department of public assistance such as that proposed are, roughly, the following:

⁷ Chap. xiv, *supra*.

1. The persons or families in economic need because of unemployment or underemployment
2. The unemployable or naturally dependent upon one who is unemployable
3. Those qualifying for categorical relief as defined by various legislative provisions for mothers' assistance, old age assistance, blind pensions, and so forth

The volume and nature of service to these groups depends primarily upon the intentions and standards of the community. Thus, for example, the establishment of old age pensions does not mean merely shifting the care of the aged from voluntary agencies to the state and county but rather, in the majority of the cases, the offer of assistance to those who have previously lived on depressed standards or been a burden to relatives and friends. It means, therefore, a certain liberation for kinfolks, usually heavily burdened by their own economic problems, and the provision of greater happiness, self-respect, and joy of life for a large number of men and women now hopelessly looking toward the future. In somewhat different ways this is true of other pensioners, dependent mothers and the blind. A factor of no less importance, but different in kind, is the availability of resources. It matters little how desirable and socially satisfying it may be to provide greater comfort, more decency, and happier outlook; it cannot be provided unless the immediate community or the nation as a whole can pay for them. The extent of resources will therefore determine in part the volume of service, its generosity, and its inclusiveness.

It may seem at first that the obligation to provide economic assistance to the unemployed or underemployed, or at least to the former, is not properly or else no longer a part of the task of a department of public assistance. In support of this inclusion and of the calculations as to the number involved, the following facts must, however, be considered:

First, while unemployment insurance has recently come into existence, it will not become adequately effective until a considerable time after the law has been put into operation; that probably, so far as the present situation indicates, not more than half the unemployables would qualify for insurance, leaving the residuum to be assisted otherwise; and that, finally, even those qualifying for insurance benefits become eligible only after a lapse of time, and only for a maximum period which experience shows tends to be considerably lower than the total period of unemployment. In other words, there will be a group of persons requiring assistance, who, having qualified for unemployment benefits, have exhausted these payments and continue to be without adequate employment.

Secondly, there is likely to be a large group of persons now technically unemployed, who, according to the most optimistic concept of recovery, may never again be continuously employed and who, though technically designated as unemployed, are to all intents and purposes unemployable.

Third, consideration should be given to the fact, discussed in Chapter III, that a large body of workers find employment, even if regular, for only part of the year, and that these underemployed persons, by whatever name they may

be designated, are practically unemployed persons for a substantial part of the year without, however, receiving that technical designation.

One way to estimate the probable size of the future clientele of a department of public assistance is to calculate separately its various constituents: the probable number of unemployed at various stages of unemployment; the extent of part-time employment and under-employment; the number and distribution of the unemployables (including the extremes according to the age distribution and those in financial difficulties because of illness); the number of women widowed annually and the proportion of the latter who are lacking independent incomes and who have dependent minor children; the number qualifying for old age pensions on various bases of eligibility; the probable number of dependent blind persons; and so on.⁸

Even if it were possible to make a reasonable approximation of these several potential groups of relief recipients on what would seem to be a statistically sound process of calculation, the enormous influence of administrative and legal changes and of fluctuating appropriations and public opinion upon the number accepted for relief would make this form of calculation no less hazardous than other forms of guesswork. Certainly the relationship between the increase of unemployment and the number of persons requiring economic assistance has shown so high a degree of unpredictability in the past few years that until a final adjustment into a social system different from the present takes place it would be useless to depend upon the curve of employment, or even of payrolls, as a guide to the size of the relief problem. Such indications as existing data on the past few years provide would justify the expectation that, roughly speaking, 40,000 to 50,000 clients may be expected to be the normal burden of care for this department, not counting institutional care to those in either hospitals or institutions for the chronic, or to those in children's institutions and sanatoria. This number would comprise the two chief divisions: pensioners and recipients of general relief:

RECIPIENTS OF PENSIONS

The tabulation on page 612 shows the number of persons who were either receiving pensions or on the waiting list in their respective divisions on June 1, 1935.

⁸ In the following discussions concerning the possible size of the relief load in Allegheny County to be dealt with by a department of public assistance it is well to bear in mind that Allegheny County seems constantly to have a heavier burden of need than the rest of the state of Pennsylvania or of the United States. As reported by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the percentage of population on relief in Allegheny County between July, 1933, and January, 1935, never dropped below 17.1 percent, while the state as a whole went as low as 11.6 percent (January, 1934) and generally remained between 13 percent and 15 percent. When the state percentage rose to 17 (January, 1935), Allegheny County went up to 22.

	TOTAL	RECEIVING	WAITING
Mothers' assistance	2,800	1,402	1,398
Blind	835	515	320
Old age	11,493	3,961	7,532
	15,128	5,878	9,250

One may take 5,878 as the figure contributed to the theoretical case load of the proposed department by the pension group on the assumption that the waiting list is contained within the case load of the emergency relief administration. This is at least partly true, inasmuch as during the major part of its operation, the A.C.E.R.B. made no attempt to restrict its services exclusively to families of the unemployed.

GENERAL RELIEF

The general relief load, in addition to institutional population, may be calculated by assuming some degree of relationship between unemployment and need for relief, even though one not close enough to justify the use of an unemployment curve as a guide for relief. Studies undertaken by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration would indicate that approximately half of the unemployed persons during the mass unemployment situation of recent years were to be found on the relief rolls, while the other half presumably was carrying on from reserves or other sources.⁹ If, therefore, we can calculate the number of unemployed, some such ratio would give a basis for a long-range guess of the number of possible clients requiring public assistance because of unemployment. For this purpose the following data may be suggestive: it is estimated by Watson¹⁰ that the number of persons having some employment increased between April, 1935, and April, 1936, in round numbers from 392,100 to 433,480, or 10.5 percent. About the same number having no employment whatever were dropped from the roster, bringing the figures down from 139,100 to 101,300, a reduction of some 27 percent. In April, 1935, the number of cases cared for by the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board was 103,816.

If the reduction in the public relief load were proportionate to the reduction in unemployment, we might expect a reduction in the case load of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board (and therefore of the department of public assistance if it were in operation) of 27 percent, or from roughly 103,000 to about 75,000.

⁹ A direct study of this relationship was made in Dayton, Ohio, on July 8-14, 1934, also under auspices of F.E.R.A., which bore out this ratio of unemployed on relief to total unemployed. See F.E.R.A. *Bulletin* No. 1057, March 8, 1935.

¹⁰ J. P. Watson, *Economic Backgrounds of the Relief Problem*, Monograph No. 5, University of Pittsburgh, Table 12.

This is a very high or liberal estimate of the case load, against which should be set the following more conservative calculation, based on certain figures reported by the Federal government of amounts expended for relief in the principal urban areas in the country. As reported by the Children's Bureau,¹¹ the amounts expended in April, 1935 and April, 1936 were respectively \$3,578,000 and \$1,420,000, a reduction of 60 percent. If changes in amounts spent correspond roughly to changes in case load, we may expect a case load in April, 1936, approximately 40 percent as great as that in the preceding year, or somewhat more than 40,000. Figures actually reported for the A.C.E.R.B. and W.P.A. for April, 1936, are 36,620, as against this estimate of 40,000.

As reported by the State Emergency Relief Administration,¹² there was a reduction of relief cases for the entire state from December 28, 1935, to April 25, 1936, from 233,320 to 177,641, or approximately 25 percent.

TABLE 52

AVERAGE NUMBER OF RELIEF CASES OPENED AND CLOSED PER WEEK, WITH PRINCIPAL REASONS, January-April, 1936^a

	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	APRIL
Average number of cases opened per week	9,081	9,032	6,903	7,697
<i>Because of:</i>				
Loss of private employment	6,257	6,035	4,366	4,428
Totally unemployed	5,273	5,052	3,663	3,624
Inadequate earnings	984	983	703	804
Loss of Works program employment	907	1,047	1,283	2,206
Loss of C.C.C. employment	72	103	54	89
Inadequate C.C.C. earnings	20	21	14	17
Inadequate income other than earnings	151	158	154	132
Unclassified	1,674	1,668	1,032	825
Average number of cases closed per week	13,342	10,912	10,127	10,358
<i>Because of:</i>				
Private employment	2,214	2,598	2,961	3,911
New jobs	1,541	1,860	2,244	3,131
Increased earnings	673	738	717	780
Works program employment	8,773	6,549	5,610	5,168
C.C.C. enrollment	32	9	3	24
Transfer to poor boards	59	80	37	35
Fraud or misrepresentation	25	40	48	41
Failure to report for works program employment	1,020	597	113	13
Unclassified	1,219	1,039	1,355	1,142

^a Pennsylvania Division of Research and Statistics, *Relief Bulletin*, First Quarter, 1936; Table 3, p. 11.

¹¹ U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau Bulletin, "Changes during April, 1936 in different types of public and private relief in Urban Areas."

¹² Pennsylvania Division of Research and Statistics, *Relief Bulletin*, First Quarter, 1936.

This was not, however, the result purely of removals from relief rolls and therefore an indication of a general trend of economic improvement that might quickly lead to the substantial elimination of the large relief need. There had actually been 139,000 cases added to the rolls during that period. The net reduction involved also the closing of 195,000 cases during the same period. If the closing of these cases had resulted from bona fide employment by private industry due to basic recovery, the removal of this large number of cases from the relief rolls would have still considerable significance. Actually, however, the removals were due principally to employment on the Federal works program, not by private employers. Furthermore, the cases opened during this period were practically all former relief cases, which were re-accepted following the loss of "project employment."¹³ In Table 52, p. 613, the reasons for opening and closing cases during this period are set forth and will shed further light on what has really been happening.

It may be noted, in summary, [says the Relief Administration] that the case turnover attributable to private employment resulted in:

- (A) *The closing* of 109,255 cases by December 28 and an additional 48,613 cases by April 25, or a total of 157,868 cases between September 1 and April 25.
- (B) *The opening* of 108,642 cases by December 28 and an additional 91,059 cases by April 25, or a total of 199,701 cases between September 1 and April 25.

From the net outcome of this turnover—an increase of 41,833 cases between September 1 and April 25,—it is readily apparent that, without the Works Program, the total State Emergency Relief Board's relief load would have shown a substantial rise over the eight-month period, September through April.¹⁴

By way of a further estimate, since that is really all we have, despite available statistics, the following numbers were calculated by a member of the study staff as probably applying to September 1, 1935, and as constituting presumably the composition of the total size of the group requiring public assistance. The list is as follows:

AGENCY	PROBABLE LOAD	APPROXIMATE PERCENT OF TOTAL
Works Progress Administration	60,000	70.0
Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board	12,500	15.0
Directors of the Poor	2,500	3.0
Pittsburgh Department of Public Welfare	3,000	4.0
Mothers' Assistance Fund		
Mothers' assistance	1,670	2.0
Blind	509	0.5
Old age	4,728	5.5
Total	84,907	100.0

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁴ Pennsylvania Division of Research and Statistics, *Relief Bulletin*, First Quarter, 1936, p. 13.

These various calculations are not submitted as a basis for judging the actual size of the public load of the department of public assistance, but as indicating, first, that data for estimating the probable volume of service are hopelessly inadequate for anything more than guesswork, and secondly, that no type of calculation seems to result in a number less than 30,000 as the probable basic load of service. With the ratio of field workers found to exist in the Mothers' Assistance Fund (as competent an agency as was found to be practicing in Allegheny County), now just short of one worker for 70 clients, this would mean a field work personnel for the minimum of 30,000 clients of 420 persons plus executives, subexecutives, specialists, clerical and maintenance staff.

As compared with a number never exceeding 6,000 cases served by more than half a dozen voluntary agencies prior to the depression it is clear that the proposed Department of Public Assistance would represent an important division of governmental service, and one that would justify attention, not only on the part of philanthropically inclined individuals, but on the part of the entire community interested in government and public affairs.

FINANCING PUBLIC RELIEF

There is little in the past experience of providing economic relief that can serve as a basis for planning the financial support of so extensive a system of public relief as that which must be assumed, and is here being assumed, for the future of Allegheny County. The prognostication of the sources and proportionate distribution of the financing of such a relief load offers almost as much scope for guesswork as does the determination of the volume of service to be expected. At present public funds for relief in Allegheny County are derived from the Federal Government, from the state, and from the county and the city governments. Technically the financial resources of the Federal Government may be regarded as, to all intents and purposes, unlimited, and during the main course of the depression; as the critical nature of the situation became clear, this was the assumption which guided the Federal program of emergency relief. The technical resources for taxation by the Federal Government are sufficiently varied and flexible, so that the availability of Federal funds may be regarded as subject only to public policy and political choice, rather than limited by resources *per se*. The actual distribution of funds used for relief purposes during the depression is shown in Table 47.¹⁵ Local appropriations and bond issues in the city of Pittsburgh, appropriations from the county, state funds for pensions matched by funds from county appropriations, state appropriations from general funds, sales taxes,

¹⁵ See p. 551, *supra*.

and so forth were all utilized for raising the necessary amounts. What is the capacity of state, county, and city to provide relief funds, if such funds continue to be necessary in large amounts?

Within the predictable future any community, more particularly one so inextricably bound up with the industrial life of the nation as is Pittsburgh, is likely to respond in the economic fluctuations to factors far beyond those under the control of the local citizenry. Responsibility for the financial support of poor relief, seen not in a legalized perspective but with a pragmatic mind, should be divided, therefore, between the Federal, state, and local governments. For reasons of governmental technique and efficiency primary responsibility for financial support should be an integrated function of local and state governments. The Federal Government should be called upon to participate in whatever way would seem, under the circumstances, most practicable. In the long run grants-in-aid seem to be the most equitable way of distributing the national burden among states of unequal financial ability and under unequal economic distress. As long as the Federal Government pursues its present policy of providing work relief, under whatever alphabetic designation, such supplementation of employment opportunities might be substituted for direct grant-in-aid. During the early months of 1936, when these observations took place, there seemed every reason to believe that the Federal works program was absorbing and, therefore, obscuring a substantial proportion (possibly half) of the need for relief that is still being met by a combination of state, Federal, and local financing. Particularly with respect to unemployment relief, a greater responsibility must be accepted and developed by the Federal Government, which alone is in a position to combine equalization of employment (so far as it is at all within the power of government), with the development of nation-wide employment service and a subsidized and coördinated unemployment insurance system; these can, moreover, be harmonized with coördination of the total productive system of the country and trade and tariff practices by the Federal Government only. The imposition of standards, the supervision of performance, the introduction and maintenance of an adequate system of personnel under civil service regulations, the establishment and modification of specific standards and policies of relief, as well as the provision of a substantial amount of the funds, should, on the other hand, be regarded as a state function to be exercised through the instrumentality of the local governments.

These theoretical propositions are not new, and they have to all intents and purposes already been in effect, so far as the activities of the Federal and state governments are concerned, and only await convinced local action and the setting up of appropriate local machinery. It is through

state legislation that the benefits of the Federal Social Security Act for local governments may be obtained. The state already exercises considerable supervision over the treatment of dependent children, the aged, and certain groups of disabled persons. There are the beginnings of an effective state machinery for inspection, supervision, and the development of standards. The next step must be with the local government. Here, though legal responsibility is deep rooted, active interest has lagged and no suitable machinery has been devised.

Recommendations of too specific a nature relative to the exact methods by which the local and state governments should divide financial responsibility for poor relief would be futile at this time. The amounts needed and the financial situation of the particular government at any given time, as well as the nature of public opinion, will determine the amounts and their distribution.¹⁶

During the period between 1927 and 1934 annual state funds for poor relief ranged from \$169,491 to \$4,948,000 and reached a total of \$14,732,927 for the eight-year period.¹⁷ The county government, through its Directors of the Poor, has expended amounts ranging during the same period from \$188,087, in 1927, to \$383,077, in 1934, with a maximum in one year of \$844,899. It has totaled less than one-fourth of the state expenditure during this period (\$3,277,173). The county, by direct appropriation to emergency relief and by contribution to the local divisions of the state pension system, has expended, in addition to these amounts, from \$190,033 to \$316,384—the maximum in one year, \$811,504, and the total for that period, \$2,671,119. This amount, added to the county funds expended through the Directors of the Poor, is equal to about 40 percent of the entire state expenditures during this period.

The city of Pittsburgh has made available even larger amounts, ranging during the same period of eight years from \$27,683 to \$1,840,297 a year and totaling \$4,263,737. The combined totals of the county and city expenditures are roughly 70 percent as much as the state appropriations. If we were to add the expenditures for wards of the Juvenile Court and other minor items within the field, it would seem that the state and Allegheny County have shared roughly between them the cost of poor relief during a series of years, including some relatively normal periods and the major portion of the heavy depression years. These amounts represent poor relief exclusively and do not cover the total welfare expenditures for either local or state governments and certainly not for the Federal Government. There would seem to be no serious difficulty in the financing of such burdens for these local governments. The city of Pittsburgh has

¹⁶ The Goodrich report makes far-reaching recommendations in this direction.

¹⁷ See Table 40, *supra*.

financed its share both from ordinary appropriations and by borrowing. It is unlikely that, on a permanent plan, the city would wish to resort to bond issues. The borrowing power of the city in 1935 was approximately \$63,000,000. A one-mill levy yields approximately \$1,000,000 which, in the light of statistics of the past few years would be a reasonable contribution from the municipality if the present system of unintegrated taxation should continue.

If it were to be assumed that the contribution of Allegheny County outside Pittsburgh would come from the same sources now tapped by its poor relief authority, the basis of calculation would be the amount available for levy by the Directors of the Poor. The assessed valuation so available at present is \$700,000,000. A maximum of a ten-mill levy is authorized by law. The Directors of the Poor have never exceeded a three-mill levy in the past. It has actually expended less than it has collected from these levies. There is, therefore, very adequate leeway in the county taxing system for obtaining the necessary funds for public assistance. It is true that real and personal property in the county is subject to other powers of taxation. Township, school, and county administrations, as well as the poor relief authorities, have the power of taxation. The examination and recommendations for the adjustment of an archaic and complicated system of taxation, such as that now obtaining in Allegheny County, is not within the scope of the present study. It would seem, however, that while individual communities in the county are heavily burdened, and the high dependence on their real property is an unsafe plan for the future, no real doubt can exist concerning the financial capacity of Allegheny County and of the city of Pittsburgh to carry continuously their share of the burden of poor relief.

The state's capacity to finance the extensive relief expenditures, as exemplified by the demands of the last few years, represents a conflict between the legal and the *de facto* situations.¹⁸ There are severe constitutional limitations which hamper the range of tax sources and the nature of expenditures to which state funds might be applied. The state constitution provides, for example, in Section I, Article 9, that: "All taxes shall be uniform upon the same class of subjects within the territorial limits of the authority levying the tax, and shall be levied and collected under the general laws." This provision for uniformity has resulted in considerable constitutional interference with progressive tax legislation. A further obstacle was created by rigid limitations upon the state's freedom to incur debts: "No debts shall be created by or on the behalf of the State except to supply casual deficiencies of revenue, repel invasion, suppress rebellion,

¹⁸ For more far-reaching recommendations bearing on the financing of relief see the excellent report submitted by the Goodrich Commission, December 15, 1936.

defend the State in war, or pay existing debt; and the debt created to supply deficiencies in revenue shall never exceed in the aggregate at any time one million of dollars.”¹⁹ This \$1,000,000 limitation still stands, even though the actual indebtedness now authorized by legislative action amounts to \$175,000,000, of which \$100,000,000 was for highways, \$25,000,000 for general expenses, and \$50,000,000 for the soldiers’ bonus. Theoretically, therefore, the state cannot borrow more than it now owes or even that which it has already borrowed. By way of adding further difficulties Article 18 provides that: “No amendment or amendments (to the Constitution) shall be submitted oftener than once in five years.” It would seem, therefore, that the state has been effectively prevented from raising necessary funds when emergencies such as the present arise either by borrowing or by a free use of its taxing power. There is, however, a still further restriction, by which (Article III, Section 18) it is set forth that “no appropriation . . . shall be made for charitable, educational, or benevolent purposes to any person or community, nor to any sectarian institution.” This would seem to close the subject. It was held, however, in a suit brought during the depression, that the appropriation at least of state monies for unemployment relief was constitutional, even though apparently nothing was said as to how the restrictions imposed on the methods of raising the funds might be removed. Actual appropriations between 1931 and 1934 have amounted to more than 77 million dollars, comprising the following:

1931 Special Session—to Department of Public Welfare—First Talbot Fund	\$ 10,000
Act No. 52 (Second Talbot) Special Session, 1932, signed August 9, 1932	12,000,000
Act No. 1A, 1933 Session, signed March 30, 1933	2,000,000
Act No. 3A, 1933 Session, signed April 12, 1933	5,000,000
Act No. 172, 1933 Session, signed May 22, 1933	18,100,000
Act No 262, 1933 Session, signed May 26, 1933 (Bond issue approved by the voters at the general election, November, 1933)	20,100,000
Act No. 66, Special Session, 1933, signed January 19, 1934	20,000,000
Total appropriations	\$77,210,000

For the biennial period 1935–37, appropriations, including regular and emergency relief, amounted to still higher sums, as follows:

Department of Welfare	
Administration	\$ 440,000
Institutional	10,525,000
Subsidies 1935–37	
Old age assistance	20,000,000
Pensions for blind	3,115,000
Mothers’ assistance	4,115,000
Glens Mills	85,000
Sleighton Farms School	85,000
Indigent insane in county and poor district hospitals	2,700,000
Dixmont Hospital	300,000

¹⁹ Constitution of 1873, Sec. IV, Art. 9.

Elwyn Training School	300,000
Medical and surgical hospitals—maintenance of sick and injured	7,500,000
Homes, state-aided	300,000
Total available for above purposes for biennium	\$49,465,000
Amount available for above purposes 1935-36	\$24,832,500
Emergency relief 1935-36	\$60,000,000
Total available for 1935-36	\$84,832,500

In no sense can any of these figures quoted for city, county, or state be regarded as anything more than interesting data indicative of the fact that large amounts were needed; that under stress of circumstances they were made available; and that the combination of pressure, tradition, and political forces resulted in the specific amounts made available by one appropriating body or another. There is, at any rate, no indication that either the nature of resources or the willingness or ability of state and local governments to respond constitutes an obstacle to the ordinary and continuous financing of necessary relief activities. The nature of the situation is such that within the predictable future extensive relief must be supplied; that in some form local and state governments must share responsibility for administration, supervision, and financing; and that if any sort of fiscal economy in public affairs is to be attained, this responsibility must be converted from disconnected emergency appropriations to orderly, planned, and adequate methods of financing. Both the State of Pennsylvania and Allegheny County seem to have ample potential resources for the probable needs to be met.

The exact amount that may be required for this purpose is subject to two factors, neither of which can be gauged in advance or established by some superior authority. The type of social philosophy and the character of public opinion will have at least as much weight as the actual numbers requiring aid, the severity of unemployment, and other causes of dependency. In the judgment of modern practitioners it is important that the strictest economy be maintained and that consistent and relentless processes of auditing and control be exercised; but that the community abandon its traditional principles of repression, which presuppose a willful shiftlessness on the part of those requiring relief, and that with respect to individual cases the objective of rehabilitation be the guiding principle in the structure of policies for the administration of relief.

RECAPITULATION OF CHANGES PROPOSED

The need for certain fundamental changes in the agency structure of organizations serving dependent persons is obvious, and the proposed changes may be briefly summarized as follows:

In the field of home relief

1. A county department of public assistance should be organized by appropriate legislative action involving the charter of the city of Pittsburgh, as well as general

laws. The creation of such a department may be part of a total reorganization of the county government or may be achieved through the Metropolitan Plan which has been discussed from time to time in the past.²⁰ It may, however, be done independently of any such measures. In addition to the powers specifically given to such a county department of public assistance, it would absorb the powers and privileges of the County Directors of the Poor and of the Pittsburgh Department of Public Welfare. Its budget should be provided from county and municipal funds in proportions equal to the distribution of the population and, prior to unification of county government, by conference and joint action of the respective appropriating bodies.

2. A county department of health and a county department of hospitals should be created by similar action, for reasons presented in other parts of this report, and organized to carry the functions as suggested elsewhere.²¹ When one of these departments has been created, the department of public assistance should transfer to it responsibility for the administration of all hospitals and institutions now under the control of the Department of Public Welfare in Pittsburgh and of the County Directors of the Poor in the county outside the municipal limits, with the exception of such restricted plants as may be required for the temporary care and maintenance of children or aged. The distribution of state aid to hospitals for the care of free patients and to clinics and out-patient departments for free service to the dependent should be administered through the Department of Hospitals in connection with the general supervision of the care to be given to such patients. When constitutional limitations prevent the granting of state aid, similar grants for the same purpose should be made available and distributed to the so-called "sectarian" medical institutions through the same department.

3. Even prior to the creation of any such new departments as suggested the administration of medical relief should be transferred to the Department of Health in the City of Pittsburgh and should be reorganized outside Pittsburgh under adequate medical supervision as suggested elsewhere.

4. It would be clearly understood that voluntary agencies would no longer continue responsibility for home relief of persons economically dependent, with certain exceptions necessitated by the incomplete provision of public funds and public facilities and with the exception of those cases in which in the absence of economic distress general adjustment of individuals or families may be enhanced by additions to their budget or by the provision of unusual opportunities. Further exceptions in this field are the institutions for children and the aged, which should be continued since they frequently are so bound up with cultural traditions of churches, nationality groups, and fraternal organizations that their discontinuance would constitute a deprivation to the cultural objectives of these groups. In such cases, however, a progressive reduction of public subsidies should be inaugurated so that the continuance of cultural traditions may not be confused with the public obligation of support to the dependent. Specifically, as recommended in greater detail elsewhere, the family agencies operating in the city of Pittsburgh and in Allegheny County should discontinue responsibility for home relief and restrict their operations, except for a transitional period, to the provision of social case work independent of relief and to the development of progressive systems of care, such as those recommended in connection with the higher standards of care for the aged and experimentation with intensive case work and child guidance.

²⁰ Cf. chap. ii, *supra*.

²¹ See chap. xvii, *infra*.

CHAPTER XVI

SOCIAL CASE WORK OR PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT

Social case work as a distinct function.—Levels of personal adjustment and incidence of need.—General social case work or personal adjustment service: plan of organization, some reasons for the proposal, unmet needs, special advantages of a general case work agency.—Medical social work: medical case work or personal adjustment, availability of medical social work in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, admission service and determination of capacity to pay, medical education, future plans.—Personal adjustment in the public schools.

IN AN earlier chapter certain reasons were set forth for considering economic relief as a problem distinct from social case work.¹ It was pointed out that case work as a technical method in social work—that is, as a way of adjusting the client to his personal problems—may be required under circumstances not primarily characterized by economic need and that the necessary agency provision for this purpose might have to be separately conceived and planned, even though the fundamental principles of case work do apply also to the administration of relief. It is the purpose of the present chapter to deal with personal adjustment as a task of social agencies where economic dependency, if present, is not the principal difficulty, and where the relief-giving agency—presumably a public service—is, therefore, not the one best suited for serving the client.

Practical considerations forbid a complete system of agencies for personal adjustment differentiated entirely by the diverse requirements of the client. The number would have to be legion. On the other hand, community planning must take into account at any given time the existence of certain institutions and agencies designed to give special services (including case work) and plans must be adjusted, so far as possible, to utilize their services. Recognition must be given also to the fact that particular social work agencies, especially within the voluntary field, have driven their roots so deeply into the community and enjoy so wide a public acceptance that community planning, if it is to be effective, must regard them as relatively permanent fixtures of the local scene. The

¹ In this chapter material was drawn from reports prepared by Herschel Alt, Jane F. Culbert, Edith M. Baker, and Elizabeth T. Alling, of the study staff.

plans proposed in the following pages, therefore, will seem to pay more attention to existing institutions and agencies than to a purely logical array of the types of case work services that correspond to distinguishable needs of clients. In the tentative allotment of functions and suggested relationships among agencies, there will, however, be constant recognition of the special characteristics of the several types of need for personal service, and in the end these will have the deciding weight rather than the vested interests of existing agencies. Cognizance will also be taken of the necessity of removing the confusion that has so persistently trailed the concept of social case work because of its long and intimate historical association with the provision of relief. It will be borne in mind, on the other hand, that just as those in need of material assistance may also require aid in adjusting their personal difficulties, so agencies whose obligation is primarily to provide personal adjustment might find need also for providing material assistance to families or individuals whom they serve. Just as it is necessary to insure a grade of professional service in the field of relief which will secure a type of administration which utilizes social case work as a scientific method, so for agencies devoted primarily to personal adjustment it may be necessary to provide material assistance when required as a condition of successful treatment.

LEVELS OF PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT AND INCIDENCE OF NEED

It is not necessary to describe here the nature of social case work, the processes it involves, the theories, psychological and sociological, on which it is based, the course through which its refinements have been developed, or even the varieties and modifications in which it may appear, depending upon whether it is practiced through one type of agency or another. In so far as it consists of study and inquiry it implies a sensitized understanding of cultural and emotional motivations that influence the individual and the community; it requires to an increasing degree an acquaintance with, or even thorough grounding in, more recent theories and practices in psychology and mental hygiene. In so far as it constitutes treatment, the more active or pedagogical phases of psychology come into play, and at least an understanding of, if not skill in, the "relationship therapy" as that term is understood in technical case work, is necessary for the worker. A considerable body of literature exists by means of which practice and theory, present and historic, may be gleaned, so that a technical discussion of social case work may here be omitted.

Perhaps at this point it is appropriate to interpolate some reservations that professional self-criticism must recognize. During the hundred years since the days of Chalmers what we now call social case work has been evolved by the labors and thought of many persons and by contributions

from many intellectual disciplines: social philosophy, administrative technique, psychology, pedagogy, social research, economics, political science, ethics. The change in the concept of case work from one of specific services rendered to one of relationship therapy is not entirely an accomplished fact, nor has it entirely proved its value as yet. We have not proven the efficacy of social case work, only illustrated it, case by case, without observing the rigorous demands of scientific proof. Indications abound that in some instances, at least, social case work produces results. Doubts persist, however. In preventing pauperization, in reconstructing wholesome family life, in "reformation" of criminals, in solution of behavior problems, in resolving difficulties arising out of unadjusted personality problems, the incontrovertible efficacy of social case work has been suggested and illustrated but not proven. In the more simple services comprised under it there is greater assurance. In giving individualized advice and information to clients ignorant of available resources such as clinics, special courts, institutions, free legal aid, governmental facilities of various kinds, aid in naturalization, employment agencies, and so forth, and in rendering relief a rational process instead of a reluctant and miserly handout, case workers have no lack of conviction of its effectiveness. Wherever social case work has been an auxiliary and a technique associated with clearly discernible special services to meet economic, medical, and other needs, it has been on relatively solid and proven ground. The personal adjustment phase of case work, or much of it, is still based on faith and on case demonstration. All that is to be done in this field requires on the part of worker and agency alike, modesty, tentativeness, and pioneering ardor rather than insistence and assurance, while the community must provide greater forbearance, more leeway, and greater experimental scope for an unproved, but promising, form of social service.

Before proceeding to the description of what seems to be a practicable plan for organizing social case work services in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, it may be useful to review briefly: (*a*) the types of need for which personal adjustment may be required; (*b*) the social agencies which have thus far been providing these services; and (*c*) the difficulties, inconsistencies, and other reasons that seem to justify a redistribution of the functions of personal adjustment among existing or new agencies.

Any classification of the needs requiring personal adjustment must necessarily be inexact, for each individual case is different from every other case and must be so regarded by every social case worker. However, the nature of social problems and particularly the history of social agencies do provide a working basis for such a classification. We have, then, the following major types of situation in which deliberate and organized personal adjustment may be profitable:

1. Economic dependency of individual or family in which personal maladjustment or incompatibility of the members of the family is so pronounced as to call for a personal adjustment service, as well as for the administration of relief
2. Behavior problems of children when they are distinguishable from general family disruption or maladjustment and when they become problems for special handling; these may arise:
 - a. In school, with teacher or school authorities
 - b. In the Juvenile Court, as in cases of delinquency
 - c. In the home, as problems of discipline or in relationships with other members of the family and as potential cases for the Child Guidance Clinic or other agencies for personal adjustment
3. Hospital or clinic cases in which the effectiveness of the medical service depends upon the creation of home or family conditions suitable for treatment and recovery and only attainable by adjustment of personal problems
4. Psychopathic conditions, whether treated by medical or psychiatric practitioners in connection with hospital or clinic or coming to notice in the course of other social services
5. Problems of a kaleidoscopic variety not classifiable in any of these definitive groups, but all characterized by the fact that a normal, self-reliant, and reasonably happy existence seems difficult for the client without some aid and advice. The most frequent types of difficulty arise from unhappy family relationships and express themselves in family disorganization. Frequently ill health, unsuitable employment, or economic worries complicate the situation; often ethnic and racial differences are involved. General maladjustment is the blanket term covering these diverse conditions.

These groupings, because of the tendency for similar types of problems to be concentrated in particular agencies and because of special knowledge and peculiar circumstances involved in admission to given agencies, have given rise to subdivisions of social case work usually, though not always logically, designated as:

Family case work	Child placement work
Child welfare	Medical social work
Probation and parole	Psychiatric social work
Child guidance	Adult probation and parole

There is only an approximate correspondence between these forms of social case work and the agencies in which they are practiced; and in the light of recent developments and of the new alignments in social work, this correspondence tends to diminish rather than to increase. In constructing a rational program for the provision of social case work services, then, these traditional types may have to be disregarded or at least their importance minimized, except in so far as they define the major problem and determine the corresponding agency type for fundamental service.

Whether personal adjustment services shall become a public or a voluntary activity depends in part upon whether the specific activities to which they are auxiliary, such as relief, medical care, child placement, and so forth, are public or voluntary. The great body of these activities is now

actually under public sponsorship and tends toward such sponsorship in an increasing degree. With respect to those personal adjustment services, however, that are not auxiliary to other needs, but are in and of themselves a response to recognized personal disorganization, there is as yet no clear understanding as to what type of agency must have ultimate responsibility. The question has hardly, as yet, been put to the American community whether it is interested in providing such independent social case work services, unrelated to other needs, or at least not dependent upon the overt manifestation of other disturbances; it is difficult, therefore, to say whether if the community understood and accepted responsibility for such service it would choose to do so only to the extent of voluntary interests and resources or would, either now or later, include personal adjustment services among its primary responsibilities through government agencies.

The actual situation is this: voluntary agencies whose activities hitherto had been in a large measure devoted to meeting economic problems and whose mode of procedure centered more and more in the social case work concepts, appear now to be relatively free from the task of giving economic assistance, while they possess experience, personnel, and a point of view oriented to the task of adjusting personal difficulties of a variety of types. Whereas, however, previously their financial support was given them principally because of their function with regard to relieving material difficulties, with the social case work regarded as an auxiliary procedure, their support in the future must be based clearly, if not exclusively, on a general public acceptance of the need for personal adjustment for its own sake and on its willingness to supply the necessary means for such a program.

To meet these needs in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, in the light of our present knowledge and of the trends of recent years, the following groups of agencies would seem to be required (excluding relief agencies and the incidental adjustment services to their relief clients):

1. General case work agencies in which services may be given to adults or children whose immediate difficulties are not within the fields of special services, such as medical treatment, courts of justice, and so forth
2. Social case work departments associated with medical institutions, whether hospitals or clinics and whether dealing with physical or mental ailments
3. The school system, with its manifold problems arising from scholastic, behavior, and health difficulties of children
4. Correctional agencies, both courts and penal institutions, recognized as potential agencies for the personal adjustment of delinquents. The children's court is not included in this group, since the juvenile offender has been absorbed in a system of child care in which his treatment merges with that of the dependent and neglected child. Progress in this direction for adults has been slow. For various reasons this phase of personal adjustment has been omitted from the present

inquiry. While this group of agencies, therefore, will not be discussed here, its place in the scheme of social adjustment services must be recognized.

5. Child care agencies in which social case work with children has become a primary function. Part of this field merges with that of general case work because children are rarely unattached persons and most frequently, therefore, must be dealt with as part of a family. They constitute in most instances a portion of the general problem of unadjustment in family life. Another part is absorbed in the school system as described below. Still another remains in the field of economic relief because the dependent child may be merely a member of the dependent family. The only organizations dealing more clearly with children as relatively separate entities, in so far as that is possible at all, are the children's institutions and, in some respects, the child guidance clinics.

Of these five groupings the present chapter will deal only with the first three, while the body of child welfare services will be considered in the following chapter.

GENERAL SOCIAL CASE WORK OR PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT SERVICE

A review of the work of agencies in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County in the light of these general considerations has led to proposals, some of which represent new and fundamental realignments, while others represent merely administrative and organizational changes. The most important single recommendation within this field proposes the establishment of a nonsectarian generic social case work agency for personal adjustment service, with certain corollary changes in the programs of other agencies, both nonsectarian and denominational.²

In the field of general social case work no public agencies have been active in the past. Voluntary agencies, with few exceptions such as the International Institute, have been devoted primarily to the task of providing economic relief. Most of these agencies have operated under sectarian or denominational auspices, even though the acceptance of clients may not have been limited by the same lines of differentiation. A few of these agencies have added study and research to their programs, but not extensively and these functions have been diminishing rather than growing. None of the agencies has been county-wide in actual service, although several have attempted to spread their services to as large a part of the county as possible. Some of the agencies have focused their programs on child care. A few have been conspicuous in the local movement for the technical advancement of social case work, but none of them has been

² The specific agencies involved in this particular proposal are: Family Society of Allegheny County, Children's Service Bureau, Children's Aid Society, Lutheran Inner Mission, Association for the Improvement of the Poor, Salvation Army, American Red Cross, Conference of Catholic Charities, Catholic Boy Welfare Bureau; also the following members of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies: Jewish Family Welfare Association, Jewish Big Brothers Association, Girls' Bureau, J. M. Guskys Hebrew Orphanage, Bureau for Jewish Children.

in the van of the movement in its national scope. Several, notably the Family Society and one or two of the children's agencies, have been actively coöperating with the local professional training schools in providing field work and in other ways. The programs of practically all these agencies have been dislocated and either temporarily or permanently modified by developments in the public relief and case work fields, such as the inauguration of the Mothers' Assistance Fund, the Emergency Relief Administration, Old Age Assistance, and the Transient Service.

During later years, in which technical advancement in case work procedures of these agencies has seen its greatest development and specialized services have been more clearly differentiated, a paradoxical development has taken place, emphasizing the basic similarity of these case work processes, rather than their differences. In fact, the field of social case work has been undergoing a process of redefinition and realignment along the greater part of its front. These considerations provide the setting and partly the justification for the major recommendation which follows.

It is proposed that a central general case work agency be established under nonsectarian auspices, while a somewhat restricted and modified continuation of the Jewish and Catholic case work agencies is suggested. With these exceptions the new agency would be expected to carry responsibility for all the nonspecialized case work services and to serve to a considerable extent as the central source of intake for as large a body of applicants as possible, even if some of them may later be referred to specialized agencies. The functions and organization of this proposed agency have already been described in a memorandum submitted to the sponsors of this study and to interested agencies. The following extract brings together the most important points contained in that memorandum,³ and differentiates between the ultimate functions of the proposed agency and such temporary activities as it may be expected to continue during a period of transition.

The immediate effect of the establishment of this agency would be that the functions of the Family Society, Children's Service Bureau, and Children's Aid Society would be transferred to this organization. These three agencies would then cease to function and would transfer their physical property and personnel, with the exception of executives and board members, to the new agency.

According to the plan, when the proposed agency has been established, the Association for the Improvement of the Poor would discontinue its family department, but would continue work in connection with its program of service to unattached persons, as well as certain other functions. Similarly the family departments of the Lutheran Inner Mission and of

³ Prepared by Herschel Alt, of the staff.

the Salvation Army would be discontinued, and a further analysis would be made of the Home Service Department of the Red Cross with a view to transferring part of its services to the new agency.

The program of the general agency would include almost all the case work services in the home which are now the responsibility of private agencies but would not include intramural case work, as for example, that within children's institutions, hospitals, and settlements or the work of Jewish and Catholic case work agencies. It would assume responsibility for additional services not now provided and would lead to the curtailment of some existing services which may safely be dropped or transferred to public agencies.

The services of the new agency would include diverse forms of help to people in trouble, which might range from information about agencies where the aid requested may be secured or guidance in the use of various community facilities to highly skilled treatment of serious personality difficulties.⁴ Problems treated would include those involved in relationships between husband and wife, parent and child, conduct problems of children, protection of neglected children. In the main these services would be intended for persons who are unable to pay, but who are not on relief. They would also be available, however, to clients of a public agency upon referral, in cases in which the public agency considered itself unequipped for the task or to persons of moderate means, if the service needed were of the kind which would command heavy fees if obtained on a commercial basis. They would be available without racial or religious distinction. The agency would refer to sectarian agencies such clients as would seem to benefit by, and who are willing to accept, services from a sectarian agency.

To the extent to which child placing remains a function of private agencies the service should be provided by this new organization. In the child placing field private effort is required at present:

- a. To care for children ineligible for public care
- b. To undertake demonstrations of new possibilities of services; for instance, the care of infants in foster homes rather than in institutions and the use of foster homes for convalescent children and for children now receiving care unsuited to their particular needs
- c. In carrying out the service program, to promote the development of a unified community foster care program which will make the best use of public and private institutional and foster home resources

On the assumption that the public agency would carry responsibility for relief to those whose income falls below that required for the maintenance of an accepted minimum standard of living, this agency should

⁴ Except as these might be given in a specialized agency for intensive psychological therapy such as the Child Guidance Center.

ultimately discontinue all relief responsibility.⁵ During the period of transition toward the complete fulfillment by the public department of its responsibility for relief, relief out of private funds would continue to be provided to those ineligible for public assistance.

It is recognized that in addition to financial assistance for those ineligible for public relief during the transition period there will be required by the agency relief resources for special or temporary needs of clients coming to the agency for case work service, to pay board for children in exceptional cases and to enable the agency to undertake demonstrations in the development of new and improved services, some of which might require relief funds. In the same way, though probably to a lesser extent, medical social work and other case work services may require access to relief sources. The services of a housekeeper for motherless families might, for example, in the demonstration stage be financed by the proposed agency and might include service to widowers who could not pay a housekeeper's wage but who otherwise might be economically self-maintaining. The organization of special housing and foster home care opportunities for the aged also might be attempted by this agency, in which case special funds would be required, some of which would practically be relief expenditures.

The proposed agency would assume considerable responsibility for research into social questions encountered in its services to individuals, this research to center on general living conditions and certain aspects of family life and possibly extend into the functioning of legislative provisions, more particularly those affecting the low-income group. This is a function that has theoretically been claimed by case work and relief agencies, but which has been neglected in recent years to the great loss of social work as a whole. In the discussion concerning the program of this proposed agency with the Advisory Committee of the Social Study the research function was unanimously approved, not as an incidental task in the agency's general scope of action, but as one justifying a substantial budgetary assignment.

This agency, in coöperation with other agencies, would exercise leadership in efforts to improve community conditions and to organize resources for social work and known social needs. It would exercise vigilance over practices in public social work agencies and would foster intelligent thought and action in support and protection of sound standards. It would be natural in the light of the history of social work, for such an agency as this to serve as a focus around which other nonsectarian agencies offering specialized services would ultimately group themselves. The

⁵ To assure achievement of this goal a definite date should be set beyond which applications for relief as a primary need will not be accepted by the voluntary agency.

opportunity given this agency to bring about coördination may be illustrated by its proposed relationship to children's institutions. Among the families it serves it will encounter a number of children in need of institutional care, and in arranging with the institutions for the care of these children it might well modify the quality of care provided. The new agency will seek to improve the quality of its case work service by technical research, free experimentation, and by necessary expenditures of funds for these purposes. Research here recommended would of course be coördinated with the program of the Bureau of Social Research.

The agency would be expected to take over the general responsibilities for providing field work opportunities now offered by existing agencies to students of professional training schools and would plan to coöperate with these schools.

PLAN OF ORGANIZATION

The service of this agency would be decentralized to the extent necessary to develop its activities as integral parts of the districts or areas it is to serve, and this decentralization would contemplate the distribution of its work as equitably as possible over the entire county. In so far as is consistent with present case work practice a single worker would deal with a variety of case work problems. Workers with special knowledge or skill may be employed either as consultants to other workers or for direct service on certain problems. Special services may be created as need for them seems clear. But the basic identity of all case work services would be emphasized as the foundation of the work rather than the "specialties" of the recent past. Such a shift of emphasis is regarded as not only inherently sound but also inevitable if the services of the agency are to be available to the entire county without favoring Pittsburgh disproportionately.

In determining next steps in carrying out this plan two objectives must be borne in mind: (1) the importance of avoiding an interruption of the continuity of present services, and (2) consistent progress in realization of the plan as a whole. As a first step, therefore, a board of directors would be created for the new agency, consisting of a suitable number of members (selected possibly by the Citizens' Committee of the Social Study). In selecting members for the board it might be well to secure some members from the boards of the three agencies and some from the community at large. As soon as the board is appointed, an executive to carry out this program should be selected. This point is of great importance if the unconditioned point of view necessary for the new agency is to be assured.

Among the first tasks would be the establishment of a number of unit

offices in Allegheny County—first because the county presents the most crying need for services to be met by this agency and because these units could constitute a demonstration of diverse case work services on a neighborhood basis.

The merger of the child placing functions of the Children's Aid Society and the Children's Service Bureau and the physical merger of the offices of these agencies and of the Family Society would also be among the first moves undertaken.

A single intake service would be established for the entire new agency, except as this might be administratively modified by the progressive decentralization or localization of service suggested. Then perhaps might follow in succession or simultaneously: (*a*) the transfer of responsibility for most of the protective service now provided by the Children's Service Bureau to the Juvenile Court and the schools, as recommended in this report; (*b*) the expansion of the present program of general case work service carried by the Family Society and the Children's Service Bureau by addition of new service functions not now being provided to children, young folk, and the aged.

The principal phases of the relationship of the Jewish and Catholic agencies, whose continuance is provided for, may be described as follows: In accordance with the special objectives of these sectarian agencies their volume of service should not be increased; particularly, the services should not be extended into the county. The "spreading thin" involved in such extension alone would be reason enough against it, if the logic behind the proposed new agency did not also demand this geographical limitation. Both the Jewish and Catholic agencies have, however, a special educational function for interpretation of social work objectives among their respective groups. Associated with this educational purpose is the improvement of methods and standards in the other sectarian services of the group, such as the children's institutions.

The Catholic and Jewish groups have, within reasonable limits, demonstrated their capacity to organize case work services. The Catholic community believes that a special sectarian agency is required to accomplish an integration of religious motivation and sanctions in case work practice, and the existing Catholic agency can serve this purpose. The Jewish community is interested in the communal, more than the religious, integration of social work. A general Jewish case work agency can contribute to this end. Similar purposes of other groups can be achieved, however, through the proposed general case work agency and the various existing church organizations, without the creation or continuance of separate agencies. A major tenet in the philosophy of case work is the importance of utilizing and preserving religious, cultural, and racial values. The competent case

worker will, therefore, fully utilize the church, and racial and cultural community resources in helping the client to achieve more satisfying human relationships, and it is not necessary to establish institutional counterparts in social work for every special group, denominational or otherwise.

Neither the Jewish nor the Catholic agencies should undertake to provide all the services required by members of their religious or racial groups. Not all Catholics or Jews should be compelled to go to their sectarian agencies for service. Only those who are referred from sectarian sources or those who of their own accord desire such service would become part of the sectarian clientele. Those who apply for service to the general agency might be referred to the sectarian body if it appears that they would benefit from receiving such services.

In accordance with this plan it is desirable to transfer the functions of the Jewish Family Welfare Association, Jewish Big Brothers' Association, Girls' Bureau, and the Bureau for Jewish Children to one general case work agency for the Jewish community similar to the proposed non-sectarian case work agency.⁶ It would be responsible for case work service to families or individuals of all ages and to children in need of foster home care. In conformity with these principles and with the plans for child care discussed at greater length in the succeeding chapter, as close a relationship as it is possible to achieve without actual union would be worked out between this new Jewish general agency and the J. M. Gusky Hebrew Orphanage. The children at the Gusky Home would all be assigned to a case worker, either in the general case work department or in the foster care department of the general agency. The case worker would be responsible for the treatment plan of the child in the institution and for the integration of the experience of the child in the institution with the development of the child's family situation. The findings and recommendations of the case worker and those of the superintendent would be placed before the board of the Gusky Home whenever a major decision about a child in the care of the institution is to be made. In an ideal plan all foster care, including institutional and foster homes, would be integrated into one department of the general agency here recommended. The present proposal represents the nearest approximation to that plan deemed feasible at this time.

The Conference of Catholic Charities already combines administration of residual relief, general counseling, and child placing in one agency. Some further modification of the relationship between its family and children's departments is desirable, as is also some further adjustment with

⁶ This recommendation has already been carried into effect.

Catholic children's institutions and with the Catholic Boy Welfare Bureau, which is not now a part of the Conference of Catholic Charities.⁷ The family department, in addition to its present function, should assume responsibility for all services in their own homes to children who may be under the care of the Catholic, rather than the nonsectarian general agency, including the investigations of all applications for foster home or institutional care. Because of the limited facilities of the Catholic Boy Welfare Bureau for rendering intensive case work service, that service would be transferred to the family department of the Conference of Catholic Charities. The service now provided in this field should under any circumstances be developed to more intensive standards than obtain at present if the utilization of sectarian, rather than generalized, service is to be justified. The Catholic Boy Welfare Bureau might continue its referral service at Morals Court and a program of guidance and the provision of recreation for the boy in his own community.

The Children's Department of the Conference of Catholic Charities would be responsible only for foster care. It would provide a complete case work service to children in Catholic institutions now associated with the Conference, and for case work consultation to social workers employed in institutions not now associated with it. The Conference of Catholic Charities would share the responsibility for the development of a Catholic children's program with a Catholic Child Welfare Council comprised of representatives from the ten Catholic children's institutions and the Conference itself, as recommended elsewhere in this report.⁸

SOME REASONS FOR THE PROPOSAL

Certain fundamental changes that have occurred in the functions of the voluntary family agencies (and to some extent also of children's agencies) have led to the proposal just outlined. Some of these conditions have been described in earlier chapters. The relief function has been almost completely taken over by public departments. When the unemployment relief load was first transferred to the public agency at the end of 1933, supplementation of services (as described in an earlier chapter) was introduced in the voluntary family agencies so that in June, 1935, approximately 70 percent or more of their case loads consisted of relief cases under care of the public emergency organization, for whom the voluntary agency provided service or supplementary relief. "Agency only" relief cases of seven private family agencies totaled 335 in April, 1935.⁹ Voluntary family agencies used their own funds almost exclusively for supplementation of public relief cases, for families ineligible for public relief because of public agency regulations, or for some special needs unprovided for by public

⁷ For details see chap. xvii, *infra*.

⁸ Cf. chap. xvii, *infra*.

⁹ Cf. p. 562, *supra*.

agencies such as housekeepers' service. The "service only" cases, as distinct from relief cases, had also shrunk so that in April, 1935, the Family Society, Conference of Catholic Charities and Jewish Family Welfare Association together carried a total of only 612 such cases in a case load of 3,216.

The bulk of the case work service, therefore, was still, at this time, given to relief cases or to those applying for relief. In March, 1936, a test count showed that approximately 90 percent of the applications to the Family Society and a smaller, though very substantial, proportion of those to the Jewish and Catholic agencies were for material relief. Comparatively little of the efforts of these voluntary agencies was devoted to the treatment of social problems in families not on relief, while at the same time a large and increasingly competent public agency was already serving the economic needs of these families. Marital difficulties and personality problems, however, and the conservation of family life (which they threaten) are just as important socially in nonrelief families as they are in relief families. Since public agencies carry the primary responsibility for relief administration, the great marginal income group not on relief offers a more distinct opportunity and challenge for case work service by the voluntary agency.

A study of intake of all the case work agencies in Allegheny County in March, 1935, revealed the types of problems referred to family agencies and reflected policies of these agencies in accepting or rejecting cases. Among cases accepted for service by the Family Society during that month the major difficulties presented may be grouped as follows:

- Personality problems, primarily of adults
- Homeless married women with young children
- Deserted women with small children
- Motherless families
- Young couples where family integrity is jeopardized
- Families in which children are unwisely dealt with

The intake of the Conference of Catholic Charities is distinguished from that of the Family Society by a greater number of requests for family service as distinct from financial relief. Referrals from the Juvenile Court, the Morals Court, and the Domestic Relations Court were represented in applications of that month. To its family department were assigned applications for the placement of children who were members of a family group. The case work functions of the Jewish Family Welfare Association, as indicated by this study of intake, did not differ from those of the Family Society and the Conference of Catholic Charities.

The combined intake of the Conference of Catholic Charities, Jewish Family Welfare Association, and the Family Society in April, 1935, consisted of 103 new cases, and the number of professional workers in these

three agencies at that time was 98, or a little more than one new case per month per worker. The average case load on the same date for these same three agencies was about 45 in the Conference of Catholic Charities, 30-odd in the Family Society, and 40 in the Jewish Family Welfare Association. The intake shows that while these agencies have lost most of their former relief function, they have only to a limited degree effected a transition to family case work service. They are no longer to an appreciable degree the means of supplying material relief to the mass of people requiring it, and they have not defined for themselves a new function, nor been reorganized in the light of new demands. In order to achieve recognition in the family service field, all three agencies need more skilled practitioners and better community resources for psycho-therapeutic diagnosis and treatment. The content of the case work needs to be enriched by the assimilation of more psychiatric, sociological, and economic factors and by experimentation with new techniques. Workers and case supervisors within the agencies are aware of the limitation of the present case work service, and this is due in part to a still lingering preoccupation with the relief problem, in which, however, their actual activities in economic assistance given or in progressive leadership are relatively unimportant.

Unlike the family agencies, the children's societies have not experienced any fundamental change in function during the past five years. This period, on the contrary, witnessed increased demands upon them, which they have been unable to meet because of inadequate budgets. Both the Children's Aid Society and the Children's Service Bureau place children in foster homes. Efforts were made in the 1930 Child Welfare Study and by the Child Welfare League of America and the Federation of Social Agencies since that time, to differentiate the placement services of these two agencies. This effort has not been successful because it is difficult to devise a rational and practical division of labor in the programs of such agencies along any arbitrary lines. As a consequence, there is at present little, if any, difference between the placement programs of the two agencies.

In addition to its placement program, the Children's Service Bureau provides a general protective service to children who are neglected or abused or who present serious health or behavior problems. The interpretation of protective responsibility by this agency has been very broad, and sometimes it has been carried to the extreme of including all children in need of some social service, even though there has been no deliberate neglect on the part of parent or guardian. Thus a large proportion of the agency's cases consists of applications by parents or guardians for help in a variety of child problems, involving, for example, conduct, diet, health, and so forth. Services to children in their own homes of the type just

enumerated are provided in some few instances by the Family Society and to a greater extent by the Jewish and Catholic family agencies. Another large group of cases handled by the Children's Service Bureau, as part of its protective responsibility, consists of complaints of the neglect of children made by other agencies, neighbors, or other individuals in the community. Much of this service should be the responsibility of an official agency, ultimately a department of public assistance, but for the present, the Juvenile Court.

The demands upon this agency have outstripped its resources so that intake had to be closed for many months during 1935. The agency would have to be at least double its present size to continue to function with this broad program, comprising, as it does, much that is properly the function of public agencies. There is evidence that among the reasons why the Juvenile Court has not carried some of these functions appropriate to it is that theoretically they are available through voluntary agencies. Even if the Children's Service Bureau were to succeed in obtaining sufficient funds for "protective services," the continuance of its present broad program would be undesirable because it results in releasing other agencies, particularly the Juvenile Court, from responsibility for children's problems in their case loads. It is much more important for a voluntary agency to provide leadership and establish standards than to attempt to carry the total volume of service as its operative task.

There are certain inherent limitations in the use being made of the Children's Service Bureau in relation to protective situations. The cases seem to be referred from other agencies only after the neglect has continued for a long period of time; there is evidence to show that because of the existence of this agency some of the other agencies do not recognize their responsibility for dealing with problems of neglect in the incipient stage, but that they carry them along until they are severe enough to justify referral.

While there seems to be no actual necessity for separate agencies for providing services to children in their own homes, as they now exist, there is ample justification for making certain that the proposed general agency be equipped with workers skilled in dealing with children requiring specialized treatment, since such children may constitute important factors in the disorganization of families or may be the principal persons in need of assistance.

The Children's Aid Society has experienced a rapid expansion of budget and case load since its reorganization five years ago. Although the program of the agency stresses service to children in need of particularly skillful service and care in foster placement, the bulk of its case load consists of children receiving service in their own homes. It does not accept

cases of abuse and neglect of children when referred as such, but it does accept and treat such problems when they are referred as applications for placement.

UNMET NEEDS

In the course of this study the need for many case work services not now provided by any agency was encountered. The agencies themselves frequently directed the attention of the study staff to these needs, and in doing so they appeared to assume a rigid definition of the proper functions for their own agencies. For instance, need for guidance service for older children was repeatedly pointed out on the assumption that a new agency would have to be created or that the community should deliberately delegate the responsibility for this service to some existing agency, whereas there apparently is no reason why these agencies themselves could not have handled such cases. In our study of the services to the aged many needs of this group were discovered that might appropriately have been provided by the family case work agencies. The same is true in the field of delinquency. Experimentation by voluntary agencies in the field of vocational adjustment for adults is also desirable and might well be incorporated in their program without creating a new organization.

The study of public relief agencies pointed to the desirability of having the voluntary agencies take some positive action in the development of desirable but nonexistent community resources for the clients of the public agency, such as medical care and recreation, and also in interpreting the policies and programs of these public relief agencies. To a certain extent this interpretation was achieved through the early activities of the Community Councils, but the more permanent and established agencies in the relief and case work field have not been conspicuous in this form of community education.

Apart from the needs for specific additional services, the great need for many qualitative modifications of case work service in Allegheny County outside Pittsburgh is outstanding. This need, in some ways peculiar to this county, arises from the characteristics of the county population and from the nature of the communities in which its people live. The majority, 704,593 of the total county population of 1,374,410, lives outside the city of Pittsburgh—a proportion of suburbanites equaled in no other metropolitan area except Boston. More than half the foreign-born and the native-born of foreign or mixed parentage live outside Pittsburgh. As is usual in all communities, the majority of Negroes are in the city, yet one-third of the total number in Allegheny County live outside Pittsburgh.

In spite of the large suburban and commuting population the majority of the county population belongs to the laboring, hence to the lower

economic, classes and depends for livelihood on steel mills or other manufacturing industries, railroads, and coal mines. There is, moreover, an excess of laboring population in the county, not only in depression times, but also in prosperous times, which makes a livelihood precarious. Some of the excess population, brought in during labor troubles, represents lower standards of living and a needier, more difficult case work problem.

The large potential case work clientele lives in communities which vary in size and kind. In 1930 there were eighteen political subdivisions with a population over 10,000—the minimum requirement for cities in Pennsylvania. Only four of these communities are “suburban.” In industrial communities the poorer people often live in congestion which equals or exceeds that in Pittsburgh’s crowded districts. There are, on the other hand, small isolated rural communities (often the remnants of a group left by the closing of a mine or a small industry) where there is plenty of space, but where health and social conditions are far from good. In comparison with Pittsburgh most county communities provide little in the way of public or voluntary programs for health or recreation and often little in the way of regulation of housing and sanitation. Field workers speak of communities where it is almost impossible to find a house fit for a family to occupy when moving seems desirable.

In a large population therefore,—part of which has not yet been fully assimilated to Allegheny County, to the North, or even to this country,—many families need assistance and supervision such as case workers can give.

Besides the county-wide public service given to the families of some of the widows, some of the blind and aged, and a comparatively small number of delinquents who get to Juvenile Court or jail, there is almost no case work available in the county except that of the voluntary agencies of Pittsburgh. A case work agency in Sewickley (of limited scope, as indicated by the number it is serving—56 families in July) and two or three informal continuations of community groups formed to dispense relief during the emergency of 1930–33 constituted the total of local case work provisions found outside Pittsburgh. So far, one of the best of the informal groups observed spent \$50.40 in 1934. None of the local groups has trained workers, and Sewickley is the only one employing a paid worker.

Case work agencies and the Community Fund deserve considerable credit for the amount of county service developed since the Community Fund was organized in 1929. There is, however, unequal distribution of service between Pittsburgh and the county and between the different parts of the county which is understandable in view of the difficulties of county service. The greater cost in time, energy, and money which is involved in a visit to a distant case—and often the distance is apparently

exaggerated by topography—is equalled by the difficulty due to inadequate community resources with which to work. Voluntary agencies have a tendency—perhaps justifiable—to give relatively a large proportion of service to county communities near Pittsburgh. Wilkinsburg, Bellevue, Mt. Lebanon, and Dormont all appear in a list of the twenty communities represented by the highest “county case loads” of the agencies. Crafton, Sewickley, and West View would be added if the highest twenty-five community case loads were considered. Not accessibility alone, but also greater interest, more referrals, and more resources to insure results of case work are among legitimate reasons for concentration in such communities. The result is, of course, a postponement of needed service in other parts of the county.

The most unfortunate circumstance about the present case work service in the county seems to be the number of agencies active in relation to the number of cases served. The following list gives a suggestive example:

COMMUNITY	NUMBER OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES WORKING	NUMBER OF CASES IN 12 MONTHS, ^a JULY, 1934—JULY, 1935
Allison Park	4	10
Blawnox	6	21
Bridgeville	6	37
Castle Shannon	5	29
Clairton	7	46
Imperial	5	12
Library	6	13
Oakmont	7	22
Pitcairn	7	28
Wall	5	6
West Homestead	5	10
Wilmerding	7	18

^a Figures secured from Bureau of Social Research. “Major cases” only are included when possible to distinguish between major and minor cases.

Certain circumstances make the immediate future timely in planning for extension and unification. Two emergencies in the county have created an unusual public interest and appreciation of relief, if not of case work: the 1927 strike which prompted miners’ relief, and the early depression days which instigated the community efforts for relief administration. Local efforts during the depression created much interest and some understanding of the problem. The very difficulties encountered, and the fact that the task grew ever larger while local funds visibly diminished, made an opening for county-wide service. In spite of some criticisms of “service from Pittsburgh,” the Community Fund idea has taken deeper root in the county than might have been expected in a much longer time without the depression.

SPECIAL ADVANTAGES OF A GENERAL CASE WORK AGENCY

Could not the advantages to be gained by carrying out these recommendations for a new agency be brought about equally well by coördination of the work of existing agencies? Coördination has been a watchword in social work since the beginning of the charity organization movement. Social work in Pittsburgh, as in many other communities, reveals much social loss and economic waste due to imperfect coördination between agencies. Agency self-interest and considerations of strength and prestige are forces pulling against true coöperation. Even in those situations in which a high degree of coördination has been achieved, the transfer of cases between agencies is still costly in workers' time.

The development of specialized agencies may be accounted for by a number of factors in the history of social work. The appeal of a special problem or special group has, because of its simple or graphic quality, facilitated the securing of financial support. In the pioneer period of the development of social service, provision for certain needs by special agencies was probably the only means of securing support. Most of the values associated with specialized agencies in the treatment of the client, however, have grown out of the practice of basic case work and could have been achieved by case work practice under general agencies equally well. The specialized agency must necessarily suffer from a limited perspective as to causation of problems and the interrelationship between the fragment of the client's experience for which the agency is responsible, and the history and contemporaneous experiences of the client.

It seems possible to preserve the values of a specialized program in a general agency and at the same time avoid some of the losses inherent in the present system. Specialists can be made available for consultation on difficult problems, or special services may be established for any large volume of need requiring special treatment. By maintaining a research program the general agency can study the broader implications of the service program as well as or better than the special agency. The interest of boards can be retained by the organization of advisory committees, either to consider special problems or to advise with respect to certain neighborhoods.

The social waste involved in the transfer of cases from one agency to another can be avoided in a generalized agency. The confusion and resentment of families who must seek help from a multiplicity of agencies is obvious. The necessity for repeating his plight to different workers is justifiably annoying to the client. The transfer is always accompanied by a lag in treatment, because time must elapse before the new worker is oriented in a situation. Perhaps one of the most subtle losses is the tendency to pass on an unresolved problem to another agency. This can be seen

most frequently in the relation between family and children's agencies. Failure to treat some of the basic difficulties in the family situation may manifest itself in the problems of the child. The family worker may pass the child on for foster home treatment to the children's agency. The child, in reality, becomes the scapegoat. Similarly, the worker in the children's agency may be equally ready to blame for her failure what was done or omitted by the family worker.

Specialized agencies find it difficult to provide service on a neighborhood basis, with the result that they tend to become detached from the environmental factors with which they should deal. Recognition of the neighborhood as a factor in the client's problem and an appreciation of the resources for treatment in his immediate community are becoming increasingly important. A general case work service on a neighborhood basis will make possible a better understanding of available resources and the need of additional resources can be interpreted to the local community.

The traditional prominence of the family society and the children's agency in the field of personal adjustment has led to the assumption that, except for other specialties such as medical social work, probation, and so forth, they constitute all case work services and cover the whole gamut of assistance given for this type of need. It is true that the family agency, at any rate, has included a large variety of activities in its scope of service in the past. It has given information, procured medical and legal services, obtained scholarships and vocational training for clients, has negotiated with distant members of their families, and in countless ways has met the unpredictable variety of needs of applicants. Nevertheless, family agencies throughout the country, perhaps to a greater degree in Pittsburgh than elsewhere, have allowed the theory to grow up that there remained many specialties requiring the creation of separate agencies and the application of peculiar skills. There has been little technical justification in the past, and there would seem to be less now, for dividing the general adjustment service in personal problems into so many different categories. A chief purpose that the proposed agency may serve is to establish in the minds of professionals and lay people alike the fact that though there may be an endless variety of case work problems to be met in innumerable ways, the same staff using the same technical processes can, nevertheless, serve practically all the situations of maladjustment that may occur which are appropriate for that method of social work.

This tendency to specialization in Pittsburgh showed itself in the movement which ultimately led to the formation of the Urban League, even though in the field of general case work little discrimination has been shown against the Negro. Nor has the foreign-born person been dis-

criminated against in these agencies. Nevertheless, special case work services for foreign-born groups were developed in the International Institutes under special staffs. This specialization has taken place, despite the fact that in Allegheny County from one-third to more than two-fifths of the cases in the relief and family agencies are reported as consisting of foreign-born persons. In March, 1935, the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board reported that approximately 31 percent of its clientele were foreign-born. Similar classification of the cases served during 1932 by family societies showed that 43.8 percent of the heads of families served were foreign-born and that 18.5 percent were Negroes. Cases accepted during March, 1935, by the principal case work agencies of the county showed 25 percent known to have foreign-born heads of families and close to 33 percent of unknown nativity, of whom a considerable proportion undoubtedly were also foreign-born. If foreign-born groups required separate agencies to serve them, a far-reaching reorganization of all relief and case work agencies would be necessary. Actually the problems of the foreign-born are not essentially different from the problems of the others, nor do they require different specific forms of aid. Work with them does not necessarily imply that the staff of the agencies must be familiar with the dozens of languages and foreign cultures into which the clients may be classified. It is important, rather, that a staff professionally trained shall be aware of the varieties of cultural and traditional peculiarities that one must be prepared for among clients if their needs, in themselves not different from those of American clients, require different ways of approach. Even such technical services as assistance in naturalization and in the complex problems that arise out of relations with members of families residing in other countries, may not be independent problems calling exclusively for technical assistance, but may arise out of the general situation of the family. The technical specialty may be obtainable for this type of service in the same way as it is for medical and legal complications that keep occurring in the general run of cases. The proposed agency should be, and can be, ready to receive every variety of request, can meet the vast majority of requests by means of its regular personnel if they are properly trained, and can utilize specialists within the personnel of its own agency or of other agencies if technical problems presented are beyond the preparation of the ordinary worker.

This point of view with respect to the multitudinous forms in which family problems occur points also to the other much neglected obligation of a community agency of this type: namely, the continuous study of problems, living conditions, and changes in the community's population—that is, social research in living conditions. If the agency takes its proper responsibility for all varieties of problems brought to its doors,

leaves the task of economic relief to the public bodies, and consistently carries on a program of community studies, it will free agencies such as the International Institute and the Urban League to develop their own programs more suitably. These organizations can then concentrate on education, study and community action, and, most important, on the interpretation of the general living problems of these special ethnic and racial groups to the American community as a whole.

In a strictly logical conception of an organization whose principal function is to be the provision of personal adjustment services, it might seem inappropriate to include research into living conditions in its program. Certainly it seems to be asking too much to expect that the agency will make itself responsible for interpreting, supporting, and, when need be, criticizing the public system of relief provision. If the decentralization of the proposed agency in the interest of extending its services to the county and making its social case work services more easily accessible to neighborhoods is conceived of as something more than administrative procedure and as partaking of the character of neighborhood service such as occasional settlement houses have sought to give, that again would seem to show little relevance to the personal adjustment function as proposed for the new agency. It might well be admitted that the inclusion of these activities rests not upon the logic of their relation to personal adjustment but rather upon tradition and convenience: tradition shows an intimate association of the work of family case work agencies with activities related to the life and welfare of the poor. Family agencies have, moreover, frequently commanded the services of executives and other personnel whose outlook and leadership have enabled the agencies to carry responsibilities for such public duties. It may be that a greater kinship in neighborhood study and neighborhood service will develop between the general case work agency, so conceived, and the traditional neighborhood activities of settlement houses and neighborhood centers, so that either type of social agency will carry the leadership in these activities or that the distinction between the two types will become less pronounced. The tendency for the latter type of agency to add professional case workers to their staffs may foreshadow such a development; even as the proposed decentralization of the personal adjustment agencies will inevitably bring them into greater contact with community conditions requiring other than individualized treatment for their improvement. The plans suggested here must be regarded as representing a stage of progress and a direction of development rather than a final framework for the division of labor.

Another area in which the implications of the proposed agency leave considerable leeway for social planning is the provision of skilled and intensive psychological treatment for clients. Theoretically, of course,

such service ought to be automatically available wherever the need for it exists, primarily in the Domestic Relations Court, the Juvenile Court, the Morals Court, and certainly in the out-patient departments of mental hospitals. The lack of such services in public and voluntary agencies alike is one of the most keenly felt shortcomings in the facilities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. It is bound to be still more keenly felt after the establishment of the proposed agency, when the elimination of its relief responsibilities must result in the centering of attention upon the task of personal adjustment. In this task an increasing proportion of persons requiring intensive treatment will be seen, and the need for assistance from psychiatrists and for therapeutic service by trained psychiatric case workers will become increasingly apparent. With the exception of the limited availability of these services in the public departments, including the public school system in Pittsburgh, there is only a single agency which deliberately and upon acceptably high standards provides adjustment service where deep-lying personality difficulties are involved. This is the Child Guidance Center. It is limited in funds and size of personnel and can only carry on what amounts to a demonstration service. Its name and the fact that its clients are primarily children requiring psychological assistance place it, moreover, among the children's agencies, even though in the actual case treatment child and parent must frequently be regarded as a unit, the extent of differentiation depending on the individual case. The type of service provided by this agency will have to be extended to many times its present size, not only to meet already known needs, but also, especially, to enable the proposed general case work agency to function adequately within its own field. This shortage of service does not mean either that the present Child Guidance Center must be enlarged or that many more such separate agencies need to be created; it means rather that the required facilities should be made available either within the personnel of the case work agency or in connection with medical institutions which would then serve cases of this type as they occur.

The present Child Guidance Center was organized in 1931 as a result of interest derived from the fields of education, medicine, and social work. The organizing committee (twenty-six members) included these interests and was enabled to inaugurate the service through the financial support of the Buhl Foundation. The Child Guidance Center is now being taken over on a graduated plan of transitional financing by the Community Fund. Organized primarily as a demonstration service to carry on research and interpretation, its activities are quantitatively limited, and its intake is small. It accepts cases referred by various agencies and individuals; most cases are brought directly by parents; schools and social agencies come next in importance. Its organization and general procedure are

similar to those of the standard child guidance clinics as developed through the country, and the caliber of its services justifies the position of leadership which it occupies in the field of personality adjustment. The Child Guidance Center has an inherent importance of its own, but the chief interest it holds in this connection is that it represents a type of necessary service for the adjustment of difficult personality problems of which there is too little available in Allegheny County at present and which defines one important phase of the future work of the proposed general agency.

MEDICAL SOCIAL WORK¹⁰

The "personal adjustment" service designated by the term "medical social work" is organizationally of an auxiliary nature incidental to the medical problem of the patient. Because the patient is the client of the medical institution, certain interests of that institution also become involved in his personal adjustment problem and so may become part of the concern of the medical social worker. Among these interests is the frequently important one relating to the financial capacity of the client to meet the cost of his medical treatment. Both the medical institution and the patient are directly involved, for the former is committed to providing the treatment whatever the source of its support, while the latter is in need of the service whether he can afford it or not. Ascertaining the patient's financial resources serves the dual purpose of assuring the service and protecting the institution from unjustified expenditures of resources. It is possible, moreover, that the patient may need not only the economic assistance implied by free medical care but also further financial assistance during illness to supplement suspended income and perhaps additional help for prosthetic appliances, convalescent care, and so forth. The determination of capacity to pay has in the course of time become established as an integral part of the work of social service departments of hospitals and clinics. It has, however, too often been allowed to retain undue importance. Social problems have a direct effect on the etiology, diagnosis, and treatment of illness and the prevention of disease. Medical social service becomes a sifting process to discover these gross social problems, which can then be referred to the workers equipped to study and treat them as they are related to illness.

Of similar importance is the help that social case work can give to the physician in his own special field. For medical treatment proper the physician recognizes the need for suitable conditions to make that treatment possible and effective. Information and assistance beyond strictly medical knowledge and skill and not automatically available to the physician are often required.

¹⁰ The material in the following pages dealing with medical social work is drawn from a report by Edith M. Baker, of the staff.

A mere enumeration of diagnoses gives an inadequate picture of medical needs. Illness is usually not a single episode, and a glance at the cross section of a patient's life will often be misleading. It is necessary to study the life of the individual and to determine the factors—hereditary, environmental, developmental, educational, economic, psychological and emotional—which have contributed to the present problem and which may be important in diagnosis and treatment. A large proportion of the problems of patient are as yet unlabeled by science, and have their origin in economic, social and historic conditions. They are associated with the intricate, and, at times, baffling problems of present day society. A considerable part of medical practice is helping individuals to adapt themselves to conditions of living, and particularly to adjust their activities within any limitations which disease may have created.¹¹

In order that the medical social worker may make her greatest contribution to the understanding and treatment of illness as a specialist in the area of social problems, she must function as a member of the medical team under the leadership of the physician. The doctor frequently needs, moreover, not information alone but also social adjustive assistance.

It is important also for social workers in relief and other social agencies in the community who may be serving the patient simultaneously to be given information concerning the effect upon the patient of his medical condition; they must become acquainted with recommendations for treatment made by the physician, such as special medications or apparatus, additional nourishment, diets, limitation of activity, and, if possible, with the prognosis regarding ultimate outcome or recovery, temporary or permanent incapacity, partial or total disability. Without such information they frequently do not understand the full implications of the illness of their clients, and medical treatment may not be carried through to completion. Conversely, the community agency possesses social information of potential value to the physician in his examination of the patient and in the formulation of the plan for treatment. Often any reasonable hope of the patient's recovery depends upon release from financial worries or actual economic assistance; an understanding and coöperative family is no less necessary, especially when protracted or chronic ailment menaces the status of the head of the family or of an important earner. The best technical efforts of the doctor may go to waste unless family adjustments and financial assistance indispensable for recovery are procured. This becomes part of the task of medical social work.

In hospitals and clinics devoted to mental difficulties the informational and adjustive services of the case worker assume an importance which places them in a position practically of active partnership with the psychiatrist. In these cases the physician's own task is principally that of personal adjustment. But whereas his direct ministrations are usually addressed to the specific personality disorganizations of the patient, the

¹¹ Final Report of the Commission on Medical Education, New York, 1932.

task, often no less important, of adjusting the current relationship "in the field" between patient and family, or patient and other personalities of his directly impinging environment devolves upon the social case work auxiliary: the psychiatric social worker.

Medical education, recognizing that illness is not an independent episode but a particular incident in the patient's life, has to an increasing extent sought to utilize the medical social work departments and personnel of hospitals associated with medical schools in attempting to impart to the medical student that point of view as part of his professional preparation. Medical social work has consequently taken a place in the curricular planning of medical education.

Medicine is not an abstract body of knowledge to be used only in laboratory. It is a living science and art applied to, for, and by human beings and subject to their idiosyncracies. It is a social as well as a biological science and it has economic, psychological, and sociological relationships. The effects on physical and mental health of mass unemployment, under-nutrition, and poor housing should form a part of medical instruction. The social background and inter-relations of medicine should be as much a part of medical education as the physical, chemical, and bacteriological backgrounds. Indeed, this point of view should permeate the entire professional training.¹²

In only a few schools of medicine in this country are the ideas incorporated in this statement translated into action through formal participation by medical social workers in the instruction of medical students. In other instances particular departments within medical schools have enlisted the coöperation of the social service personnel in the social case teaching of medical students. Less formal methods, such as individual conferences, aid in interpreting the relationship between disease and social maladjustment in still other places. The various plans in operation involve active coöperation between teachers of clinical medicine, medical students, and experienced medical social case workers.

MEDICAL SOCIAL CASE WORK OR PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT

The most important of the functions of medical social work, briefly noted above, is that of rendering the conditions and environment of the patient conducive to his treatment. As stated by an authoritative source,¹³

The primary purpose of a hospital social service department is to further the medical care of the patient by a method of medical social case study and treatment. The major activity of the department, therefore, should be medical social case work. The method is that of social case work correlated with medical treatment; it requires the assembling and analyzing of data, the outlining and carrying through of an integrated medical social plan.

¹² *Medical Care for the American People*, University of Chicago Press, 1932, p. 139.

¹³ American College of Surgeons, *Hospital Standardization Report*, 1928.

The "method of social case work" as understood here is, of course, no different from case work or personal adjustment in other types of situation, with one exception: more than ever it is recognized now that there is a very intimate relationship between emotional stress and organic non-function. No longer is it sufficient for the medical case worker to assist in interpreting the social setting of the patient to the physician or to render home conditions conducive to recovery. Personality difficulties of the patient must have direct attention as intimately related to his illness and its treatment.

This statement does not, of course, cover all the essential features of psychiatric case work as a specialized form of medical social work. Psychiatric social work is, in fact, practically nonexistent in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County except for children and to a very limited extent as a part of family social work. Within the organized practice of medicine it is so negligible as to justify no further descriptive attention. It is an outstanding need, unserved and unplanned for.

In the practice of personal adjustment services in hospital and clinic limitations exist that place intensive work beyond the possibility of achievement in the majority of cases. The medical institution cannot continue its services beyond the time when the patient ceases to receive medical aid. Thus the possible helpfulness of the medical social worker terminates with the discontinuance of active medical treatment by the institution, regardless of other circumstances. Being an auxiliary service, its functions are conditioned by the circumstances of the principal service. Other difficulties, well known to the profession, are equally common to the work and are not peculiar to Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. Limitations are, on the whole, twofold: those interfering with quantitative service, considered in some detail during the present study, and those preventing intensive case work. The latter are so common to all medical institutions that a legitimate gradation in the intensity of possible services has been recognized in the following classification of permissible types of medical social work.

1. "Full social case work"¹⁴ (intensive as well as extensive adjustments).
2. "Partial case work," comprising activities such as interviews for discovery of relevant social factors or the patient's decision regarding economic and medical eligibility for admission to clinic or hospital; medical follow-up to secure continued attendance until completion of medical treatment; determination of advisability of furnishing prosthetic appliances; interpretation to the patient of his medical condition and of the recommendations for treatment; arrangements for discharge of patients to conditions satisfactory for after-care; coöperative or steering work with community agencies; and clinic management.
3. "Coöperative work," defined as being "rendered when the workers from a

¹⁴ See *Medical Social Work*, by Harriett M. Bartlett, Chicago, 1934, Foreword, p. 6.

case work agency assume responsibility for supplying the social history, for arranging to have the patient come to the clinic for examination and treatment, and for attending conferences when indicated; and when the medical social workers assume responsibility for interpreting the social information to the doctor, interpreting the medical condition and recommendations to the patient and other agency, assisting the latter in carrying out the treatment measures, and reporting to the agency any changes in the physical condition of the patient."¹⁵

4. "Social admitting." This is an enlarged conception of the subject of determining financial capacity (to be referred to later).

5. "Clinic management," the administrative phase of assuring to the patient a maximum return in service and mental comfort for the investment by the community in the provision of the service.

AVAILABILITY OF MEDICAL SOCIAL WORK IN PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY COUNTY

Unlike many other divisions of the field, medical social work is in a position to determine the outer limits of its proper practice: patients in clinics and those receiving or seeking free hospital care or, at any rate, "ward care." The extent to which paying patients (except mental cases) need be thought of as possible clients for medical social work is negligible. It would follow, therefore, that medical social work (all or some of its phases) should be available in every clinic and in every hospital that admits free patients. It would especially follow that all hospitals under public management—being practically all free services—would be supplied with medical social work departments.

In examining the organized care available for the sick in this community the present study obtained information from thirty-five hospitals, twenty-four out-patient departments of hospitals, and two independent clinics, or a total of sixty-one units if out-patient departments are counted separately, or, more properly, thirty-seven units if counted with their hospital affiliations. There are only sixteen social service departments in all Allegheny County medical institutions, including one independent clinic (Falk) and one municipal unit.

Twelve voluntary hospitals included in the study of hospital facilities¹⁶ (ten of which have out-patient departments) and one voluntary, independent clinic offer no social service assistance to their patients. Of the nine public hospitals, only one mental unit affords any social service care. The social service staffs of the sixteen departments include only thirty-two full-time and two part-time medical social workers. Medical social

¹⁵ *A Handbook of Statistical Reporting in the Field of Medical Social Service*, prepared by a joint committee of the A.A.S.W. and the Advisory Committee on Social Statistics, U. S. Children's Bureau, 1933, p. 8 (Miss Edith Baker's phrasing in her reference to the *Handbook on Statistical Recording*).

¹⁶ Cf. chap. xviii, *infra*.

work in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, therefore, is necessarily extremely restricted in scope.

Seven of the sixteen social service departments have only one worker. The remainder have from two to six workers. The services of the two part-time workers probably equal those of one full-time worker. It can be considered, therefore, that the services of thirty-three medical social workers are available for all the patients attending the medical institutions of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County.¹⁷

How many medical social workers should there be for Pittsburgh and Allegheny County? While no standard for the number of patients per worker has ever been agreed upon, it was suggested in the Philadelphia Hospital and Health Survey, made in 1929 by Dr. Haven Emerson, that a desirable ratio is one social worker to not more than 2,000 dispensary patients per annum. Dr. Malcolm T. MacEachern,¹⁸ basing his conclusion upon a number of studies, has recommended one medical social worker for every 150 to 200 patients in hospitals for free, part-pay, and pay patients at a given time.

If either of the suggested ratios were applied to the situation in Allegheny County, it would be quickly discernible that there is a serious inadequacy in the number of medical social workers. The twenty-six out-

¹⁷ <i>Name of institution</i>	<i>Number of beds^b (including bassinets)</i>	<i>Number of social workers</i>
Allegheny General Hospital	405	6
Children's Hospital	200	2
Columbia Hospital ^a	204	1
Elizabeth Steel Magee Hospital	495	2
Homeopathic Hospital	310	1
Mercy Hospital	670	2
Montefiore Hospital	227	4
Passavant Hospital	141	1
Pittsburgh City Home and Hospitals ^a (mental unit)	2,450	2
Pittsburgh Hospital Association	223	1
Presbyterian Hospital	163	1
St. Margaret's Memorial Hospital	152	1
South Side Hospital	225	1
Tuberculosis League Hospital	150	3
Western Pennsylvania Hospital	651	3
Falk Clinic	...	2
Total institutions (16)	6,666	33

^a Submitted social records, but did not fill out medical social schedule.

^b The number of beds indicates the general size of the hospital, not the number of free beds or potential clients of the social service department.

¹⁸ Malcolm T. MacEachern, *Hospital Organization and Management*, Physicians' Record Company, Chicago, 1935, p. 552.

patient services in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County reported 577,735 clinic visits during 1933. Using Dr. Emerson's proposed ratio, one medical social worker to 2,000 clinic admissions, approximately 288 medical social workers would be needed for service to ambulatory patients alone. In addition there is a bed capacity of 12,244 in the thirty-five public and voluntary hospitals. On October 30, 1934, when a census was taken, there was 75 percent occupancy. This indicates there were about 9,060 hospital patients on that date. If Dr. MacEachern's ratio, one medical social worker to each 200 hospital patients, were applied here, it would show a need for about forty-five more medical social workers. *Estimates based on these ratios therefore would show a need for 333 medical social workers to cover the work in all the hospitals and out-patient services instead of the thirty-three now available.*

However, in only fifteen of the twenty-six out-patient services is medical social care available. In the thirty-five public and voluntary hospitals there are only fifteen social service departments. Of the sixteen medical institutions with social service departments one is a hospital with no out-patient service, and one is an independent general clinic. Consequently, twenty hospitals and eleven clinics lack any provision for medical social service.

In the sixteen medical institutions with social service departments the personnel is totally inadequate in number to render effective service in the study, diagnosis, and treatment of the medical social situations of their patients. Obviously, no rapid increase in social service personnel would be immediately possible or desirable. It is urgent, however, that steps be taken soon to begin extending medical social work in the communities. As medical social service is increased, it is important that only qualified personnel be considered.

With so inadequate a number of workers available it is hardly to be expected that very much intensive work would be done for patients and, still less, that research or participation in medical education would characterize the service. Suggestive evidence on the first of these items is presented in estimates obtained from ten of the departments and indicated in Table 53.

The most significant tendency to be noted in this table is the relatively small proportion of time devoted to full social case work and the large proportion of time spent in partial case work services, coöperative work, and social admitting. This distribution is to be expected when staffs are inadequate in size and the pressure of work upon the social service department is great. To be truly effective these partial case work services should be performed in association with the medical social study and treatment of the individual patient. It is important, therefore, to be sure that the

TABLE 53
ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE OF TIME SPENT BY TEN SOCIAL SERVICE DEPARTMENTS FOR VARIOUS CASE WORK FUNCTIONS

SOCIAL SERVICE DEPARTMENT	TOTAL	PERCENT OF TIME ALLOCATED TO					
		<i>Full Social case work</i>	<i>Partial case work</i>	<i>Coöperative work</i>	<i>Social admitting</i>	<i>Clinic management</i>	<i>Other</i>
A	100	25	50	12.5	...	...	12.5
B	100	12.5	50	12.5	25	...	...
C	100	12.5	25	25	37.5	...	...
D	100	25	50	25	...	...	...
E	100	33	50	17	...	...	...
F	100	20	30	10	...	...	...
G	100	20	45	15	5	5	10
H	100	5	25	20	50	...	10
I	100	25	25	12.5	12.5	25	...
J	100	10	65	20	...	...	5

pressure of duties does not produce routine procedures which fail to permit of individualization of the problem and person and which deflect the medical social worker from her primary rôle of studying the social implications of disease in particular cases and treating the social factors in such ways as to promote the effectiveness of medical care. The influence of comprehensive social case work practice of a high quality is felt to be important within a social service department, even though the major part of the time of the social service staff is devoted to more abbreviated procedures. Furthermore, if social service departments are to look forward to sharing in the educational program for social work in Pittsburgh, it must be recognized that such partial case work services do not afford experience with sufficient depth and breadth necessary for the development of professional skills.

Certainly one condition of being helpful to the medical practitioner in aiding the patient's recovery is to discover those conditions in the patient's life that contribute to, or account for, his illness. Only then may he also help in the process of recovery. But time and work, case by case, are required for this purpose; and that means an adequate and properly prepared staff.

ADMISSION SERVICE AND DETERMINATION OF CAPACITY TO PAY

Problems of admission in clinics differ somewhat from those in hospitals. In the former all patients are free or practically free; in the latter only part of the patients are free. Practically, then, so far as admitting is concerned, it becomes a question of whether the patient is entitled to free treatment. In clinics financial incapacity is the primary condition for admission. In hospitals there is the additional question of available beds and the related question, dealt with elsewhere, whether the hospital's finances permit the admission of a free patient. Admission is determined primarily by medical and administrative criteria, but it may be modified, directly or indirectly, by financial considerations. In the case of hospitals, in contrast to clinics, financial incapacity may be a condition of nonacceptance. Admission, then, is both an administrative concern and one that affects more directly the patient himself, determining whether or not he obtains the services of clinic or hospital. The determination of this question has been listed earlier as comprised within the functions of medical social service. Besides this function, however, the medical institution, as a part of the community program for medical care, is concerned also with applicants whom it does not admit because of its own policies or program. Still the patient must go somewhere. Medical social workers are equipped to advise those who are refused admission to some particular institution with regard to more appropriate sources of available medical care.

Fourteen medical institutions furnished the study some information regarding their admission service. In eight of these the responsibility for clinic admission rested upon the social service department; in five the administration carried the responsibility; and one clinic reported that physicians, hospitals, and relief organizations referred all patients, so no decision regarding eligibility was necessary. Where the admitting service was administratively separated from the social service department, the advice of the social worker was occasionally sought with regard to particularly difficult problems. Three institutions which furnished data on their admitting service were not included in these figures, since no social records or medical social service schedules were submitted by them. It was therefore assumed that they did not have a social service department or any form of admitting which could be considered essentially "social" in nature.

In recent years, the organized medical profession in many cities has been extremely critical of the policies of clinics for admitting applicants. Many physicians feel that the out-patient services frequently provide care free, or at nominal cost, for patients who would otherwise seek medical assistance as paying patients. Frequently their criticism has been directed toward medical social workers whom they consider responsible for decisions concerning financial eligibility. It is, therefore, interesting to note that in the twenty-six out-patient services included in the section of this study devoted to the Organized Care of the Sick, medical social workers were responsible for the admitting process in only eight institutions, less than one-third the total number. Even in these eight clinics the admitting services were not always staffed by professionally trained and experienced medical social workers.

It is important, therefore, that this general misconception be clarified. The problem of intake of clinic clientele with which the medical profession is so vitally concerned should be the subject of joint consideration by clinic administrators, physicians, medical social workers, and social workers from community welfare agencies.

As previously stated, determination of financial eligibility can be made without recognition of the social elements inherent in the admitting process. If, however, social admitting is considered desirable, then the admission service should be staffed with qualified personnel. Through professional education for medical social work and experience in medical social case work practice the medical social worker has acquired the body of knowledge and the skills of interviewing and individualization so important in the admitting process.

The "dispensary plan," which was adopted by the Allegheny County Medical Society and is in operation in some of the twenty-six out-patient

services, is reported upon elsewhere in this study and has not been considered in this section. Under that plan each applicant for clinic care is referred to family physicians or neighborhood physicians, who assume responsibility for deciding the basis on which they will treat the patient or refer him to a dispensary. If this plan is considered desirable and feasible, it would, of course, have a direct bearing on the type of admitting service needed by the out-patient departments. Intensive study of the operation of the plan is probably necessary, however, in order to evaluate its possible advantages and disadvantages.

Medical social workers in Pittsburgh were much concerned over the many problems involved in clinic admission systems. They were conscious of the difficulty of carrying responsibility for social case work services to patients and serving as admitting officers as well. In some instances the actual admitting was done by credit clerks under social service supervision. Under this arrangement it is obviously impossible to bring to the admitting process the quality of individualized study and judgment which is considered desirable from the social viewpoint. It is also important to maintain a balance between the availability of social admitting service and other social case work services. In other words, social admitting to be truly effective must be associated with other social case work services, full or partial, as required in the individual situation. Undoubtedly, it is almost impossible to carry this dual responsibility satisfactorily when one social worker must act in both capacities, as admitting officer and case worker, in a large out-patient service.

MEDICAL EDUCATION

The possible function of medical social work in the training of future physicians (and nurses) has been mentioned earlier. Apparently the School of Medicine of the University of Pittsburgh does not utilize available services in teaching medical students regarding the social aspects of disease, although it is affiliated with hospitals and clinics having social service departments.

Eight social service departments participated in the education of the student nurse, but not of the medical student. The majority of the lectures were given in the third year of training; only three departments reported any lectures during the first year, and only one during the second year. The number of lectures given by the Social Service Department ranged from one in one hospital to fifteen in another. In the eight schools of nursing there was a total of fifty-four class periods conducted by the social service departments in the social aspects of nursing. No attempt was made to learn the content or effectiveness of these courses.

FUTURE PLANS

It must be evident from the foregoing summary that planning medical social work, as a division of the field of social case work in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, is a simple matter, requiring no elaborate structural changes or realignments. What is needed is simply more and better provision. We may, therefore, substitute for "planning" the following concise recommendations for this field of service.

The chief problem in medical social work in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County is the limited number of qualified social workers engaged in the practice of medical social work. Many hospitals and out-patient services are totally lacking in any medical social service for their patients. Consideration should be given to strengthening the departments of social work already established before new departments, which are so urgently needed, are developed.

In any consideration of additional personnel too much emphasis cannot be placed on the necessity of securing qualified professional workers. Departments of social work at present without a director should be encouraged to engage directors with demonstrated ability as leaders in the field of medical social work. In accordance with recommendations made by other surveys of social work in governmental hospitals there should be one director in charge of medical social work in public institutions with subexecutives directing the work in each institution.

If a "medical center" develops through the affiliation of various hospitals and clinics with the Medical School of the University of Pittsburgh, the advisability of unifying the social work in the various hospitals and clinics should be seriously considered. One social service director might well be placed in charge of social service in the various institutions. This arrangement would serve to strengthen and coördinate the services.

Medical social workers in the voluntary hospitals should oppose a "spreading thin" policy of work. They should make every effort to maintain a quality of service which would serve as a demonstration of the contribution of medical social work to the institutional practice of medicine for medical staff, hospital administrators, and other hospital personnel, as well as to community agencies. Only by maintaining a high quality of service will the departments be able satisfactorily to meet the opportunity for educational work in the professional preparation of medical students and nurses.

If responsibility for admission of patients to clinics and hospitals is to be placed upon departments of social work, efforts should be made to staff such admitting services with qualified personnel. It is unfair and misleading to place responsibility for admissions upon social service and then have the actual admitting carried out by personnel totally untrained

as professional social workers. Activities in some departments of social work (Children's Hospital, Tuberculosis League, and Magee Hospital) should be restricted to those services primarily social in nature rather than be extended to those services of a primarily nursing character.

Medical institutions lacking advisory committees for their departments of social work might well consider the appointment of such committees. Their personnel should include representatives of the administration of the hospital, the medical staff, the board of directors of the institution, and community social workers, as well as lay members.

PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Apart from the simple and age-old concern of social work with economic distress, a general solicitude for the child is probably its most prevalent characteristic. It has its source, in fact, in the same primary interest in the poor, for the children first claiming the attention of the benevolent were the orphan and the friendless. The first children's agencies were orphanages. The vast body of neglected and delinquent children has never been clearly distinguishable from those dependent or poor and lacking a suitable family setting fit and adequate for them. The entire history of child welfare is, in its principal lines, an unfolding of the concept of the State as the watchful substitute parent and even superparent, ready to supplant the natural provider and, when need be, the natural disciplinarian of the child.

The State as superparent has been growing constantly more generous and thoughtful, imposing both upon itself and upon the natural parent higher and higher standards of child care, material and psychological. Its chief instrument has become the public school system. This development has been practical rather than logical. While the material needs of the child have remained the first and direct responsibility of the parent, his education has become the task of the government. The school system has access to practically every child in the community—with the exception of those wealthy enough to finance independent educational programs and those in parochial schools. For not less than five or six years and often for eight years or more the child spends a substantial part of his time within the school system. This circumstance gives the school its physical access to the child.

This fact alone, however, does not explain why the school should concern itself with matters beyond those of purely scholastic interest. The expansion of interest characteristic of the past few decades is partly still within the realm of scholastic preoccupation, while in part it arises from a comprehensive redefinition of the concept of education. The two influences played into each other's hands. From the former has come in-

sistence on attendance, with its plague of truancy and a recognition of scholastic impediments in physical defects, malnutrition, adverse home conditions, mental deficiency or peculiarity. From the latter came positive insistence on education as a comprehensive concept in which mind, body, and social relations are equally within the scope of the educator's activities; the actual environment of the day and generation rather than the traditional scholastic patterns become the background and arena of activities. All these ideas have converged to render the school an inclusive agency in strategic position to develop body and mind, preserve and advance health, create and enrich social life, and widen scientific, civic, and cultural horizons.

From the point of view of this enlarged function of the public school each child is regarded not only as a center of many interests but also as a complexly reacting mechanism, in which apparently simple flaws or inadequacies may have far-reaching effects and may require complicated methods of repair or adjustment. To the simple remedy of medical supervision have been added psychometric routine, aptitude tests, vocational guidance, a more general participation in athletics, amateur theatricals, and clubs; mere enforcement of attendance has given way to the study of child problems and home conditions that may be responsible for truancy and to efforts to treat them; mere labeling as "misbehavior," "unexplained retardation," or "peculiarity" have given way to social and psychological study and social case work or personality adjustment. Scholastic, physical, and social inadequacies have come to be recognized as symptoms of the child's imperfect adjustment to a life in which the school now occupies a large and inclusive area.

Problems such as retardation, truancy, and incorrigibility are integrated into a single orientation, which consists in recognizing all substantial inadequacies or irregularities of the child as the possible symptoms of a more far-reaching disorganization, in studying the child and his situation as a unit, and in seeking to adjust all his difficulties in and out of school as closely related problems, utilizing for that purpose the aid of physician, case worker, psychologist, and psychiatrist, as these may be available. With an eye to availability the school has attempted to provide in an increasing degree its own personnel for all of these specialties and to coördinate them in its system of personal adjustment for the child. The parts of such a system include teacher, school administrator, and medical service, as well as the attendance officer with a newly conceived function, the visiting teacher (or social case worker) as a qualified professional worker for aiding in the personal adjustments of the child, and the guidance clinic for technical advice and for diagnosis and treatment of cases involving psychiatric specialty.

Certain conditions are necessary to render such a system of personal adjustment complete and effective: understanding and full coöperation of the school administration, of course; competent, trained case workers and specialists; suitable administrative organization of the adjustment service and its integration within the school system without loss of independent initiative; also adequate funds and either a large enough school system to justify the overhead, or combinations of school units for this purpose, or the exercise of necessary ingenuity in utilizing facilities outside the school system.

From the point of view of the function of the case worker in the school, the child requires study and attention when for any reason he fails to derive from the school those benefits, scholastic and developmental, that might reasonably be expected. The worker (visiting teacher) asks:¹⁹

How can the school process best fit the needs of this child?

What in the family or home environment is preventing this child from realizing his potential powers and expressing his best self in his civic relationships?

What lacks or obstacles, for which the community is responsible, are preventing this child from receiving his just share of opportunity for physical, mental and spiritual growth?

With respect to the child, what are his wishes, interests, and desires? What his special aptitudes, talents, and gifts? What his hopes and fears; his ambitions and his dislikes? In what does he fail and in what succeed?

On the basis of this knowledge, she seeks, as social worker and educator, to reconstruct the fabric of the child's whole experience so that she may be able to coördinate the favorable factors and to bring about a change in the unfavorable ones—thus to secure for the child in school the largest possible opportunity for his development and for normal, healthy, happy progress through the various stages of childhood.

Pittsburgh's first definite effort in this field goes as far back as 1924, when a progressive group of Pittsburgh citizens with the approval of the Board of Education and the cordial interest of the superintendent of schools (William M. Davidson) inaugurated a demonstration program of school counseling (another name occasionally used for this type of adjustment service or visiting teacher work). This demonstration was financed by a private citizen, Mrs. Francis J. Torrance, and continued for six years, but did not go far enough or was not operated on a sufficiently large scale to bring about the permanent adoption of the program in the entire school system. In 1930, following the passage of permissive legislation for the appointment of "home and school visitors" instead of attendance officers, the Pittsburgh school system decided to carry through the intentions of the law and to substitute home and school visitors for attendance officers in any future appointments. The first three persons so

¹⁹ Culbert, Jane F., *The Visiting Teacher at Work*, Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1929, pp. 3 ff.

designated were appointed in 1930, and subsequent vacancies in the attendance staff were filled by personnel as described under the new law. This has been a step in the general direction of recognizing the more inclusive nature of the problem of children's difficulties other than attendance.

Partly, perhaps, because of the new name of these workers and partly because the legally established qualifications provided for duties of home and school visitors which differed somewhat from those of attendance officers, there has been created an impression that the new appointees were visiting teachers trained in social case work and, therefore, that much greater progress had been made toward modern case work service for problem children than was actually the case. It may be desirable to point out some of the characteristics of this service which indicate the extent of its lag behind the more modern conception of school case workers.

The "home and school visitor" is administratively responsible to the attendance administration of the school system. She is responsible for the child who has failed to respond to the routine procedure of the attendance officer, whereas the function of the visiting teacher is to deal with any child who may show symptoms of unwholesome tendencies or warped personality traits, regardless of whether these occur before or after or independently of truancy. Early treatment of a personal difficulty may actually prevent truancy. No special supervision is given to home and school visitors as case workers; they are merely administratively responsible to the head of the attendance department.

In the description of the duties of home and school visitor outlined in a letter from the superintendent of schools it is stated that she is primarily to deal with the problem child "when the attendance officer has been unable to obtain satisfactory results in the ordinary procedure. Some of her duties are intended to prevent the continuance of truancy . . . thereby preventing a truant from becoming a juvenile delinquent." The visitor is given the same power as the attendance officer and is to act as such if emergency arises. True, "in problems of sociology, the judgment of the home and school visitor," according to instructions, "takes precedence over that of the supervisor or attendance officer . . . (and) in carrying on her work, she will be judged not by the number of cases she sees, but by the number of problem children she has been able to handle successfully." In actual practice the visitor carries both routine attendance cases and from thirty to fifty "special problem cases," more of the former than of the latter, and the former are judged to take up the greater part of her time.

Referral to the home and school visitor is, for the most part, from the attendance officer rather than from other parts of the school system or

from outside agencies. Usually she does not get the case until one or more contacts have been made by some other person in the school system. Direct referral by the principal is still the exceptional practice. A sample month's intake, examined particularly for purposes of this study, showed that routine attendance cases ranged from ninety-odd to more than three hundred per worker and from thirty-two to forty-nine special problem cases per worker in addition. The monthly reports of home and school visitors show a very small proportion of cases pending at the end of the month. This fact indicates that the ratio of adjustment work to that involving specific services to be completed in a relatively short time must be small indeed.

Experience with case loads of other case work agencies would make it seem unreasonable to expect, under these circumstances, that personal adjustment qualifying as sound social case work could be given. Pressure of work alone would make it impossible, even if the basic preparation and quality of supervision permitted. Another indication of qualitative deficiency is found in the extent of coöperation with other agencies and use of the Social Service Exchange; in these respects also the work of the home and school visitors fails to portray the best practice of social case work and personal guidance.

The importance of these observations lies not in their apparently critical evaluation of the work of this division of the school, but rather in showing that under the limitations of number and preparation of personnel, of administrative relationships, and of the conception of the service as merely a more progressive and educationally sounder type of attendance service, the maturing of this service into full-fledged personal adjustment is made difficult, if not impossible. It should be noted in fairness to the workers that they have demonstrated a sincere interest in their work, and none of the shortcomings of the service may be attributed to their lack of devotion or labor; but they work under many handicaps already mentioned, plus inadequate supervision from scattered offices, and over excessively large territorial assignments.

The concept of case work in schools may be further clarified by citing the problems reported in an extensive study conducted prior to 1929 under the National Committee on Visiting Teachers. Among the problems or difficulties noted²⁰ in some 8,500 cases, close to 3,000 were behavior problems, more than 2,200 were caused by difficulties in the home conditions, 4,100-odd were problems of defective scholarship, as against only 1,000 instances of irregular attendance (these are not mutually exclusive cases but a summary of difficulties). More significant, perhaps,

²⁰ Jane F. Culbert, *The Visiting Teacher at Work*, Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1929, p. 5.

is the fact that the referral of these 8,500 cases was made by the principal in close to 3,000 cases; by the teacher in 3,700 cases; while no other source of referral attained as high a number as 400, and the attendance officer referred only 156. In classifying the measures used to bring about adjustment between child and his school problems, some very significant figures emerged: in 4,552 of the 8,500 cases, bringing about better understanding of home situations was found most effective; in 799 cases, the school's attitude toward the child was changed; in 1,232 cases, the school's program was modified. The study lists coöperation by various members of the school and other agencies. Coöperation by attendance officer was deemed essential in only about one-third as many cases as coöperation by school nurse or psychiatrist, and in about half as many cases as coöperation by class teachers. These figures are quoted to show the different orientation by which social case work in the school system is developed in a modern conception of it, as compared with that now obtaining in Pittsburgh in which problems of attendance and referral through attendance departments predominate.

The question is how to realize the desire of the Pittsburgh school system so clearly shown in the growth of its home and school visitor system, for a sound program of school counseling and child guidance while still preserving the present improved standards of attendance work as developed by that service. That an effective, adequate, and properly organized child guidance service for the schools is desirable is evident. It is less clear what steps would most effectively bring about the desired results. It would seem desirable that personal adjustment work with problem children be developed into a relatively independent division directly responsible to the school administration under competent technical guidance and supervision or in connection with a department of child guidance. The personnel to be employed for this service requires qualifications different from those at present prescribed for home and school visitors. It is not desirable that this work be built up in the attendance department because of the pressure of numbers and also because of legal obligations associated with attendance work. The load of work per individual worker must be far less and the visitor must be freed from any routine attendance service. The school administration alone can determine how the creation of such a new division with its clinic and case working personnel can best be integrated with the school system as it is. The relationships to be worked out between such a service and the existing work of the home and school visitors is also an administrative task to which the skill and experience requisite in the school administration as a whole will need to be applied. It is a natural assumption, of course, that an informed administration would avail itself of expert

advice in the formulation of a program to carry out these purposes. Our suggestion is, in order to provide for the maximum integration, that a general consultant with outstanding case work experience and appropriate status be added to the central school administration in working out the details over a period of time. It is also necessary under the present conditions to supply competent supervisory personnel for the home and school visitors now operating and to insure a constructive relationship between the supervisory service needed at present and the future creation of a division that will embody the purpose and function of child guidance and visiting teaching in the school system.

Any change of development in this phase of the school's comprehensive responsibility for the problems and wholesome development of the school child is of course only part of the larger program of child welfare in which health department and child care agencies, public and voluntary, are inseparably involved. In integrating its work with these other divisions and organizations, the school system is in a position to contribute stimulus and leadership and to continue its fine record of progress.

CHAPTER XVII

SOCIAL WORK FOR CHILDREN

Guiding principles of child care.—Care of children in their own homes.—Foster care for children in substitute homes; situations leading to removal, the shift from institution to foster home, admission to foster care, supervision and home finding.—Foster care for children in institutions; general problems, Protestant institutions, Catholic institutions, Jewish institutions.—Juvenile delinquency and the children's court.—Proposed agency structure for child care in Allegheny County.—Some special problems of child care: illegitimacy, abandonment, adoption, financing of child care.—Coördination and prevention in child care.

THERE ARE many questions encountered in the field of child welfare to which we do not know the answers or which we are barely willing to face because they lead to the very foundations of our social organization. Yet some of these questions are among the most immediate concerns of the practical social worker.¹

Who is the ultimate arbiter and authority over the child: parent, family, State, or some other organized instrument of society? Is the same authority finally responsible for the life, education, and religion of the child; if not, where does the power reside to determine who shall have authority over the various phases of his being? When does childhood begin and when does it cease for purposes of social control? Does it begin during gestation when the mother needs certain safeguards in the interest of the unborn child, or does the infant enter the sphere of child care at birth or at some stated age? Does he cease to be a child at 14, 16, 18, 21, or later? According to the compulsory school laws, it is at one age; for joining the gainfully employed, at another; according to civil laws, at still another; according to the penal code, at various ages; for the support of his parents, the rules are still different.

It is evident that any delimitation of the field of child welfare must be arbitrary and determined by tradition, by local custom, by changing conditions, by administrative convenience. For the purposes of this study certain child welfare activities are discussed in connection with the sub-

¹ Material for this chapter is drawn in part from reports prepared by Herschel Alt, Jane F. Culbert, Grace L. Hubbard, Elizabeth T. Alling, Ethel M. Verry, Frances K. Hoynes, and Leonard W. Mayo, of the study staff.

ject of public health administration, of which they usually constitute a part. These comprise: (a) well-baby clinics, (b) prenatal care, (c) pre-school clinics and nutrition instruction, (d) preventive medicine, e.g., diphtheria inoculation, and so forth. Child care within the public school system has been considered in the preceding chapter as part of the general field of social case work. The present study does not cover the subjects of vocational guidance and education nor civil law relations between parent and child, these being regarded as not strictly part of the field served by social work agencies or divisions.

As coming within the area of social work for children, attention is here centered on those situations in which the natural family of the child is unable or unwilling to provide him with the essential conditions of material comfort and growth, emotional security and preparation for a useful, self-maintaining life, and for which throughout the years social work agencies have traditionally taken responsibility.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF CHILD CARE

The subject of child care is both large and complex. It draws practically every social work agency, public and voluntary, into its orbit. It is replete with special problems and directly concerns many agencies, institutional and noninstitutional; it comprises probably more special groups, religious, racial, and ethnic, and more "vested interests" than any other subject in the field of philanthropy. Complicated historical traditions, administrative details, compromises, and agreements render this division of social work one of the most difficult to deal with. It may be useful, therefore, even if it appears dogmatic, to submit a list of principles (a few, perhaps, with the force of credos), which will guide the proposals, and underlie the plans considered in the following pages:

1. The problem of child care cannot be recognized as a separate problem in cases in which the child is dependent merely because he is a member of a dependent family or of one that is, at any rate, in economic difficulties, whether temporary or permanent. Under such circumstances modern social work recognizes the entire family as one unit. The tendency for generations past, to seize upon the problem of the dependent child as separate, even though he is a normal member of a relatively normal family, has accounted for much that the child care system of the present day has to live down. This principle carries with it many corollaries. Thus the placing out, whether in an institution or elsewhere, of children whose father is unable to support them and whose mother, therefore, earns their keep is no longer countenanced by a competent agency. In such cases parents and children are regarded as a family, kept together as such, and given adequate assistance through whatever public department or voluntary agency is entrusted with the task. In so far as children

are still placed in foster homes or institutions merely because of economic inadequacy of the parent, not because they are incapable of providing an otherwise normal home for the children, we are dealing with vestiges of a bygone system of social work.

The problem of child care tends to be a relatively distinct one only when the child is decidedly the central problem or is the neglected and jeopardized personality in the family. If there are personality and adjustment problems among the children or between parents and children, such a situation is not a child care case, but a family case. Even if it seems necessary to remove some child from the home, this must still be regarded as the adjustment of the family, even though special skill may be involved in finding a suitable place for the child. Only when the child problem is clearly predominant or the treatment of the child's personality is the focal point of attack for family adjustment, may such a child in a nondependent family be considered as probably coming within the system of child care proper and as constituting definitely a child problem.

2. The foregoing principles emphasize a fact which unfortunately has been much neglected in the earlier history of child welfare: namely, that the importance of family ties cannot be underestimated in planning the life of a child. Only if the evidence is preponderantly in favor of permanently separating child from kin should that practice be approved and planned. Certainly, therefore, such separation would not be appropriate when economic distress is the only cause of difficulty; it would be appropriate in a family psychologically disorganized only if the hope of positive reconstruction of family life seemed too slight.

3. If a child is removed from his own home, whether for temporary or permanent foster care in private home or in institution, whether adoption results or merely a less formal separation from parent and kin, it is important to remember that the period of such care cannot be regarded as an independent episode in the life of the child but that it is part of its total life pattern. No institution, therefore, nor foster home, can be thought of in a sound child care program apart from the home from which the child came, the home to which he will return or will be sent, and the vocational and educational program that must give form and outline to his entire life. This principle has far-reaching practical corollaries in the management of institutions, in the selection of foster homes, in the continued study and work with parents or other kin of the child, and in the specific relationships between child placement agencies and institutions and between school, family, and foster care of the child.

4. Possibly the most important fundamental principle in child care is that each child be regarded as a person rather than as something labeled "delinquent," "dependent," "neglected," and so forth. Dependency may

be regarded as a condition, neglect and delinquency as problems; child placement agencies, institutions, relatives, or others may define the administrative or organizational setting and difficulties, but the child must be regarded as a child first and foremost. Once an agency has accepted responsibility for serving the child, plans and procedures ought to eschew formalized and legalistic concepts and plan as any parent would plan for the present and future welfare of the child. This principle, perhaps the most fundamental, is the one most frequently violated and most difficult to keep in the forefront, since law, the institution, money, and other factors involved claim the workers' time and attention.

5. There are three interests that revolve around a child who is removed from his home by a social agency. One is its family, whether parents or other kin; another is the state, through whatever formal representative it may work, local, county, or even Federal; the third, less important than either of these, though frequently most conspicuous, is the special group, religious, racial, ethnic, local-philanthropic, or other, which usually sponsors the agency. Under ordinary circumstances the first of these groups has the greatest and most immediate interest, both legal and actual. The state, directly or through legislative provisions, steps in when parent or kin fail to give the child what he needs. The voluntary agency has been an intermediary between these, and its effectiveness has depended in the past partly upon its own willingness, resources, and recognition that the child comes within its particular group affiliation, partly upon the willingness of the child's kin to recognize these facts, and partly on the recognized will and power of the state in the background to safeguard the interests of child and parent. More and more, in recent years, the state has taken a direct rather than an indirect rôle in exercising its responsibility, and it has gradually reduced the amount of mediation by the voluntary agencies.

6. Whatever the logic of these principles may be and whatever course of action it may point to, a child care program must recognize the existing and traditionally fortified agencies dealing with children, as well as the trend of thought to which these very agencies must adjust themselves. Any program of child care that fails to take cognizance of the resources and socially rooted power of child care agencies will fail to provide a working and workable system; any plan, on the other hand, that contemplates merely a more effective utilization and adjustment of these agencies whose existence is an expression of past effort and whose maintenance depends on tradition will find itself opposed to an irresistible trend and shattered by the forces of modern social life, its new institutions and ideas.

These principles, while not inclusive, comprise perhaps the most im-

portant guides for a program of child care. They are, however, ideas, not agencies. They are points of view, not resources. They are not the visible instruments and methods by which child care is actually given in a community. Programming must therefore express itself in somewhat different terms. From one point of view it may be related to the child as: (a) cared for in his own home; (b) cared for away from his own home, in an institution or with a foster family.

From other more detailed and technical points of view programming may be concerned with practical and legal aspects of adoption or of illegitimacy, with the factor of religious affiliation, with problems of financing, with rights and interest of kin, or with the adjustment of public and voluntary agencies. The following division of the subject is adopted as a convenient classification for purposes of the present study.

Care of children in their own home

Foster care

 In substitute homes

 In institutions

Juvenile delinquency and the children's court

Proposed agency structure for child care in Allegheny County

Special problems, legal and administrative

Coördination and prevention in child care

CARE OF CHILDREN IN THEIR OWN HOMES

Disturbance of relationships may occur in families, involving all its members or some of them and presenting problems of readjustment to which the skills of social case worker seem to offer the greatest promise of helpfulness. Occasionally some one member of the family and often one or more children seem to be the greatest sufferers from the disturbed relationship or to respond to its menace by developing peculiar behavior problems. These tend to center attention on the child and may lead to the belief that a "child problem" exists, when fundamentally it is a family problem which presents itself. Frequently the child's problem becomes so pronounced as to overshadow the problems of the rest of the family, although still constituting a situation inseparable from the family set-up. The Children's Service Bureau of Pittsburgh, for example, records in 1934 some 362 cases of service given to children in their own homes, of whom 331 were referred for personality and behavior problems and 31 for sex delinquencies. These were, in the main, children living with their own families, and none of them as yet manifested delinquency of sufficient seriousness to justify the intervention of the court. The Children's Aid Society reckoned 104 of its 113 children during that year as persons with behavior problems, of whom twenty-four were in their own homes and eighty in foster homes. Similar statistics from other agencies indicate a

considerable number of unadjusted situations in which children are given assistance while in their own homes.

Practically the entire school counseling or visiting-teacher service belongs in this category, for it deals with children living at home, attending public schools, and manifesting various poor adjustment situations in school, at home, or with their companions. The work of the Child Guidance Clinic comes within this category. Probation work with children, as well as parole work or institutional after-care, are further examples of personal adjustment of children in their own homes by agencies that are classified as belonging within the child care group.²

One reason why a considerable amount of service to children in the form of personal adjustment is of necessity within the child's own home is that conditions and personality difficulties among the members of the family in the home may be among the most important causes leading to his lack of adjustment.

The chief factor in the home which contributes to or prevents delinquency is the quality of the parental care, the degree of ability of the parents to train the child, to understand his developing needs, and to provide for them. Parents who bring their children to court are almost always baffled parents, and those whose children are arrested or taken into court by agencies are frequently unfit, ineffective, or inadequate parents, though they may be hard-working, earnest, well-meaning, and long-suffering. Ignorance of the needs of children and adolescents is not infrequently apparent in the records. This is illustrated in the case of a fifteen-year-old girl who was considered by her father and godmother as ready for a reformatory because she could not adequately take the place of her mother as housekeeper; she was unable to discipline her younger brothers, wished to return to school and also to have a little pleasure—which she took at the end of the day's work, in the evening. In this case the standards of the family would have been natural and relatively easy to maintain in the small foreign village where they originated; but when applied under conditions in this country, they seemed to impose hardships and to thwart the natural instincts of the adolescent girl.

Parents who are by no means uneducated, often are ignorant parents none the less—ignorant of the child's need to succeed on his own terms and according to his limitations. For example, many a forged report card, an early step in delinquency, is the direct result of the parent's

² Specifically, these include, besides the Children's Service Bureau and the Children's Aid Society, the Conference of Catholic Charities, Jewish Big Brothers Association, Jewish Girls' Bureau, Girls' Service Club, Catholic Boy Welfare Bureau, Morals Court, and, in one sense, the various family case work agencies. Under the proposed plans, as indicated *infra*, the number of these would be reduced and their work more closely integrated.

ignorance—ignorance of the facts of individual differences and of the wrong he is doing his child by too great pressure or by trying to achieve, through the child, his own frustrated ambitions. Ignorance of the need for consistency in discipline, of the importance of self-discipline, of habit formation, and the like are found in case after case—as well as a lack of understanding of the child's emotional and social needs.

Cases that were read in connection with the present study covered a wide range of parental situations including definitely immoral parents, the helpless and shiftless, the neglectful, pleasure-loving parents who leave the children to their own devices while they go places, parents who were preoccupied with their own careers, the well intentioned stepparent to whom the child was unable to adjust, and the nervous and unstable parent. With wise planning and continuous assistance over a long period the effect of parental deficiencies can sometimes be mitigated.

Few of the homes among the cases read could have been called "good" homes, although in some, the difficulty lay, not with the attitudes and limitations of the parents, but rather with their economic circumstances. Delinquency is by no means limited to the poor and underprivileged, but lack of money is a factor which complicates poverty and underprivilege in many ways. It limits the family, for example, in providing wholesome leisure time activities and in arranging for a change of environment or school for a child who has become involved in a disturbing situation or has begun to develop delinquent tendencies. Still it is not the lack of money *per se* which contributes most toward delinquency. The instances in which children steal, for example, to get food or toys which the home cannot provide are relatively rare. It is the lack of supervision which results when the mother must work outside the home and the sense of strain and economic insecurity which unsettle the child and lead into trouble.

Unemployment, irregular employment, inadequate income, which were found to be contributing factors in many of the cases read, cause, if prolonged, worry and irritability on the part of parents and children—and impatience and irritability are fuel for any spark of adolescent temperament and instability. Unemployment brings, too, recreational deprivations, monotony, cheerlessness, and drabness in the home life, and a general tension which drives the adolescent out to get any kind of excitement in order to have a sense of getting something out of life. When the parents' earnings are inadequate, after-school work is increased, and this often contributes to delinquency, either because undesirable associates are picked up in the selling area away from the family supervision or frequently owing to the results of neglect of school work—failure, loss of interest in school, truancy, and again undesirable associates.

A large proportion of the Juvenile Court families in Allegheny County had been previously known to one or more social and health agencies. In fact, only 22 per cent had not had some such connection. How close this was it is not possible to tell, but there is some significance in the fact that more than 50 percent had been registered with three or more and 25 percent with five or more social agencies. Nearly 10 percent had been registered with nine or more. More than a quarter of the Juvenile Court families had been known to the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board, indicating widespread need of relief among them.

The neighborhood in which the child's home is situated may also be a potent contributing factor to the child's difficulties even when these come short of delinquency. Much of the work with children in their own homes is in the nature of prevention of delinquency by individualized work. It concerns itself with children who, while not yet formally charged with infringement of law, are known to have committed acts of that type or to be in danger of doing so. In so far as a case study of the child and of his environment may prevent his becoming a delinquent, the adjustment of his difficulties constitutes part of children's service within the home. The work within this sphere is almost exclusively that of personal adjustment (social case work). All the problems of the service are comprised within the field of social case work. This, however, does not mean work with the child alone, even though attention must be given to the particular problems of children. Nor is it sufficient that the economic problems of the family be given attention, or even that the emotional and social problems of the parents be solved, important as these are. Even though the emotional or economic problems of the parents were in the first place the cause of the child's behavior or emotional problem, the removal of the cause may not immediately undo the harm that has already been done, any more than removing the weight from a cramped limb of a young tree will automatically restore it to its normal shape. Therefore, whether the child's problem is basically the problem of the parents or of the child, the case worker must be provided with time and equipment to deal with the problems of both adults and children in the family.

In many of the cases read it was found that the best case work for children and youth was done by those agencies which took the family into consideration equally with the child, but fixed attention on the child as the center. Good case work with the child was found to have been done in certain family agencies when, for particular reasons, the child's problem came into focus. It was also found that the problems of children, except for the health aspects, were sometimes overlooked in families where the attention of the worker was focused on the economic or mental problems of the adults.

While no serious charge has yet been made that social agencies are actually destructive to the welfare of families, there is much evidence that they may undo one another's chance of doing good work by planless and uncoordinated invasion of the client's home. Whether the center of interests is the child or the whole family, this sort of chaotic service is bound to be fruitless. One of the frequent results (or symptoms, perhaps) is superficial work. In a good many of the cases read, a child had been handled by one or more agencies for some time and had attended more than one school before he was recognized as having mental equipment below normal. The effort put forth by both teacher and social worker was therefore to a considerable extent misdirected and wasted. Without realizing it, they had been talking and working over the child's head. They had been unnecessarily discouraged by his lack of response, and, meantime, as the result of the blame attached to his lack of response he had developed a feeling of resentment, or discouragement, or loss of confidence, depending on circumstances and his individual make-up.

Psychological and psychiatric study is not secured early enough in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. Sometimes this is due to the fact of limited resources. All children whose behavior deviates seriously from that of their age group should be given the benefit of psychiatric advice, and this should be sought early rather than late, before habits have become set, antisocial attitudes formed, or confidence shaken.

Occasionally, but not often, actual duplication of work occurred when more than one agency was working on the case at the same time, sometimes on the same problem. A home and school visitor, the Juvenile Court, the Catholic Boy Welfare Bureau, and the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board were all working at the same time on one case, without proper coöperation and with no coöordinated plans. On another case the Catholic Boy Welfare Bureau, the Juvenile Court, the State Probation Department, and the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board were all working simultaneously. The boy reported monthly to one probation officer, weekly to one agency, and the Juvenile Court probation officer was in constant touch with him. All three workers telephoned to the fourth agency about the same problem. This case was extreme, but it illustrates a difficulty common in milder form.

While most of the agencies were particular to get in touch with the school, get reports of grades at regular intervals, and the like, there was a notable lack of attempt, in a good many cases, to use the school facilities to the full. There were seldom efforts to work out special programs for the younger child. In a good many instances plans were made for transfers to another school, but enriched programs or modified programs, opportunity for creative work, and additional responsibilities or activities were

seldom discussed with the school. Transfers were often made because of trouble in the first school. Transfers under such circumstances are not always a constructive experience for a child, even when they are not used as a penalty, but are intended to give the child a better chance. The child feels that he is being punished or excluded, and he takes with him an attitude of hopeless waiting for trouble which sometimes is justified.

There seemed to be less emphasis put on securing the coöperation of recreational workers, settlements, and other group work agencies to provide wholesome recreational opportunities and supplementary activities than is desirable for children whose interests tend to be unwholesome or who have difficulties in social adjustment. Some excellent examples of the good results of this type of coöperation only serve to point out the need for more.

Less emphasis than is desirable is put on following up cases for the purpose of checking results of certain types of treatment. For example, what happens to a predelinquent child who is transferred to a foster home under the care of another agency? Was he able to adjust, or did he get worse and arrive at a correctional institution? Only by following through on cases will workers know what treatment has been effective or unsuccessful.

It is unnecessary to specify further the nature of this work with children in their homes; it consists of what is generally recognized as social case work or personal adjustment, and it requires for its suitable exercise competent personnel, a rational system of coördinated agency service, a much greater development of personal adjustment services within the school system, and the practical conversion of the Juvenile Court into an agency for dealing with children in their own homes when they present behavior problems and require protective services. The present function of that court combines this with the care of dependent children. In a subsequent section of this report the deficiencies of its present program and plans for important changes will be considered. The important thing is to realize that a large, if not the most important, part of child care is an integral part of general case work practice and that even the more specialized treatment of the child takes place in the vast majority of cases within the home. We have at last recognized that the removal of the child for dependency alone is not justified. We have recognized, further, the possibilities of personal adjustment from the school as a center. It is not yet universally recognized that even when behavior and personality problems are pronounced or when friction and incompatibility exist between child and parent, the solution is not necessarily the removal of the child from his home.

FOSTER CARE FOR CHILDREN IN SUBSTITUTE HOMES

Child placing was, until very recent years, in the hands of volunteers. Only in the early 20's did the Children's Service Bureau begin to practice it as a professional function, and the service had little significance until after 1930. In the Children's Aid Society it was performed by volunteers until 1929. The same situation obtained in the Catholic Charities until 1931. The Juvenile Court has indeed conducted its placement service through paid employees, but standards of performance have, until very recently, been considerably inferior even to those attained by the volunteers of the private agencies.

During the early years of the nineteenth century the institutional method was the usual form of care offered to children who were homeless or had to be removed from their own homes. The first institution in Allegheny County for the care of dependent and neglected children (one still in existence) was the Protestant Orphan Asylum, which was opened in 1832. St. Paul's Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum followed, in 1836. In the latter half of the nineteenth century some thirty homes were opened. In 1907, when the Pittsburgh Survey was made, 3,000 children of wage earners supposedly "sound of mind and limb" were cared for by the children's institutions in Allegheny County. The number thus cared for in 1934, although the population of the community is much larger, is somewhat less than that in 1907. The development of placement, family service, protective work for children, and foster home care has altered the extent and character of the need for institutional care for children.

The "children's law," enacted in 1883, prohibited the retention of children in almshouses between the ages of two and sixteen years for periods of more than sixty days, unless they belonged to the defective classes. The "Pennsylvania system of child-placing" sprang into existence when the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia) induced the city and county authorities to refer to them dependent children who otherwise would be sent to an almshouse and to pay their board in family homes chosen and supervised by the society. In 1885 the Children's Aid Society organized a branch to carry on placing-out work in Pittsburgh. In 1887, for financial reasons, the Allegheny County Branch separated from the parent organization and joined with interested people in twenty-six other counties, who then formed the Children's Aid Society of Western Pennsylvania.

The Children's Home Society of Pennsylvania was founded by the Rev. Henry Thompson, in 1892, and was incorporated in 1906. It was organized to place children in family homes with a view to permanent care and legal adoption. In the beginning most of the children placed by the society had been taken from institutions, and this activity represented a

valuable effort in keeping down the building of new institutions. Its purpose and its field of work have remained essentially the same during its forty years of existence. Children are now received from other social agencies, as well as from institutions, from County Poor officials, and directly from their own parents. Children are accepted for care anywhere within Pennsylvania and, at times, from outside the state. Applications for children are accepted and placements made within the same wide area.³

During 1906 and 1907 the Association for Improvement of the Poor, which maintained institutional relief for adults, out-door family relief, and institutions for children, placed 13 children in private family homes. The Juvenile Court, created in 1901, was not equipped to place out children, yet in the absence of a working agreement with the other child-placing agencies it placed 58 children in family homes in 1907.

The Children's Service Bureau came into existence in 1916 by the amalgamation of two other agencies—the Allegheny County Juvenile Court Association, organized in 1905 and largely responsible for securing the establishment of the Juvenile Court and probation officers in Pittsburgh, and the Western Pennsylvania Child Labor Association, organized in 1907 "to take the children out of industries." From the fall of 1916 until April, 1917, the new agency was a paper organization, with a department of research and a department of case work. In April, 1917, David Terry was appointed as executive of the Bureau, which then had an accumulation of 60 or 70 cases. There was at that time no other trained worker in the children's field in Pittsburgh. Mr. Terry started building up the staff, raised the money, built up contacts in the community, and supervised the work of the agency. From the first the agency was urged to carry on placement work, but its executive thought that the already existing, older agencies should exercise that responsibility. These were: the Allegheny County Children's Aid Society, the Allegheny County Auxiliary of the Western Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society, and the Western Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society. The Children's Service Bureau turned over all the accumulated foster homes to the Allegheny County Children's Aid Society, which carried on the placement work for about a year with a case worker acceptable to the Bureau.

In 1923 the Children's Service Bureau was reorganized, absorbing the Allegheny County Children's Aid Society and thus becoming heir to the functions of the Western Pennsylvania Child Labor Association, the Juvenile Court Association, and the child-placing work of the Allegheny County Children's Aid Society. The Bureau embodied its purposes in

³ At the time of this study, this agency was contemplating a reorganization of its program.

three departmental programs: (1) investigation and service; (2) care in foster homes; and (3) responsibility for the correction of community conditions which interfere with the welfare of children. Its purpose as expressed at the time of the merger was "for the care, protection, and help of children and the acquisition and maintenance of places of shelter, homes, and schools for children."

Much of the technical discussion in this field in the past was concerned with the character of institutions in which the child was placed, with the relative merits of foster home and institutional care, of distant and near-by placement, of this or that seat of authority for placement, and with similar legal and technical questions. It is one of the substantial achievements of social work that the discussion has now shifted to the question: shall the child be removed from his family at all? If so, for how long and under what conditions? The heart of child care lies in a sense within this area. What factors determine the desirability of the removal of a child from his home? The assumption is that removal is undesirable in the first place. In case of necessary removal, the reunification of the family is favored if both child and family can be fitted for the reestablishment of a common life.

The beginnings of the present era of opposition to the removal of children from their homes arose because of cumulative criticism of the regimes and standards of institutions. This may be due to the fact that most children unnecessarily removed from their homes tended to be absorbed by institutions, since institutional care was most quickly and easily procured. Foster home care for the treatment and readjustment of children has been a relatively recent form of care, and has been developed as a substitute for institutional care more than as a substitute for home care. It is more difficult to procure and administer than institutional care. Because it represents a contrast to institutional care, the fact may have been overlooked that even foster home care still means removing the child from home, with the risk of breaking family ties. It may, in fact, if not carefully watched, constitute an even more serious breach of family life than institutionalization. To the extent, however, to which admission to an institution is a relatively simpler procedure than finding a suitable foster home and to which child placement work is usually done by professionally trained personnel, the need for caution against removal of the child is still more pertinent with regard to institutional care than with regard to foster home care. The force of the findings of an earlier study of Pittsburgh children in institutions, which indicated that the reasons why families were unable to give continued care to their children were such as called for general family treatment or preventive social measures, still applies.

Of 275 families of children in five institutions, the Pittsburgh Survey found that 37 percent had one parent; it was among these that "the largest number of self-respecting mothers [were found] out of work, and honest fathers, who, in the absence of the mothers had not been able to hold the home together." In fact, nearly half (46 percent) the families were in one way or another maintaining a home to which the child might return.⁴ Despite our theoretical advance since that day, we find in our local institutions children who still have family ties in such numbers that doubts must be raised concerning the soundness of our existing system of child care. Among 879 children discharged from Catholic and Protestant institutions in 1933, 513 were sent to parents and relatives. Should they have been removed in the first place? Should they have been away as long as the average duration of institutional care would indicate?

Perhaps it is easier for Pittsburgh to fall into the habit of removing children to institution or foster home because the resources are so adequate in a way and because the decision is such a nice definite one and represents action taken. There are institutions with room for children, and there is working machinery for carrying out the agency decisions even without the coöperation of the client.

One sees this basic motivation, however unconscious and overlaid by a sense of social responsibility, in watching the actual functioning of social agencies, public and private. One sees it in the emphasis which a socially minded judge still places on enforcing by fiat parental support or responsibility, in the conviction that the community must be protected against those who would too easily slip out of their individual obligations. Sometimes the child's needs and rights are temporarily lost sight of, instead of seeing first the obligation to the child and then the further responsibility of inducing the parent to meet this obligation himself in so far as he may be able.

One sees the same underlying philosophy expressed by the voluntary agencies in their disposition of "socially inoperable cases," by a quite literal disposition of the individuals, breaking up the family and getting foster care for the children. The point is that this philosophy allows the agency to stop here. It has done something about the family which is a social liability, and the situation as a whole exists no more. Socially, however, little has been done because the individual members of the family group are still part of the social body, and the children, who are only at the threshold of a whole new phase of existence, are no more able to cope with it without their parents than their parents were for them.

The numerical shift between institutional and home foster care and the current distribution of the two types of foster care are illustrated in

⁴ *Pittsburgh District Civic Frontage*, "The Pittsburgh Survey," p. 377.

CHILDREN UNDER CARE IN INSTITUTIONS OR FOSTER HOMES IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY, JANUARY 1 OF EACH YEAR, 1931-35

^a Not reported. ^b Percent change 1932-35. ^c Some January 31 or May 31. ^d Excludes Pittsburgh Newsboys Home. ^e Excludes Eudes Institute and St. Joseph's Protectory. ^f Excludes Children's Home Society.

^e Excludes Eudes Institute and St. Joseph's Protectory.

the following selected statistics. Of the 5,224 children under care in January, 1935 (excluding delinquents), 2,667, or 51 percent, were in foster homes, and 2,557, or 49 percent, were in institutions.

The number of children in institutions has grown less and those in foster care has increased to the extent shown by the figures in Table 54.

Admissions to care show an even greater discrepancy. Those admitted during the year 1935 show a total of 5,414. Of these: admitted to child placing agencies (new and old cases) 4,066; to institutions (new and old cases) 1,348.

The capacity of twenty-four institutions devoted exclusively to foster care of this type totals 3,099. During the year 1935 these institutions gave 688,574 days of care, which gives a percentage of occupancy of 64.3. Table 57 at the end of this chapter presents these figures in some detail, as well as corresponding data for 13 other institutions partly belonging to this field.

As in the general field of relief, so in that of child care the relative place of public and voluntary agencies has shifted. This shift has necessarily affected institutional and foster home care in different degrees, due to the difference in the use of these types of care by public bodies and voluntary bodies, respectively. These shifts are also to be seen in the changing annual statistics, as shown in Table 54.

ADMISSION TO FOSTER CARE

Obviously, the first step in the care of a child away from his own home is his removal from his home. The propriety of taking this step, the conditions under which it may be done in the best interests of the child and without harm to his family, the duration of his absence, and the necessity for planning subsequent steps in his welfare—these are among the most important problems that face any agency or community that contemplates this form of action.

Other considerations, hardly less important, are:

If removed from his home, where shall he go—to institution or foster home? Under what conditions?

Who shall decide removal, and under what control or authority?

What administrative machinery is suitable for exercising this responsibility?

Once removed, it does not follow that the child's interest requires his permanent absence from his home; on the contrary, it is important to plan for his return if possible. How can this be planned for? It may be necessary to change him from one foster home to another or to alternate institutional with foster home care in order to determine the length of his stay under substitute care. How shall the changing conditions and needs be observed, studied, and acted upon?

When and under what conditions shall the child be restored to his parents; who shall take the responsibility? How is the task of substitute care for the child—"placement" in its full sense—to be divided among public authorities and voluntary agencies, agencies and the family, social case worker and institution?

These various questions together constitute the problem of child placement. The technical counterparts of these questions as they are generally known to the profession are contained in the professional activities designated as admission to care, home finding, supervision, planning, coördination of placement and institution.

Admission to care is the counterpart of removal from home—whether to foster home or to institution. The problem of separation from the family may be the same in either case. The difficulty lies, as we shall see, in the fact that admission to an institution may be accomplished so easily as to preclude the intensive study of the basic question, whether the child shall leave his home in the first place.

In the light of the principle that removal of a child from his family should be only a last resort, the following quotation from one of the child studies conducted in Pittsburgh nearly thirty years ago is significant:

No one, after meditating upon these tables [in the study quoted], would attempt to generalize and to say, offhand, that the households they describe were worthless, or vicious, or failures beyond repair, or that the children were homeless, friendless, or destitute. It would be presumptuous, on the basis of an investigation which was not followed by treatment, to say how many of these families could have been rehabilitated at the date upon which they came to the attention of the institutions. But a glance at the tables in which are indicated the number of parents who still had homes and habits needing a little bracing, or who, having lost their homes, were eager to reestablish them and might have been helped to that end, can scarcely fail to make apparent the fact that a great number of children might have been knitted into their natural households by wisely directed social work. Such work was not done.⁵

So far as the children's institutions, at any rate, are concerned, a number of them have made little progress in this respect since 1907. They are still receiving children largely on the mere statement of their situation by a parent or guardian and are making the important decision to separate the child from his family without adequate study or consideration as to whether this decision will injure or help the child. Institutional care is in many instances still offered as an alternative to relief. Thus, children of widows represent a substantial proportion of the children accepted by institutions, although in many instances the mother would be capable of maintaining the home if she could obtain financial assistance. In times of stress parents appeal to those they recognize as community leaders,

⁵ *The Pittsburgh District Civic Frontage*, "The Pittsburgh Survey," Russell Sage Foundation, p. 393.

such as ministers or heads of fraternal organizations, and institutional care of their children is suggested as the way out of a difficult economic situation.

Numerous instances might be cited in which loose admission procedures have resulted in serious permanent injury to the child. A child may be accepted on the statement of an adult who brings him to the institution, representing himself as a parent. Acceptance is based on the adult's statement of the situation and without verification of his story. In later years efforts to discover relatives of the child disclose that the statement of fact made upon application was false; that neither the adult who represented himself as the guardian, nor any of the other relatives whose names were furnished by him can be located. There is now no way of determining whether the original story was true, and the child has been deprived of all knowledge of his own family or connection with it through the thoughtless "helpfulness" of the institution. There are other instances in which a child is placed by adults as a means of gaining certain advantages for themselves in their relation to other adults. When parents are separated, the children are sometimes placed by one parent as a means of punishing the other or of gaining a certain advantage over the other, the placement itself being unnecessary or harmful to the child. This is true, even though the parent may have legal custody of the child.

Few institutions realize the importance of maintaining a continuous responsibility in planning for the child. No connection with the child's family is sought until the child reaches the age of discharge or the family asks to have the child returned. Many families are lost to children because of the present policies of institutions. A number of institutions accept children coming from a great distance beyond Allegheny County, and this inevitably contributes to the loss of contact between the child and his own family or his other relatives.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to assure a proper system of admission to foster care, whether in homes or in institutions, merely by willingness to observe those principles that should guide removal of the child from his home. Appropriate machinery or procedures also are necessary. Inasmuch as both institutions and noninstitutional or placement agencies take independent responsibility for deciding upon the removal of a child from his home, uniform methods and machinery are important if fundamental principles are not to be neglected. This means not only improvements in the system of child placement but also a coördination of the work of the various agencies active in the field. The importance of this can best be realized when the subject is approached from the standpoint of the family or children in need rather than, as is our custom, from the point of view of the operating agency. What the family knows is that something is wrong,

and it goes to whatever agency it may accidentally know about or which someone may suggest or to which still another agency may refer it. Certainly no informed and intelligent method of selection on the part of the family or child can reasonably be expected as a guiding principle for the selection of institution or placement agency, of sectarian or non-sectarian organization, of temporary or permanent placement.

Roughly, the situation in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County is as follows: persons seeking denominational assistance may go to the Conference of Catholic Charities or to one of the numerous institutions for Catholic children if members of that faith. He can go to one of two or three case work agencies or to a children's institution within the Jewish community. Otherwise he may get in touch with one of the many denominational Protestant institutions or may come to the attention of one of two or three placement agencies of nonsectarian type which serve both Protestant and Catholic clients. The client may also come to the attention of an agency entirely outside the field of child care: public health nursing organization, family agency, settlement, school, police, and so forth. He may be referred to any of the numerous denominational or nonsectarian agencies in this way. With the exception of a limited number of institutions that have coördinative relationships with case work agencies, the client seeking admission for a child to an institution has no other dealings than with the administration of that institution. The adequacy of the institution's practices of judging the propriety of admission may be the only determining factor. With few exceptions, these practices are far from adequate.

Clearly a system of admission of children to foster care that will satisfy the principles outlined earlier, calls for progress in two directions: one is a greater emphasis upon regarding the acceptance and allocation of a child for foster care as part of the more general plan of assisting the family as a whole in its inclusive problem of adjustment; the other, an improvement in the admission practices of institutions which in a community like Pittsburgh are not likely in the near future to become a part of a centralized system of admissions. The creation of a general case work agency such as was described earlier constitutes one of the most important proposals for a suitable reorganization of admission practice to child placement without formal mergers and without any loss of autonomy on the part of institutions. The removal from the Juvenile Court of the responsibility for foster care, as proposed by this study, should be another important move to that end. Supplementing these, a program oriented in the same direction should be developed within the several groups of existing children's institutions. The possibilities for such a program may be illustrated from plans already in operation in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County.

In the field of Jewish child care there has been a strong trend toward centralization for some years. A child of the Jewish faith either may be brought to the Juvenile Court, where foster care may be directed or treatment as a delinquent child may be undertaken under conditions to be set forth later, or he may come to the general case work agency in which all manner of problems dealing with parents and children receive attention.⁶ If as a result of appropriate social study it is deemed wise to place the child in a foster home, the facilities of this agency are utilized for the home finding, supervision, and follow-up required by the child and for such steps as may have to be taken for the ultimate reuniting of the child with his family or kin. If the circumstances justify placement in an institution, the decision is still made within this agency through the appropriate coördination of staff and lay committee activities and by recommendations for admission by a Jewish institution available for the purpose—the Gusky Orphans' Home. In the past, this institution has exercised the traditional responsibility for admission and discharge of children, as well as for the care the child is to receive during his institutional stay. On the new plan, the duration of his stay, its determination, change from institutional to foster care or vice versa, and the maintenance of permanent relations with the child's family remain the responsibility of the case work agency, and the institution, that is, the Gusky Home becomes a coöperative unit in the general process of planning. Much of this work was carried on by the Jewish Children's Bureau prior to the present merger. The system as now inaugurated provides practically a complete, continuous program, in which the maximum individualization in the interest of the child can be effected. To a considerable extent the possibilities within the Jewish field of child care are due to the limited number of agencies and institutions and to the small number of cases involved in the entire task of substitute child care. These conditions do not obtain in the Catholic, the Protestant, or the general nonsectarian field.

Child care in the Catholic field has undergone considerable concentration, similar in nature to that which has taken place in the Jewish field. A much larger number of institutions is involved in this denominational group. Pittsburgh and Allegheny County are served by ten Catholic institutions, two extramural agencies, and some organizations outside the county which are utilized to a limited extent. The institutions are not only separate in themselves but are also differentiated with respect to racial or ethnic affiliations and with respect to the degree of control exercised by the diocese. There has been a growing concentration of acceptance for child placement in the Conference of Catholic Charities, which is a

⁶ The new agency was organized in accordance with recommendations of this study. Cf. chap. xvi, *supra* and chap. xxi, *infra*.

combined family and children's agency operating under the Pittsburgh Diocese and which is a member of the Community Fund.

For four of the institutions, the Children's Bureau, which is part of the Conference of Catholic Charities, provides complete or partial social service including responsibility for admission. They are: St. Paul's Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum, St. Raphael's Study Home, St. Joseph's Orphanage, and Convent of the Good Shepherd. For at least one of these, namely, St. Paul's Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum, the Conference maintains an active record of the children within the institution. The central service for these institutions has not yet advanced to the point of providing complete social case work service through the Children's Bureau, though this is the logical goal of such centralized service.⁷ This complete social service should also result in the concentration of responsibility for all investigation and study in the family department of the Conference rather than in the division of this task between the more or less separate family and children's divisions. This change would be in keeping with the general principle that the child's problem and that of his family cannot be separated either with respect to prior events or in relation to constructive planning of the future of the child.

The incomplete centralization of admission service for the Catholic institutions (as compared with the Jewish agencies) is not altogether a manifestation or proof of poor service, but there can be little question as to the desirability of the ultimate coördination of all admissions. Tradition, a conviction on the part of some institutions that better work on admissions is actually done by their own staff, and the fact that the case work service of the Conference of Catholic Charities (which has existed for a relatively short time only) has not been completely accepted by some are responsible for the reluctance to cede this part of the institution program to a central agency. This separatist attitude is not necessarily a sign of retardation, for it is held by some of the Catholic institutions that have high standards and progressive policies.

Admission service is most unorganized in the Protestant and "non-sectarian" institutions. This reflects in part, at least, the fact that the institutional standards of this group are, or tend to be, on a generally lower level than either the Catholic or Jewish institutions.

Since the extensive study of 1930 little has been done to raise the standard of these institutions. They have no sort of clearing bureau or central coöperative arrangement either for common services—medical, psychiatric, or case work—or for conference on cases that might involve

⁷ Since completion of the field work of this study, steps have been taken toward providing more complete social service in St. Joseph's and St. Raphael's through the Conference of Catholic Charities. Part of the service had been given since 1933 and 1935, respectively.

the same or related families. Nor is there any method by which allocation of a Protestant child to the most suitable and available institution could be effected unless the case happens to come through one of the placement agencies or a family case work organization. Such absence of coördinative or coöperative facilities might not be serious if the institutions themselves had adequate social service departments of their own and if the point of view of these institutions with respect to the total life problem of children were such as to justify the expectation of sound and constructive planning in most instances. This is not the case, however. Very few of the agencies have any formal and deliberate case work service of the type which could study problems of admission in the light of the best principles of child care. We have no information to indicate what proportion of the admissions to these Protestant and nonsectarian institutions result from more or less direct application and what proportion is effected through the instrumentality of the Children's Service Bureau, Children's Aid Society, and Family Society. There is no doubt that admission service of an entirely different kind than that now obtaining should be provided for the Protestant institutions as a body. There are two ways of attaining this end. One is the introduction of well-trained, competent social case workers in sufficient numbers for each agency. The other is the establishment of a coöperative admission bureau or the establishment of such a bureau as one of the activities of the proposed central case work agency. Whichever method is chosen—and this must be a matter of conference and joint planning by institutions, placement agencies, and the Federation of Social Agencies—the continuous service of social case workers should be included in the plan along lines similar to those being worked out in the Jewish and Catholic agencies.

PLANNING, SUPERVISION, AND HOME FINDING

The use of foster home or institution is only a part of the organized and systematic planning for the future of the child who is to be cared for outside his own home. There are certain technical steps in a planned program that require particular attention. Planning relates, of course, to the entire program of service for the child accepted for care. The very fact of acceptance is a first item in the plan. The decision as to whether institution or foster home is to be used is the next item. At this point, under a complete and unified program, supervision begins, and it continues until the child has become reunited with his family and needs no further attention or until the child has attained maturity and independence and is no longer in need of care. So conceived, supervision does not cease with the admission of a child to an institution any more than it is discontinued upon placement in a foster home. The progress of the child must be observed

and studied in the light of his past and, especially, in the light of his future.

The finding of a foster home is naturally part of the process of procuring substitute home care for the child separated from his family. In a technical sense home finding consists in discovering families willing to accept one or more children for foster care, either without charge (for example, possible or prospective adoptive parents) or in return for the payment of stipulated sums for the board of the child. There are many ways in which such families may be found, but each family considered by a properly conducted service is carefully investigated to see whether its economic security, the general tone of the home life, and the personal characteristics of the members of the family are suitable to the task involved in caring for a foster child. An agency may have a list of such prospective foster families. The best agencies have complete information on the families—practically case records—with some indication as to the type of children that might most suitably be placed in them. Home finding, although a difficult job requiring technical skill, is nevertheless only the beginning, and each family must be reconsidered with reference to each proposed placement with a view to its adaptability to the particular needs of the child to be placed. The most important phase of home investigation, therefore, is the period subsequent to the finding and preliminary investigation of the home, that is, the study of its suitability to a given child. Above all, the foster home demonstrates its effectiveness when it proves capable of giving the child as nearly as possible the care, affection, and guidance that the child might receive from its own parents under normal circumstances.

The simplest and most constructive conception of home finding, supervision, and planning of foster care is one in which these are hardly differentiated from the task of admission to foster care and in which they are thought of as a single continuous process, which begins when the question of placement first presents itself and continues to the point where any need for it has clearly ceased to exist. It is part of the administrative provision for facilitating continuous case work service which involves consideration of each of the three constituent elements of foster home placement: the child, his characteristics and needs; his family, its difficulties and problems; the foster family, its suitability and effectiveness. A complete child placement program keeps all these three constituent parts in focus. In Allegheny County child placement is exercised principally by the Children's Aid Society, the Children's Service Bureau, the Catholic Conference, the Jewish agencies, as described elsewhere, and the Juvenile Court. The amount of foster home care initiated by even the best institutions is too negligible in amount to justify serious consideration of these organizations in the placement and supervisory problem of foster care.

In view of the history of child placement in Allegheny County, progress toward a completely satisfactory system of foster care will be difficult and will require the utmost patience and persistence. The machinery proposed for this service has been partly described in earlier pages.

The caliber of work both in public and voluntary agencies has been uneven in the light of modern standards, when considered in relation to the several aspects of work: study of the child himself, work with his family, and selection and supervision of foster parents. The quality of the service during the process of investigation is relatively high in the voluntary agencies. Offsetting this, however, is the fact that the voluntary agencies sometimes discontinue responsibility because of inadequate funds and pass the child on to the Juvenile Court, even though he may have been in their care for a number of years. The Juvenile Court, on the other hand, has been able to provide only inferior care because of the limitations of its own budget for case work service. Funds available for salaries being inadequate, case loads three and four times too large have been permitted in serving the wards of the court.

Facilities for child study and planning beyond the mere task of investigation are still so limited that all of the agencies are frequently obliged to accept children with inadequate study and observation. This has seriously affected the practices relating to the admission of children to foster care, and has given some justification for the resistance on the part of institutions to the substitution of foster home care thus inadequately developed, for the proven services of institutions. The two nonsectarian placement agencies provide psychological study within their own agencies and are able to serve the children in need of it to a fair degree. For psychiatric study and treatment in cases of behavior problems, dependence is placed on the Child Guidance Center. The value of this to the individual child depends very much on the quality of the agency's own case work staff, since the follow-up must be done by the case worker.

The Catholic Charities maintain a temporary shelter which is used for the study and observation of children coming under care for the first time. This shelter is frequently used by other agencies for children whom they plan to refer for care to the Catholic Charities.

For children committed by the Juvenile Court to various voluntary agencies, a very limited amount of special study has been available through psychiatrists employed on a fee basis. It is doubtful whether the kind of service given is suited to the needs of these children and whether it is well related to the child-placing program. It has been used routinely at the time of first acceptance of the child rather than as a resource for treatment later on.

Foster homes represent the most important resource of the child-

placing agency, and the selection of homes one of the most important technical methods in its possession. Of the more specific needs within the child-placing field, better quality of homes and better quality of home-finding seem most important. The development of an adequate number of homes of good quality depends upon many factors: the establishment of standards, adequate board rates, the stimulation of applications by foster parents through appropriate interpretation to the community of what child-placing means.

The actual approval of homes for use by agencies requires first the establishment of standards as to income of the foster family, accommodations for the child, neighborhood, school facilities, and many other objective factors; but what is most important and most difficult to determine is the motivations of the foster parents and the effect which these are likely to have on their capacity to give certain kinds of children the care they require. It is important to evaluate the personality of the foster parents, what they hope to get out of the experience of boarding children in relation to the needs of children requiring placement. After the home is approved for use, its potentialities need still to be evaluated with relation to the needs of a particular child to be placed in it.

Home-finding standards in voluntary agencies of Allegheny County are fair and improving, though as a whole they are still not above mediocre, despite the excellent work being done in one or two agencies and the growing concern over the standard for the selection of foster homes which is apparent in almost all the boarding-care agencies. It is generally true now that all agencies, including the Juvenile Court, are careful to eliminate the home which makes financial benefit a motive and the home in which the income is marginal. Moral standards are scrutinized with care and living standards tend to be more carefully considered than formerly. The corresponding work in the Children's Service Bureau and the Children's Aid Society, both past and present, is, with certain exceptions, much more skilled and satisfactory. Children are now better known to the worker than they were formerly, they are supervised more carefully, visits and contacts are more frequent and planful, and the adverse aspects of the child's life are more fully considered. If changes in plans for the child are made, it is after reasonable study of his needs.

Medical supervision of children in foster homes is still on a higher level among the voluntary agencies than in the public agencies. The Children's Service Bureau has its own staff physician, who sees children regularly and, if necessary, at home. The Children's Aid Society gives great emphasis to medical and health supervision and has now employed a staff physician and rented space at one of the hospitals, where it can hold its own clinic. There are plans to expand this service by the employment of a

woman physician to examine older girls and of a nurse to visit young babies. Dental care is given regularly. The Bureau of Jewish Children gives periodical medical examinations through a hospital clinic and watches health needs closely. The Conference of Catholic Charities has no staff physician, but it uses various hospital clinics.

For the future of foster home care for children in Allegheny County, however, it is the Juvenile Court that must be regarded as the hub of the service *so long as that Court has the responsibility for authorizing public support of dependent children and for their supervision while under care*. When this function has been, as is suggested, transferred to a properly organized department of public assistance and there conducted as part of the comprehensive task of meeting the problems of economic relief as they may occur in the community, foster home care with all its problems will become one of the most important activities of the Department of Public Assistance. When reference is made to the Juvenile Court in this connection, it is therefore to be remembered that we have in mind a *public authority* responsible for the care of children, which happens, for the moment, to be the Juvenile Court. It is not the court as a judicial agency to which principal reference is made. This is important, not only because of the larger issues involved, but also because the present administrative organization of the court requires considerable fundamental readjustment for the best interests of competent foster care service. We shall come back to this point again in a later section.

The extent to which foster home care has already become an accepted public function is indicated by the fact that of 2,323 children in boarding homes on January 1, 1935, 1,954, or 85 percent, were under supervision of the court and 369 under voluntary auspices. So far as the voluntary agencies are concerned, moreover, the foster home function is a relatively small portion of their own total service: of 1,700 included in the case load of the Children's Service Bureau on January 1, 1935, 190 (11 percent) were in foster homes; under the care of the Children's Aid Society, 189, or 29 percent, were in foster homes. Whatever is to be done to raise the standards of foster home care must therefore apply primarily to the work of the Juvenile Court which overshadows in numerical importance, the foster home function of the two nonsectarian agencies, while the Catholic and Jewish foster home services are still smaller in comparison. It is common knowledge and has been found by the present inquiry also that the standards of service in foster care under Juvenile Court auspices have been far inferior to those in the voluntary agencies. In recent years tremendous strides have been made by the court toward a better standard, and in this effort the court has had the coöperation, not only of the voluntary agencies, but also of the public authorities through increasingly generous

budgetary grants. Neither the rapid advance in standards already made by the court nor the degree by which voluntary agencies still outstrip public service should be allowed to blind one, however, to the necessity for concentration upon the foster care service of the public authorities as most important for giving needed service to dependent and neglected children away from their own homes.

For many years prior to the administration of the present judge foster home care in Pittsburgh had been unfavorably known because of the quality of the boarding homes used by the Juvenile Court for its wards. Popular opinion has not yet overcome the prejudice against boarding home care which resulted from the poor choice of homes and weak supervision by the court under the old system. The foster homes were chosen without real knowledge and without real selection for the individual child. Study and investigation of the foster home was not sufficient to furnish any basis for proper selection. The positive values of the foster homes were not well enough known to be utilized for the benefit of a particular child, nor have the disadvantages been known well enough to protect the child from placement in unsuitable homes. Little evidence was found in the case records examined of any attempt to give foster parents an interpretation of the child's past experiences and of the significance to him of the changes from his own home to the foster home. Even after a home has been carefully studied and approved for use and a particular child selected for placement in that home, the adjustment that the child is likely to make in that home cannot be foretold with any certainty. Rarely is the home completely adapted to the child's need at the time when the child is placed. The best that can be expected is that the necessary potentialities to meet the child's needs be there. It is the task of the case worker responsible for the supervision of the child to make possible the utilization of the fullest potentialities of the new home for the benefit of the child.

Supervision in the foster home shows a wide range of practice. For the large number of children in boarding homes under the care of the Juvenile Court, supervision was, until the reorganization, concerned almost entirely with the environmental conditions and hardly at all with the child as a person, unless he was a problem in some way. If he did not get along and the foster mother did not want him, he was transferred to another home; more because something had to be done, than because the new home offered greater understanding or ability to meet his needs. The short periods of foster care (due to the frequently noted practices of returning children to their own homes whenever a temporary financial improvement occurred and of very often recommitting the child a short time later) made it difficult for the worker to do much planning, as she

had little share in the decision as to these changes, frequently was not the person who had the contacts with the child's own family, and had a constantly changing and increasing number of new children to place.

The child went in and out of his own home and in and out of the foster home with little awareness on the part of the agency of what the cost to the child might be in loss of security with relation to his parents, in confusion of standards, and even in regularity of school attendance. Little, if any, interpretation was given to the child of the reasons back of what was happening to him. Little, in fact, appeared to be really known of what was happening to him aside from his material situation. The situation as portrayed in the foregoing represents what apparently happened to children in the past more than a picture of present practices. Much improvement is in process, and the most important contribution to it is represented by the progress effected through changes in the home-finding department of the Juvenile Court under the present incumbent. With the employment of personnel on the merit basis by that agency, it can be said that the whole child-placing field in Allegheny County has entered a new era of professional service. Since the competent case worker is the hub of constructive guidance and planning, this fact is of an importance difficult to exaggerate. It is not imperative, of course, that every member of the professional staff of the court engaged in child placing should have had specific experience in that field of case work, though such a condition would tend to insure high standards of service. Very few children's agencies have succeeded in attaining such a goal. There are not enough workers trained in the children's field completely to staff all the children's agencies in operation. Moreover, as the basic similarity of all personal adjustment or case work, whether "children's" or other, is increasingly recognized a uniformly specialized staff is hardly even desirable.

It is of the utmost importance, however, that the persons in supervisory positions, at least, as well as a substantial number of the rank and file of the case work staff, shall have had specific experience in child placement, while any generic case work experience gained in family agencies of good standard, child guidance clinics, hospital social work departments, and the like, should enable a trained worker to adapt himself to child-placing within a reasonable period of time. Upon the supervisory staff and a sufficient number of the workers on the case work staff, however, depends the capacity of the agency to build up and retain traditions and standards of child placing.

The difficulties in the way of adequate foster home care under the Juvenile Court are principally of two types: those associated with the competence and qualifications of its personnel and those more clearly due to the administrative phase of the court's work. The Juvenile Court, func-

tioning as a court, seeks to deal on a different footing with children who have committed certain offenses specified in the penal code as involving stated penalties if committed by adults. The court, however, is also a public agency which may take under its care a child requiring assistance either because of physical or moral neglect or because its parents or kin ordinarily responsible for the child's maintenance are unable to perform these duties. In any case, the child, whether technically delinquent, neglected, or dependent, needs some sort of care which is defined, not by his technical status, but by the particular circumstances and conditions which have made him a public ward. Appropriate care, education, and training for the assurance of his future rehabilitation depend on his particular circumstances and must be ascertained by study and suitable disposition. This disposition may consist in returning him to his family, which will involve public assistance and case work supervision; it may take the form of foster home care or assignment to an institution. A logical administrative system in the court would therefore lead to an organization which would minimize the initial technical differences of the child, concentrate on a study of his needs, and departmentalize its activities in such a way as to provide the most effective home supervision where that is indicated, the best foster home service where that seems suitable, and institutional care only when evidence clearly indicates this form of treatment as preferable. The actual organization of the court is not suited to the efficient administration of these functions. The first principle of child placement is in fact violated in its basic organization. The decision as to which of the services is most suitable to a child is properly part of an admission service, and should be based on social case study. Whatever his technical designation, delinquent, neglected, or dependent, the child should receive the same kind of study before the method of care is decided upon. Contrary to these principles, the home-finding department as an administrative subdivision of the court is given responsibility for the foster care of children only after this decision has been made and foster care rather than home supervision or institutional treatment has been determined upon. They are then supervised by the personnel of the probation department instead of by the home-finding or foster care service, as seems logical.

On January 1, 1935, there were 2,055 children in foster homes responsible to the Juvenile Court. Not all these, however, were under supervision of the home-finding department as one would logically expect them to be, and some of the foster care ordered by the Juvenile Court was provided by institutions to which children were committed by the court directly, instead of being committed according to the type of admission service discussed in earlier pages.⁸ These children, in so far as the

⁸ This situation does not represent the present policy of the court and the number of

court continues supervision, are looked after by the Probation Department. These observations should not be interpreted as a qualitative judgment of the relative competency of the professional service of the Home-finding Department in contrast with that of the Probation Department. In view of the enormous burden of work, the short time in which the present court setup has been in operation, and the retention of personnel which was not employed on the basis of adequate qualifications, it is unreasonable to expect the same standard of service in all parts of the Juvenile Court organization, or, at the moment, as high standards as those observable in the voluntary agencies with their relatively small loads and with personnel obtained under favorable conditions. It is, however, important to point out that even with the best personnel the court will not be able to give proper service to the children under its care if its administrative organization is not adjusted to a program in which the disposition of a child follows rather than precedes a careful social study, and if artificial differentiations and unnecessary technical distinctions are retained between probation and home-finding departments, delinquent and dependent children, formal adjudication and case work service.

FOSTER CARE FOR CHILDREN IN INSTITUTIONS

Institutions have dominated the field of child care in the past and still tend to do so in Allegheny County. They are visible expressions of community interest in the child. They embody also, in tangible form, the denominational, ethnic, and racial preoccupation of social groups with their own members and the vicissitudes that befall them. The fact tends to be overlooked that the overwhelming majority of children cared for by charitable and public funds is to be found, not as separate units in foster homes or institutions, but in the families supported by relief agencies and by the Mother's Assistance Fund. Whereas, however, the relative importance of institutions in a child care program has diminished, their public appeal has hardly lessened.

There are some forty institutions for children serving the needs of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, of which about three-quarters were covered in the course of the present study in sufficient detail to appraise their place in the child care program of the community. Statistical information is obtained for every children's institution in the county by the Bureau of Social Research of the Federation of Social Agencies, and these figures show an average of 2,500 children housed daily in institutions in

these institutional commitments is being rapidly reduced. The supervision of institutional placements has, at the suggestion of the study staff, been transferred to the Home-Finding Department. Further discussion of the work of the Juvenile Court will be found in a later section of this chapter.

1935. Only a small proportion of these are reported by the Bureau as being directly cared for in a public institution (see Table 54), even though a considerable number, while under care in voluntary institutions, are supported by public funds. So far as the institutional problem is concerned, therefore, it is, unlike the foster home care, almost entirely within the scope of voluntary service. The control, management, and administration of institutions is unofficial, subject to public scrutiny only in so far as it may affect subsidies received from public bodies and in so far as they are subject to the supervisory powers of the State Board of Public Welfare. Clearly then, the life of these institutions, the caliber of their work, the functions they perform, their relations with one another and with public bodies are matters in which voluntary associations carry the responsibility. What is good must be credited chiefly to these voluntary sponsors. What is not up to standard is within their own power to improve.

It has not been the purpose of the present inquiry to give a detailed analysis of each institution with respect to all phases of its work or to arrive at the numerous recommendations, major and minor, that such a detailed analysis would inevitably lead to, but to examine their work chiefly as it relates to the entire child care program of the community. While some evaluation will be submitted in subsequent pages, and more detail is available in the records of the study, our consideration is oriented to a future plan, not to past experience or present inadequacies. All that need be known about the proper management of a children's institution is available to any association or executive that may earnestly seek to advance its standards of work. The records of the State Department of Public Welfare, the personal knowledge of its staff members who were assigned to the study, inspection and visitation of institutions, added to the findings of numerous prior studies, contain much of, if not all, the specific suggestions that individual institutions may need to consider for the improvement of their work. Not a few of the superintendents of these institutions are well informed and fully competent to give the best service within the present limitations of the field, and several of them have manifested remarkable energy and ingenuity in the character of service given through the institution. A few scattering recommendations in which specific institutional procedure may be closely related with the program of child care will be submitted later, but are not intended to be either comprehensive or typical.

The general caliber of institutional provision in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County is, as we shall see later, poor to an extent that cannot be attributed to lack of knowledge or absence of constructive recommendations. Institutions will rarely progress beyond the point to which public opinion will uphold them. It is public opinion rather than administration

and management that is without suitable information as to what proper standards are. It is to the general public, therefore, that a summary of the most important criteria for modern institutional administration should be addressed. The following standards are submitted as guideposts for the orientation of the citizens of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County who are interested to see that their institutions shall serve the best interests of children, parents, and relatives and of the community at large. If these standards seem in the manner of their statement somewhat arbitrary, it is for the purpose of simplicity and because they represent, not immediate practicable action in all instances, but rather a pattern of excellence to which eventually the institutional program for child care should conform.

Among the outstanding weaknesses of the present situation is an excess of institutional facilities, taken as a whole, while certain groups, particularly Negroes, receive inadequate—verging on disgraceful—care in institutions far below acceptable standards. Tables in preceding pages have shown the constant shrinkage of the amount of institutional care as compared with foster care. Table 57 shows the discrepancy between capacity of institutions and their occupancy, the latter having consistently declined so that by 1935 little more than three-quarters of the available places were actually in use. Unused facilities represent an overhead expenditure in administration and a sterile use of investment. Beyond this, they give rise to the danger of attempting to increase the institutional count by artificial methods, such as keeping children too long, exercising loose policies of admission, and substituting institutional care in cases for which foster home treatment is clearly needed. A first objective in the child care program of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County should be the actual reduction of physical plant facilities for the institutional care of children away from their homes.

Within this plan of reduction it is almost equally important to study and work toward a redistribution of the facilities so that they may be determined by the needs of children rather than by the desire to continue the identity of each separate institution. There is, for example, a tendency for separate provision for different ethnic groups in the population within the same religious confession. There are Catholic institutions for children of Slavic, Italian, and German descent. While there is much to be said in favor of maintaining the interest of these nationality groups in the children of their co-nationals, it is dubious whether the value of such interest justifies the maintenance of separate institutions under circumstances in which facilities are doomed to disuse and which may engender unsound policies of admission or discharge.

Even though institutional care is already declining, it is clear that a much greater reduction would be possible, first, if admission to foster

care in any form were managed on more strictly modern principles; if, when accepted, children who would profit from foster home care more than from institutional stay were transferred to foster homes; and if there were made a thorough review of the needs of children now in institutions, which would very likely disclose here, as such studies have disclosed in other communities, that many of the children ought no longer to be in the institutions, but should be enjoying a more normal life in their own homes or in foster homes. There is, of course, the converse possibility, that if the quality and particular suitability of the several institutions were improved, they might be found to be more acceptable modes of child care than they appear to be at present. This possibility must, however, be regarded as still a highly speculative condition for increasing or retaining the existing proportion of institution care to foster home care.

From any point of view, the existing institutional facilities for child care are greater than is needed and some elimination or consolidation would seem advisable. No simple plan of consolidation can reasonably be presented as an *a priori* plan. It must grow out of consultation, conference, and compromise. It must follow continued study carried on coöperatively by institutions and other social agencies over a period of time.

Viewed from the standpoint of these desirable purposes—reduction of institutional provisions, consolidation, revised intake—as well as from the point of view of improved care within the existing institutions, an inescapable recommendation is that the children's institutions create a way for regular interchange of opinion, conference, and consultation. The first step in such a plan might be the creation of a conference of Catholic institutions to work in an organized way with the Conference of Catholic Charities, but administratively independent of it. In the Jewish institutional field, a *modus operandi* with relation to the Jewish Home for Babies remains still to be worked out. In the Protestant and nonsectarian fields the entire task remains still to be done. Whether it is necessary to create a Protestant institutional conference, or whether the time is ripe to proceed directly to the creation of an inclusive conference by expanding the present activities of the Child Welfare Division of the Federation of Social Agencies, it is for local opinion to decide.

There are certain types of service which, it is recognized, institutions may successfully provide. These are, first, temporary care of children; the advantage of this is that temporary care in the institution involves less emotional adjustment on the part of the child and the child's family than placement in a boarding home. The child is not required to establish new close relationships which may conflict with his affection for his own people and the parents are saved the blow to their self-esteem which the handing over of their children to another family may involve.

Institutions are also being used as observation and study homes. They afford a chance for the observation of children who must be taken into care soon after the application is made. Institutions of this sort are equipping themselves with medical, psychiatric, and psychological facilities. The opportunity for the observation of a child in a group and over the twenty-four hour period probably provides for many cases a better basis for planning treatment than does the less formal observation in the foster home, although many agencies which use foster homes for observation are satisfied with the results obtained in them.

Institutions can successfully be used for certain children who do not fit into boarding homes. This is particularly true of the "middle-aged" child, that is, the child who enters care between the ages of eleven and fourteen. These children experience difficulty in taking root in the foster home. They frequently need habit training; they resent adult control; they wear out the foster family, and they have to be moved frequently. The stabilization of a general routine is a help during this period of rapid physical and emotional development. Group control is less personal. An institution intelligently managed and with rich opportunities for education in the larger sense can fill the need for service to this type of child and relieve boarding-home agencies of much expenditure of energy and time which can be devoted to the development of care for children who prove less difficult.

Although some infants have been placed in boarding homes by child-placing agencies in Allegheny County for a number of years, yet in 1935 we found only twenty-five infants under two years of age in boarding homes in care of all the child-placing agencies. At the same time there were in round numbers two hundred infants under two in the care of institutions in Allegheny County, and this despite the fact that one institution, St. Rita's Home for Infants, had been closed the previous year. There were at the end of 1935 three specialized homes for babies, as well as two maternity homes caring for infants, in addition to some other institutions which were caring for both older children and infants. It is hard to establish the reasons for the slow development of boarding-home care for infants in Allegheny County, a system of care on which there is all but universal agreement by leaders in child care. The lack of funds in the private child-placing agencies and the lack of necessary skilled personnel in the Juvenile Court can hardly account for it. At the end of 1935 the two nonsectarian private agencies and the Catholic child-placing department, although placing a few infants in their own foster homes, were at the same time placing a larger number in institutions for babies. Rivalry among some of the nonsectarian child-placing agencies seems at least to contribute to the retardation.

Two of these agencies, for example, although recognizing the importance of employing a nurse for supervising infants in boarding homes, yet postponed—each independently—the employment of such a nurse until they had enough children on their own lists to justify it. The possibility of uniting on a placement program and thereby making possible the employment of a nurse seems not to have been considered. The placing of infants might indeed be initiated as a coöperative enterprise by the non-sectarian, the Catholic, and the Jewish child-placing agencies, each of these agencies establishing its own service as soon as the need and its finances justified the employment of the necessary skilled personnel.

Much of what has just been said with respect to the factors in a sound program of institutional care for children does not bear on the one phase of institutional life which, though having received the most attention for years beyond count, is still exhibiting deplorable standards: that is, the actual caliber of physical care, education, and training of the child in the institution. No details can be given here; most of them are known, some are being improved; but many are barely receiving serious attention. A brief résumé of the important items will be given below.

In some institutions the quality of the care provided was so inferior and their potentialities for service so limited that future planning should be directed toward the elimination of these organizations from the community program, unless radical modifications of care can be brought about. Instances of this type were to be found in almost all the major groups of institutions in the community—Jewish, Protestant, Catholic, and Negro; in homes for babies, in institutions for problem children, and in a maternity home which combines child care with its other functions.

It is instructive to realize that, in comparing recommendations of the 1907 and 1930 studies and the present findings, a good many of the recommendations made in 1907 are still valid in 1935. Some institutions, indeed, have been very faithful in their efforts to carry out as many of the recommendations of the 1930 study as possible. On the whole, the Catholic institutions carried out a higher percentage of recommendations of the 1930 study than did other institutions. As a group, too, the Catholic institutions are larger and better equipped and have a much greater wealth of tangible resources.

The comments made in 1907 on physical plants are still appropriate:

The housing accommodations varied from old and new residences and remodeled structures originally built for church or school purposes, to large, old or new buildings of a kind that showed how firmly the congregate system was entrenched in western Pennsylvania, even when institutions owned enough available land to permit the adoption of the cottage plan. The economy of administration possible in the old congregate plan had been taken as conclusive argument in favor of this

system in Allegheny County and, as was to be expected, genuinely homelike features were hard to find.⁹

Similarly, observations about recreation seem still to be applicable:

In opportunities for outdoor recreation, many of the institutions were exceedingly well off, having grounds that spread out temptingly, with suggestions of play-house sites and nice corners in which to dig, as well as space for team play. These attractions, however, demanded leadership and direction before they could yield the fullest advantage. More than children in free, community life do children in institutions lack initiative. They need direction. Failure to supply it is educationally wasteful.¹⁰

The study of 1907 pleads with the boards of institutions to recognize their opportunity to utilize the institution as a laboratory for child study.

While it had been within the power of the children's institutions, in the Pittsburgh district as elsewhere, to work for the child with all these factors within their control, we found that, with a few notable exceptions, the children's institutions here as elsewhere had remained on the remote edges of great forward movements of the day.¹¹

Perhaps a few of the institution managers in Allegheny County have glimpsed the possibilities which the 1907 study suggests. We found little tangible evidence of definite programs for the realization of these possibilities. The same thing holds true with respect to the 1930 study. For an example of the slight impression made by its recommendations, let us examine its recommendation for one particular institution and the result: (1) a population study of the children; (2) a more thorough social investigation at the point of intake, especially the use of the Social Service Exchange; (3) an adequate case-record system; (4) that the superintendent meet with the board of directors; (5) that the agency affiliate with the Federation of Social Agencies; (6) that the agency consider the employment of a kindergartner; (7) that the agency provide more isolation facilities. As far as could be ascertained at the time of our visit, five years later, none of these recommendations had been carried out.

It is difficult to present any composite picture of the kind of care offered by the forty-odd institutions in Allegheny County, or even of the several groups of them—Catholic, Jewish, nonsectarian, and Protestant. There are very few facts that are applicable to all of them. Furthermore, there is little profit in such a portrayal because cross-sectional pictures such as health care in all the institutions and buildings in all the institutions, do not mean as much in terms of child welfare as the interrelationship of all these factors in one particular institution. Health facilities alone, for example, unless we have knowledge of the other elements of care in a particular institution, will tell us little about the welfare of the child in that in-

⁹ *Pittsburgh District Civic Frontage*, "The Pittsburgh Survey," p. 353.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

stitution. Furthermore, the diversities in the details are so great that in attempting to present a composite picture we would find ourselves merely restating standards of care available in published form in a number of books and monographs.

PROTESTANT INSTITUTIONS

Summarizing the situation with respect to eleven¹² Protestant institutions, we find that, in general, conditions in these institutions have remained practically the same as at the time of the 1930 Child Welfare Study, although in some instances a few of the detailed recommendations have been carried out. Personnel remains very much the same, and the general atmosphere of the institutions apparently has changed but little. The superintendents of the institutions are still, as a group, untrained in social work, and the relationships between boards of directors and staffs of institutions have not progressed far toward the establishment of the "partnership" recommended. There are still no institutions built on the modern cottage plan, and several institutions still have "large, unhome-like dormitories," though it is true that serious attention seems to have been given in most institutions to making the furniture and equipment attractive and colorful. As was the case in 1930, the clothing and the physical care of the children is on a fair level, and the diet seems to be, in most instances, adequate. In 1930 considerable emphasis was placed upon the importance of developing a program in institutions conducive to the mental health of children and of giving special attention to behavior problems. As yet, very few of these institutions use the Child Guidance Center, and the treatment of the children in the institutions, although kindly, is not, in most instances, in any way understanding of their real personality needs. Recreational opportunities have probably been somewhat enlarged since 1930.

With respect to the actual physical care given children in the institutions in Pittsburgh, it seems fair to say that the institutions visited represented a fairly high standard. A good deal of this may be attributable to the regular visits of the inspectors of the State Department of Public Welfare and to the fact that it has been possible for these inspectors to stress certain concrete aspects of institutional care to such an extent that plans for improvement have actually been carried out. Many institutions spoke of the

¹² Pittsburgh Home for Babies
Louise Home for Babies
Terman Avenue Home for Colored
Children
Coleman Industrial Home
Davis Home for Colored Children
First Allegheny Day Nursery and
Temporary Home

Elizabeth Bradley Home
Robert Ward Home
Protestant Orphan Asylum of Pitts-
burgh and Allegheny County
Pittsburgh and Allegheny Home for the
Friendless
Curtis Home

fact that the state department "required" physical examinations of all children cared for, and in most of the institutions some attempt was made to fulfill this requirement. There was, however, a good deal of variation in the understanding which had gone into the procuring and use of physical examinations. The superintendent of one institution only after searching through several drawers full of clothing and other miscellaneous articles produced partially filled out health blanks for the children in care. Even in one of the better institutions, where not only the regular examination but the periodic re-examinations had been put into effect, it was clear that little medical history went with the child to the doctor at the time of the examination, and the doctor's recommendations were not used as the basis for making adjustments in the child's daily program.

The state department had also stressed the decoration and improvement of the physical plant, and with a few exceptions the buildings of the institutions were homelike or at least showed an attempt to be as homelike as paint, curtains, plants, and furniture could make them. There appeared to be adequate air space in dormitories and bedrooms and attempts, more or less successful, to give the children recreational opportunities. The meals were in general attractively served, and the diet, again in response to specific recommendations by the state department, appeared to be fairly adequate, although in a few instances the children still seemed to be getting an inadequate amount of milk. One felt throughout these institutions, however, that the personnel was open-minded to suggestions for improvement in the general physical care given the children and that the attitudes were kindly. There were, of course, a few exceptions.

Within the limits of their point of view these institutions have been concerned to assure for the children whom they accept adequate food, warm shelter, and good clothing. In short, they have attempted to give the children what children ordinarily receive in their own homes. Their failure is the result largely of the inability of the managements to recognize that the problem of giving care to groups of dependent children under one roof necessitates giving these children not only what the average child has, but much more. It necessitates an organized medical program, organized recreation, and special provisions for safeguarding the individuality of the child and assuring that the needs of changing personality are met. Few institutions in Allegheny County have reached the stage exemplified by numerous places in other communities, which have recognized both their responsibility and their opportunity and have tried to relate themselves to the progress which is being made in child guidance and child study. Psychologists and psychiatrists have been employed as members of the staff and as directors of the activity program of many

progressive institutions. While there is a growing awareness of advanced methods of child care on the part of some of the institution people in Allegheny County, no institution has reached this stage in actual application.

CATHOLIC INSTITUTIONS

It has been possible for various reasons to make a more detailed inquiry into Catholic institutions than into the other groups and to advise with them in a more sustained manner than with the nonsectarian institutions for children. A somewhat fuller summary is therefore presented for this group of agencies. The majority of children in the Catholic institutions sleep in large dormitories containing forty to sixty beds. While the floors and bed linen are kept scrupulously clean, the dormitories present a cheerless and barrack-like appearance. The boys' building at St. Paul's, built as recently as 1927, contains six dormitories, each having forty beds. Since 1930 attempts have been made by this institution to make the dormitories more homelike by redecoration and by the use of plants and flowers. Some improvement has been brought about, which has been marked, however, only where population of dormitories has been substantially decreased. Dining rooms have been made more cheerful by the liberal use of pictures, the use of tablecloths, the introduction of smaller tables, linen covers for the chairs, and by the breaking up of the large dining rooms into smaller ones. At Holy Family Institute a plan is now being carried out to seat brothers and sisters at the same table. In other institutions, there are either separate dining rooms for boys and girls, or separate tables. St. Paul's is trying out the plan of having the younger boys and girls eat in the same dining room. It is planned to continue the use of one dining room for both sexes as these children grow up. The only exception to the use of congregate buildings is a small but significant development in the use of smaller buildings at the Holy Family Institute.

The kitchens of the larger institutions are well stocked and well equipped with modern labor-saving devices and include fuel and bakery equipment. Hospital facilities vary: St. Paul's has a separate hospital building which includes clinical rooms, diet kitchen, and infirmary wards. St. Joseph's has no hospital facilities, and those at St. Anthony's are markedly inadequate. With the exceptions of St. Joseph's and the Raphael Home, all the institutions have gymnasiums; the Holy Family Institute has a swimming pool as well.

On the whole the health care of the children is good. The practice of general physical examination on admission, periodic re-examinations, and corrective care is well carried out in most Catholic institutions. The majority of them have a regularly employed medical director who holds

regular clinics and is responsible for the health program. With the exception of St. Joseph's, these institutions include in their staff nuns who have had nurses' training. No analysis of diets was made during the present inquiry, but it was noted that careful attention is generally paid to nutrition.

It is fundamental in any program of care and guidance of the dependent child that it be based upon an understanding of the child, his physical and mental endowment, and his social experience before coming to the institution. It is important that the social and psychological sciences be employed in an estimate of the child's needs and a plan for his future. This study should be continuous during the child's stay in the institution. The Child Guidance Center, in which pediatrician, psychiatrist, psychologist, and social worker participate, suggests the kind of skills required for child study. Very little use is made of the facilities of this agency. In Holy Family Institute, beginnings of a child study program have been made. One of the nuns, who has had postgraduate training in psychology, administers individual and group mental tests to the children. Regular staff conferences, which include pediatrician, superintendent, psychologist, principal, and social worker, are held to discuss the child's progress and evaluate the plan of treatment. No such conferences are held in the other Catholic institutions, and none at all in the Protestant group visited, nor are there any formal plans for individualization.

Some of the more obvious recommendations implied in the foregoing comments on these Catholic institutions therefore include these:

a. Since Holy Family Institute has already made a beginning in the individualization of the children, it should be encouraged to complete its child guidance facilities by the employment of a social worker with adequate mental hygiene training and by arranging for consultative service of a psychiatrist trained in child guidance. Holy Family should not restrict itself to its own facilities. Liberal use of community child guidance facilities will enrich the perspective and understanding of its staff.

b. Because psychological and psychiatric study should in many cases constitute part of the admission study, it seems important that a central child guidance service be established jointly by the Conference of Catholic Charities and St. Paul's.

c. Each institution not now associated with the Conference of Catholic Charities should have on its staff a nun specially trained in clinical psychology. She should be primarily responsible for the individualization of the child in the institution and should work with the teacher and social worker.

The devotion of the staffs to the interests of the children in Catholic institutions has frequently been commented upon. This is especially commendable in view of the fact that in the majority of the institutions, the number of workers in relation to the number of children is inadequate. Thus, in St. Joseph's there are approximately 150 children and only 15 nuns, who, with the help of a few of the older girls, are responsible for all

the household tasks, as well as for the teaching and supervision of the children. The same is true of St. Anthony's, where 13 nuns are responsible for 110 children. Very few of the members of the religious orders assigned to work in these institutions have had specific training for this responsibility. The majority have been trained as teachers, a few as nurses, and some have had no professional training. One of the factors which limits the qualifications of these staffs is the practice of the orders which results in the re-assignment of the nuns to institutions or schools in other communities every few years. In many instances this means that no sooner does the worker familiarize herself with the procedures and spirit of the children of the institution than she is transferred to another assignment. The absence of any formal method of conference or exchange of ideas between the staffs of the various institutions results in failure to bring out what leadership capacity exists in the group and hinders the dissemination of new methods successfully tried by one or another of the institutions, or by members of one of their staffs. Elsewhere in this report, we discuss the desirability of a permanent conference of the staffs of the Catholic institutions. This conference could arrange for training the workers engaged in the care of the children. It would seem desirable, moreover, that one or two Sisters from each of the institutions be immediately sent to schools of social work for training in child welfare.

Education.—While all the schools maintained by the Catholic institutions are under the supervision of the Superintendent of Parochial Schools, and conform to the minimum standards set for parochial schools in this vicinity, there does not seem to be sufficient thought given to the special needs of these children as distinct from those of a normal group of children in their own homes attending parochial schools. No recent study of retardation of these children has been made, but the experience with children in need of foster care warrants the conclusion that a larger proportion of children in institutions are retarded than of those in the regular parochial school system. We also know that children in the institutions have had a more irregular school experience. Thus, for example, St. Anthony's reports twenty retarded children in a total school population of about ninety. The situation calls for careful educational study for each child and a school program built around the educational needs revealed by such a study.

Classes are still large, averaging about forty pupils per teacher. St. Paul's and Holy Family have brought about some enrichment of their curriculum by introducing more music and singing and by arranging for the children in the upper grades to attend the neighborhood school for prevocational work. In Holy Family, as in the other institutions, no prevocational courses are provided, but shoe mending, carpentry, horti-

culture, work with bees, music and cooking for girls are provided. A large group of boys and girls are attending Catholic high schools in Pittsburgh, and a few boys are enrolled in college courses.

It is obvious that the educational system in this group of institutions should be enriched by:

- a. The study of the educational needs of children as part of the general program
- b. More flexible school curriculum with less emphasis on the academic aspects
- c. Subject matter adapted to the intellectual needs of the children, with liberal use of the project method of teaching
- d. Smaller classes to allow for more individual attention
- e. Prevocational training as a tryout period for discovering occupational interests, skills and aptitudes of children
- f. Informal placement of children in the classroom as preferable to the rigid assignment of places

Recreation.—Considerable development of recreation programs has taken place in Catholic institutions since 1930. St. Paul's and Holy Family have both added full-time recreational leaders and have inaugurated a richer program of activity, such as music, dramatics, and organized athletics. In St. Anthony's the former superintendent, as does the present one, participated in organizing sports among the boys. More recently St. Anthony's has made an arrangement with two scout masters who have introduced the Boy Scout program to the institution and have also coached the baseball teams, and so forth. In all these institutions, reading opportunities are provided for the children. Birthdays are observed, particularly for the younger children. Regular hours for story-telling, silent reading, and reading aloud are observed in most of the institutions.

In St. Joseph's, however, there is no planned recreational program except attendance at the movies. There is no garden, and there are no pets. There are not enough pets at any of the institutions. The story-telling and reading-aloud hours are rather formal, and at some of the institutions visited all the children are required to attend. The same is true of some of the parties. At St. Joseph's a profusion of toys seems to have been provided for the younger children. These are kept in special lockers and playrooms.

Generally speaking, a fine spirit characterizes the attitude of the institution personnel toward the children. This is true of all members of the staffs, from the superintendent down. Comparatively little difficulty is experienced in dealing with disciplinary problems. Some of the institutions report that they have none. On the whole, there is a noticeable lack of repression and discipline seems to be kindly. Corporal punishment is resorted to rarely, the children being penalized when necessary by deprivation of privileges.

There is a varying degree of freedom of social intercourse between boys and girls. At Holy Family Institute the older boys and girls are allowed

the freedom of the grounds until 9:00 P.M. The boys and girls are allowed to use the swimming pools at the same time. In at least one institution the atmosphere seemed somewhat more constrained and wooden. In most of them the children stand when the superintendent enters the recreation room, and the boys remove their hats when he approaches them at play on the grounds. This practice has been abolished at one institution, and other institutions might well follow.

JEWISH INSTITUTIONS

There are only two institutions serving dependent Jewish children, of which one, previously referred to, operates in close coördination with the case work agencies, while the other remains separate and apart. The two institutions differ so widely that no general statement of any importance can be made that would reasonably apply to both. No attempt is therefore made to summarize the situation beyond recognizing that the Guský Orphan's Home observes far higher standards of child care as measured by modern criteria.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND THE CHILDREN'S COURT

Since children's courts for the separate treatment of child offenders have become almost universal in this country in one form or another, the term juvenile delinquency has tended to become identified with appearance of children before the Juvenile Court. In a general perspective of child welfare, the treatment of the juvenile offender separately from adults on different theories of punishment and through different types of dispositions has been as important and far-reaching an event as any in social work. It is impossible to underestimate it. Epoch-making and important as this achievement is, however, it is not a complete recipe for the treatment of the juvenile delinquent. It is not enough that the child offender be not dealt with in the ancient manner laid down in our penal codes and criminal procedure and crystallized in our penal institutions. It is equally important that the juvenile delinquent be regarded as a child first and last, and as an offender against the law only in a secondary and relatively unimportant sense. This means, not that a crime committed by a child is any less a crime, but that the key to his treatment is to be found, not in the nature of his offense or the fact of his law breaking, but rather in the fact that his behavior presents a menace to his own normal growth and maturity. Experience has shown that a child who is deprived of the safeguards of a normal home, a reasonable environment, a suitable school, or is physically or mentally handicapped, may respond to these handicaps by anti-social behavior rather than by inadequacy, dependency, or retardation; the ultimate significance of the child's actions may be no less serious when

taking the form of school retardation or of truancy than when resorting to stealing, burglary, or malicious destruction of property.

For the most constructive program of dealing with juvenile delinquency, it is necessary therefore, so far as possible, to forget the term "juvenile delinquency" and to think of children with behavior problems, more or less serious or disturbing from the standpoint of community peace, which require individual treatment or "personal adjustment." Since a child only in the rarest instances is an independent unit and appears rather as a member of a family, with parents or other kin, it is difficult to conceive of the child's problem independently of his relation to parents, kin, or siblings. In the rarest of cases does the unsocial behavior of a child come about without partial responsibility of the home, school, neighborhood, or other external factor. The treatment of the child, therefore, in most instances, is a task of personal adjustment in which adult and child, parent and offspring, family and neighborhood are component parts and which from the standpoint of our present inquiry would place the task of aiding him within the scope of agencies to which reference has been made in the preceding chapter. This point of view is emphasized by the fact, shown by some recent studies,¹³ that a very substantial proportion of children with behavior problems not unlike those presented before the court, is treated by unofficial agencies, or the school, although these may be, on the whole, no less serious than those that appear in court. Children of this type may be found under the care of family or children's agencies or other case work organizations. Their disposition is part of the problem of the personal adjustment service needed by families or individuals in the community.

What then brings the planning of the treatment of juvenile delinquency within the special scope of child care rather than within the more general scope of personal adjustment dealt with in the preceding chapter? Certain practical considerations seem to make this order convenient. First, children with behavior problems may be removed from their own families for periods of time of greater or lesser duration; when so removed, though such action is relatively infrequent, they are sent either to foster homes or to institutions, and being regarded as children rather than as offenders, they present essentially the same problem as other children who are given foster care, and "behavior problems" are often synonyms of "delinquency." With respect to the agencies dealing with them and the choice of procedures implied, they constitute, if removed from the home, part of the field of "child care away from home." A second consideration is the fact that the Juvenile Court, which is the most important child-placing agency dealing with neglected and dependent children in Alle-

¹³ See Sophia M. Robison, *Can Delinquency Be Measured*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1936.

gheny County, is also the agency to which the more serious behavior problems among children are frequently brought. A third consideration is the fact that the same agencies which take responsibility for placement of children away from homes for other reasons, also concern themselves with the placement of children with behavior problems (which often amount to delinquency). This applies to both public and voluntary agencies. In the fourth place, many agencies and institutions accept both delinquent and nondelinquent children, while even institutions primarily devoted to delinquent children are increasingly conducted on the same principles as those deemed suitable for neglected and dependent children. The causes, moreover, which lead to overt delinquency are in many instances no different from those causes which lead to neglect, or to serious behavior difficulties of the kind which, though not technically delinquency, require case work treatment in the child's own home or elsewhere.

It is unnecessary to enter into any lengthy discussion here of what factors contribute to the creation of behavior problems in children. Literature abounds on the subject, and a few of the more important factors have been touched upon earlier in the present chapter. Suffice it to say that home, school, street, economic conditions of the family, among the environmental items, physical or mental handicap and destructive emotional experiences among the individual factors, may combine in creating these problems. The difficulty may remain a behavior problem within the scope of parent, teacher, clinic or case work agency for handling; it may be serious enough, or take such form as to bring about intervention by police and court. It may express itself in criminal action of the type that inevitably brings with it official court action and establishes technically the status of delinquency.

In dealing with delinquency several classifications are useful for arriving at an organized program of social measures. First is that which distinguishes the treatment of the child himself from the task of dealing with the environmental factors. The one is a problem of personal adjustment; the other brings us into the realm of larger social measures affecting the school system, recreation programs, economic conditions, race relations, treatment of the foreigner, slum clearance, police organization, and so forth. For the moment we deal only with the first of these classifications: treatment of the individual child.

Within this category of individual treatment, it is useful to distinguish between the handling of behavior problems while they are still within the setting of the family and the activities attaching to a situation when the child becomes a more or less separate unit by his removal from home into some other place and form of care. The first of these two categories brings into action agencies that we have considered in the foregoing

chapter. They are: the general agency for personal adjustment as proposed (and as now represented by the family and children's agencies); the provision of social case work service in the public school systems through the existing home and school visitors and the proposed development of clinic and visiting teacher; the child guidance clinic as now operating. The second type of situation brings into play the same agencies or divisions of agencies that serve other children removed from the home either to foster care or to institutional care. These agencies, if properly conceived and organized, minimize the aspect of delinquency, and deal with the child as child. Accordingly there will be found in both foster homes and children's institutions some children who present the same type of problem and receive much the same type of service whether they were originally thought of as dependent, neglected, presenting behavior problems, incorrigible, or delinquent.

Are there then no delinquent children as such; no agencies that deal predominantly with such children; is there no particular program for the handling of juvenile delinquency as such in Allegheny County that may be commended for its achievements or improved by changes?

There are children now definitely classed as delinquent and agencies specifically assigned to serve them. Those technically designated "delinquent" are brought before the Juvenile Court; those presenting behavior problems serious enough so that they are classed in the same group may still come to the court for unofficial disposition, or they may be brought to one of the several voluntary agencies which serve this group. These, as already indicated, may also serve children who are nondelinquent, either in fact or technically. Then there are a few institutions that serve entirely the technically delinquent group, usually after adjudication by the children's court.

How many delinquent children are there? What is the rate of delinquency? Has the extent of juvenile delinquency changed—increased or decreased? One expects these questions and would like to know the answers. Numbers and rates are frequently given. They are in most instances misleading, through no deliberate fault or misrepresentation, but because the limitations of available data are not sufficiently recognized. The necessary uncertainty of what constitutes delinquency and the fact that the line of demarcation between delinquency, behavior problems, and neglect is hopelessly and necessarily vague have already been referred to. An instance in point is reported as having occurred in Pittsburgh in 1935:¹⁴ two children in different public schools stole money from a teacher's purse. Both teachers had been careless about their property and had unintentionally put temptation in the child's way. In one case the principal

¹⁴ Cited by Jane F. Culbert of the study staff.

suspended the child and reported him to the Juvenile Court. In the other case, the teacher was reprimanded, and the child was impressively talked to, but was otherwise not punished; and no referral was made to the Juvenile Court.

A painstaking study conducted in New York under auspices of the Welfare Council¹⁵ found that besides 7,090 children arraigned in the Children's Court in that city for delinquency in 1930, an additional 2,116 appeared before other official agencies, and 1,168 before unofficial agencies, including mental hygiene clinics. Only 68.3 percent of all children known to have behaved in the manner that would have qualified them as delinquent, actually appeared at the children's court. This percentage differed in the several major divisions of the city, ranging from 56.5 to 98 percent of the total. In the same year 3,132 children were reported as having been carried over from previous years and as still under care as delinquents. Of these, the court accounted for 24.8 percent (in contrast to 68.5 percent for the current year), other official agencies for 11.7 percent and unofficial agencies and mental hygiene clinics accounted for 63.5 percent. On the basis of these figures it would be foolhardy to use Juvenile Court statistics to define delinquency or comprise its treatment. The court would have to be considered only with respect to its adequacy in treating those children that appear before it as delinquents, not with respect to "the problem of juvenile delinquency."

The Allegheny County children's court actually differentiates in its work between official (or formal) and unofficial cases and handles even more in the latter fashion than by formal adjudication—in 1934, 1,640 unofficial adjustments against 1,190 official ones. It would be quite appropriate by this definition to add the "delinquent" children handled by voluntary agencies to the "unofficial" list—an additional six-hundred-odd¹⁶—which would leave the behavior problem cases dealt with officially by the juvenile court at less than one-half the total. In view of these figures, of the findings of the study referred to earlier and of the general absence of useful uniform definitions, little importance need be attributed to and little consolation derived from the comparative figures on juvenile delinquency rates with other communities, which show,¹⁷ for example, that the rate per 100,000 children of court age in Allegheny County in 1932 was 54, as against 352 in Baltimore, 121 in Detroit, 304 in Cincinnati, 114 in New York City, 497 in Youngstown, and so forth.

¹⁵ S. M. Robison, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

¹⁶ Derived from statistics of the Children's Service Bureau, Children's Aid Society, Child Guidance Bureau, and other organizations.

¹⁷ *Juvenile Court Statistics and Federal Juvenile Offenders*, 1932, based on information supplied by 267 juvenile courts and the United States Department of Justice, Sixth Annual Report, United States Children's Bureau, Publication No. 226, p. 6.

Juvenile delinquency as such is a community problem involving the entire social and economic background and the functioning of government, school system, recreational facilities, and the cultural activities of the community. The more immediate problem is that of planning the work of those agencies that deal directly with children for whom court action or other forms of personal adjustment is sought. From the standpoint of direct contact with the difficult child, still in the community, and in so far as he is not cared for by the case work agencies already referred to, the Juvenile Court is at present, and will be until its function of caring for dependent children is removed to a more suitable agency, the hub of the treatment program.

What is the function of the court in serving these children; how is it performing that service now; what improvements in its performance are imperative?¹⁸ The present Juvenile Court operates under a new law, passed in June, 1933, which established it as a separate branch of the Allegheny County Court, presided over by a judge elected for a term of ten years. Its powers date back to the Juvenile Court Act of 1903,¹⁹ one of the early legislative acts in this field,²⁰ which, after many changes and amendments, was recast and modernized in 1933. The court now has exclusive jurisdiction over juvenile delinquency²¹ in Allegheny County, controls its Probation Department, and has the option of continuing the supervision of its wards entirely through its own personnel or placing them for care with agencies and institutions either public or voluntary.

The Juvenile Court as reorganized under the new Juvenile Court Law has the advantage of having a full-time judgeship, with long enough tenure of office to give the judge the feeling of responsibility, the motive and opportunity for becoming more and more efficient in the service. The court has a further advantage in having as its present judge a man who is keenly interested in his work, has a great sense of responsibility toward the wards of the court, a social attitude, and a vision of the possibilities of a Juvenile

¹⁸ Only a summary discussion is included here; a more detailed report is being submitted to the Citizens' Committee separately.

¹⁹ For a study and history, see Leon Stern, *A Study of the Juvenile Court in Allegheny County and the Detention Home*, Pennsylvania Committee on Penal Affairs, 1931.

²⁰ The prototype, in Illinois, was established in 1899.

²¹ Separate from the Juvenile Court and not associated strictly with the care of children, since its jurisdiction extends only to minors between 16 and 21 years of age, the Morals Court is nevertheless an important factor in the official handling of juvenile delinquency, especially as it lies within the field of general personal adjustment. The Morals Court has no independent existence, but is part of the magistrates' court system of Pittsburgh, the judge being assigned at the pleasure of the mayor. A special inquiry into the organization and policies of this court was undertaken by a member of the study staff at the request of the Federation of Social Agencies, and the report may be found in the files of that agency. This court does not, of course, have jurisdiction outside the municipal limits of Pittsburgh.

Court. Under the leadership of the present judge great improvements have been made in various departments of the court, particularly in the Intake Department and the Foster Home Department. The personnel of the Probation Department has been improved, and its work is being gradually strengthened.

The staff of the Probation Department consists ²² of the Chief Probation Officer, the Assistant Chief Probation Officer, three supervisors, and twenty-one probation officers—white and Negro. Each supervisor is responsible for one of the three districts into which the county is divided. At the time of this study the probation officers were responsible for the investigation of all children referred for *official hearings* whether delinquent, dependent, or neglected. They, also, were responsible for keeping in touch with the families of all children under the care of the Foster Home Department (this has been or will be changed, in accordance with present plans). Case loads have been heavy, but, not having been cleared of inactive cases they appear larger than they need be or are in practice. While the standards of personnel have been raised, there is still need of more supervision of workers and of more training on the job through supervisory interviews, staff conferences and lectures, and also through further staff training at schools of social work which should be facilitated by leaves of absence and adjustable weekly schedules.

The work in the Probation Department, as seen through case reading and observation, showed a superficial kind of case work. The spirit of the workers has been on the whole one of great interest, but up to the recent period a routine has been followed which, after the initial investigation, provided largely for "checking up" on what was happening rather than making plans to improve conditions or assist the family to understand the child better or to help the child himself to make a better adjustment. There was often duplication of work, sometimes three agencies working on a case apparently without a common plan, shared objectives, or a clear division of labor. On the other hand, in many cases, the reverse was true—there was no mention of any social agency and no apparent attempt to secure the coöperation, for example, of a family agency concerning problems in the home which adversely affected the child.

The present supervisors are endeavoring to give much more careful supervision to the case work aspects of the service and are emphasizing the importance of trying to understand the child, to get at his motives, and to make the probation relationship a constructive experience to the child of assistance in adjustment rather than a routine follow-up and report. The department has been handicapped by lack of space, of stenographic

²² As of 1935.

assistance, and convenient and adequate telephone service. Particularly has the lack of space for holding interviews in private been a handicap.²³

Not all the children referred to the Juvenile Court for delinquency receive the service of the Probation Department. Some get no further than the Intake Department, which is in charge of an experienced social worker who tries to deal constructively with cases, without court action, by advice to the complainant, by admonitory letters, or by referral to a social agency. She also decides whether the case can be best handled by an unofficial or an official court hearing.

A large number of cases—1,640 in 1934—are heard unofficially by the Chief Probation Officer or his assistant. It is not the custom to have investigations made before these hearings, though this would seem to be a safer procedure. There has been considerable dissatisfaction, in and out of court, with the unofficial hearings, even though the idea itself is sound.

Psychological and psychiatric examinations are made upon request of the probation office or the judge. For years, these have been made by a psychiatrist employed by the county on a part-time basis for the Juvenile Court service. The psychological tests are very limited in scope, but give a rough gauge of the child's ability. Recently a full-time psychologist has been appointed. The psychiatric examinations are very superficial, as the psychiatrist himself recognizes. Sometimes so many examinations are scheduled for one morning that only about fifteen minutes can be given for each psychiatric interview. Obviously more time for psychiatric service is needed in dealing with children who are unadjusted.

Physical examinations are given delinquent children on recommendation of the probation officer or judge. These are carefully done, records are kept, and suggestions made for treatment.

DISPOSITIONS

Dispositions were listed for 1,066 cases in 1934. Of this number, 119 were dismissed and 4 were discharged—together more than 11 percent. Most of the cases were placed on probation or returned home under supervision—525, or almost half the total. The next in frequency were commitments to Thorn Hill School for Boys—197, or 16.6 percent of the total number of dispositions. Commitments to the Foster Home Department numbered 91, or 8.5 percent.

Commitments were made to the State Training School and to Gumbert School for Girls in 7.2 percent of the total. About 1.5 percent were committed to relatives or to private homes, and 1 percent were disposed of outside the county or state—half of these through other juvenile courts.

²³ The removal of the offices of the court to the new Detention Home should remedy this particular fault.

In the brief existence of the present court, since the incumbency of the present judge, who took office on January 1, 1934, enormous strides have been made in bringing the court up to modern standards of service. If one's interest is chiefly in seeking satisfaction from the distance by which the primitive standards of its early operation have been outstripped in the present court, Allegheny County has reason for felicitations in the achievements of its children's court. If, however, a sound and well integrated plan for providing adequate service for the children in the community is wanted, the present situation leaves much to be desired. In the course of this study considerable time and labor of the staff was given in assisting the court to plan and adjust its administrative and budgetary program to the needs of the day.²⁴ The judge has shown a fine understanding of the problems of the court, and considerable practical benefits were derived from his utilization of the available services of specialists. Many of the specific recommendations and a more detailed analysis of the continuing problems of the court have been transmitted to the court and to the community and are available through the files of this study.²⁵ It is necessary here to outline only the principal difficulties by which the Juvenile Court is weighed down and the few major measures that are necessary before it can take its proper place in a progressively functioning program of child service.

The principal difficulty is the mistaken application of a sound principle which has found its way into the Juvenile Court Law, as well as into its administration. Granted that the differences between dependent, neglected, and delinquent children are matters of label rather than of reality and that a unified conception of treating the child as a child would minimize these external difficulties, the solution lies, not in bringing the treatment of all children under the type of administration in which the juridical and disciplinary aspects are uppermost, but, on the contrary, in concentrating as much of the child care problem as possible under an administrative agency which is geared to deal with the child primarily as one in need. By far the greatest number of the children should therefore be receiving the type of care, economic and otherwise, that can best be provided by a purely administrative agency. In the plans submitted earlier²⁶ this function has been assigned to the Department of Public Assistance, which would be given jurisdiction over practically every form of child care excepting only those instances in which the authoritative and disciplinary aspect represented by the court form would be required. The judge himself, conscious of the theoretically sound aim not to differentiate too rigidly between neglected, dependent, and delinquent children,

²⁴ Particular credit for this service is due to Herschel Alt of the study staff.

²⁵ Reports prepared by Herschel Alt and by Jane F. Culbert. ²⁶ Cf. chap. xv.

tends, however, to impose the judicial function and its ideology upon the mass of dependent and neglected children. While the motivation is right, the procedure is unsound.

The second difficulty flows in part from the first one, in that it provides a mass problem of administration to which the court is not attuned and which, being inherently administrative rather than judicial, presents almost insurmountable psychological as well as administrative difficulties. This has probably been responsible for the relatively poor development of the so-called Home Finding Department (now designated the Foster Care Department).

A third difficulty, still partly traceable to the same fundamental flaw, is the fact that, having a tremendous burden of labor and a complicated administrative task, the court tends to shift part of the personal adjustment tasks, which are at the very heart of dealing with behavior problems, to voluntary agencies. Thus it becomes difficult to formulate and carry through a reasonable division of labor by the public and voluntary agencies in this field, to set the court firmly in the path of its own proper function, and to enable the voluntary agencies to plan more intelligently on what they can and must do in an integrated program. Within this area the solution would seem to lie in an extension and intensification of the work of the court with behavior-problem cases and a gradual relinquishing of this activity by the voluntary agencies as proposed elsewhere. While, on the one hand, "dependent" children, representing for themselves or their families chiefly problems of economic self-maintenance, are unnecessarily regimented into a judicial framework of administration, on the other hand, children presenting behavior difficulties in whose cases highly individualized, intensive treatment is required, are deprived of the opportunity of such treatment partly because of the mass problem involved and partly because the court tends to shift this burden upon voluntary agencies.

A summary of the recommendations growing out of these difficulties, which are specified in greater detail in special reports, comprise the following:

1. Removal by law and by administrative adjustment to the proposed Department of Public Assistance of all services now carried on by the Juvenile Court other than those pertaining to judicial functions or to neglect or criminal responsibility on the part of parent or other adult.
2. Intensification of its personal adjustment services for children actually delinquent until such time as this function may also be assumed by a properly organized department of public assistance. This implies:

Better qualified personnel, more workers, more adequate supervisory personnel and suitable adjustments as to salaries, case loads, and so forth.

An adequately organized child guidance clinic suitably integrated with the judicial procedures.

A probation department adjusted to the judicial functions of the court but comprising personnel with proper training in case work.

3. The development of a suitable citizens' body to assist in interpretation of the work of the court and to bring it the necessary public support on those frequent, recurring occasions when lay and professional personnel must join hands in the interest of the court.
4. Prior to the introduction of these fundamental changes, and within the present setting of the court's function, far-reaching administrative changes are necessary in the relations between probation department, foster care department, in the function of the judge as court officer and as administrative chief, and in the division of labor between court and voluntary agencies.

Specific recommendations on these points have been submitted and are available to the court and public. These recommendations even go so far as to propose a limitation upon the number of children to be accepted for service by the court until such time as its organization and personnel may be equal to the mass requirements now imposed upon it. The changes suggested should, of course, be carried out gradually, as the new Department of Public Assistance is able to develop its work and as the judicial functions of the court are modified, with the possible inclusion in its program of service as family court.

PROPOSED AGENCY STRUCTURE FOR CHILD CARE IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY

To recapitulate, an adequate program for adjusting the traditions, available resources, and newer trends in social work for children would at the present time require for Allegheny County the following group of agencies:

1. A Public Assistance Department so organized as to give adequate special care to its child wards, while treating its dependent children as part of the general problem of family dependency and providing both home relief, foster care, and institutional treatment. Children supported by public funds should be either in foster homes or in institutions entirely under public management as soon as suitable arrangements to this end may be effected.
2. The Juvenile Court should continue to function as the judicial agency handling formal cases dealing with delinquent children who are brought before it, as well as with adults involved in neglect or otherwise responsible for problems of the child delinquent. The court should devise an administrative program by which all parts of the community may receive a proportionate amount of its services, should be responsible for the maintenance of a detention home for study and temporary care of children under its jurisdiction, but should withdraw entirely from responsibility for dependent children.

3. The Morals Court, by some other designation, should be developed as a separate court, both in Pittsburgh and in the county, and should benefit from such experience in the special treatment of the young, both in procedure and administration, as the history of the juvenile courts has provided.

4. The proposed new nonsectarian agency for personal adjustment should take over such services to children with behavior problems as may now be given by the Children's Aid Society and Children's Service Bureau, as well as those now given by the Family Society, in accordance with the plans proposed elsewhere for this new agency. Neither this organization nor those suggested for the two denominational bodies (Catholic and Jewish) should continue responsibility for dependent children separately, except in so far as the denominational institutions may supply this care from their own resources.

5. Upon the organization of the Public Assistance Department, as proposed elsewhere, the Thorn Hill School for Boys and the Gumbert School for Girls should be transferred to the jurisdiction of this department and become a part of its institutional facilities as they may have to be provided for the care of its beneficiaries.

6. The administration and placement service of all institutions, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, should be revised in accordance with the principles developed in this chapter. This implies in some instances far-reaching improvements in institutional standards and administration; in others the setting up or continuance of central admission services, and, in all instances, the coördination of service with nonmural agencies, public and voluntary, so that the child's progress may not be limited by the institutional framework of his care.

7. The use of detention homes should be severely limited. The extent to which detention is used depends upon what kinds of children are considered to be in need of detention. In general, the security of appearance in court is the chief consideration in detention. In most instances appearance of the child at the hearing can be assured without detention, nor is it necessary to use the detention home as a substitute for the child's own home in cases in which the home is clearly unsuitable for the child. For the children who do not have to be "forcibly" detained to assure their appearance at trial, but who are homeless either because they actually have no home of their own or because the home is unfit, foster home care and institutions which accept children for long-time care can be utilized as alternatives for the detention home.

Detention should not be a routine procedure, but a selective process, where the personality of the child and all of the factors entering into the problem are considered. It should never be casual, never merely for the convenience of adults seek-

ing an accessible "parking place" for a child. Except for emergencies, it should be the careful decision of a competent case worker, taking into account the possible effect of detention on the particular child. In short, the principles underlying case work should apply to the detention process.²⁷

8. Certain specific recommendations for a few of these institutions follow:

A council or conference of children's institutions of the Catholic²⁸ faith in which the institutional problems of its members and their relation to the general child care program of the community may be discussed should be invaluable for inspiring continuous progress in standards of service and policy changes to keep step with the spirit of the times. Through this council the advantages of staff service of the Family and Children's Division of the Federation of Social Agencies may become more easily available. Through the same instrument it may be possible to extend the task of common interests to the larger field, including Protestant, non-sectarian, and Jewish agencies.

For those Catholic children's institutions which are associated with the Conference of Catholic Charities only an expansion and further coördination of facilities is required. In institutions not associated with the Conference of Catholic Charities provision should be made for properly trained social case workers. For the purpose of achieving such a planned program for each child, all proposed admissions should be subjected to the type of study suggested elsewhere in this report and intended to determine not only whether the particular institution should accept or reject the child but also whether any institutional treatment is appropriate and to correlate possible work of the institution with extramural facilities.

For the Holy Family Institute, which has an excellent record of progressive institutional work, it is recommended that its conception of admission service be extended so as to include some experimentation with the development of foster-home placements within the institution's own responsibility for the children accepted.

Perhaps through such a council, or in other ways if more feasible, a revamping of the institutional facilities of the Catholic community may be practicable. These facilities are more than are needed, resulting in a waste of investment and in the dangerous temptation to fill institutions at the expense of the child's interest. Some painful adjustment may be necessary for this purpose in the separatist interests of certain nationality groups, which now result in the uneven balancing of needs and facilities

²⁷ Warner, *Juvenile Detention in the United States*, p. 153.

²⁸ A report containing more detailed evaluation and recommendations prepared by Herschel Alt is available in the files of the study and for use by the Citizen's Committee on the Social Study.

among Polish, Italian, Irish-American, German, and other national groups in the Catholic community. With minor exceptions the entire institutional provision for Catholic children is of the congregate type, one that has been conceded for many years to be inappropriate for the proper education and care of children as a substitute for parental care. This, of course, needs change, if not reconstruction.

The twenty-three institutions caring for Protestant children (including twelve smaller ones not visited during this inquiry) which were operating at the time of this study and were caring for fewer than 950 children (or an average of 41 per institution), are, like most institutions of this type, keenly conscious of their individual status and resistive to any suggestion for consolidation of their activities. This is due not only to the institutional self-consciousness of these organizations but also to the fact that they respond to the special group consciousness of their particular sponsors, either denominational or nationalistic, or even limited to a single church affiliation. This group of institutions needs to develop within itself a conviction and determination for common thinking and discussion and a desire to use the facilities of the Federation of Social Agencies for consultant and professional assistance of the type that may be forthcoming from that body.

As to the specific institutions, some, such as the Pittsburgh Home for Babies, appear to be doing an excellent grade of work. The difficulty, however, is that even in that respect the excellent services are provided on the wrong principle. Children of the age of those kept in that institution ought to be in boarding homes for infants rather than in a congregate plant. It is only in the absence of this more proper method of care that the excellent standards of institutions should be recognized. The Louise Home, also devoted to the care of young children, presents no such acceptable standards of care as does the Pittsburgh Home for Babies. Of some seven major recommendations submitted with respect to this institution by the 1930 study, none had been carried out at the time of the present study. No such mitigating circumstances obtain, therefore, for this institution as obtain for the Pittsburgh Home for Babies.

Of the three institutions for Negro children, two, the Davis and Coleman homes, carry on their activities on a hand-to-mouth plan without an assured budget or a soundly established financial policy. At one of these homes the superintendent actually reported difficulty in getting enough food for her children. There are other phases of the work of these two institutions with respect to which important recommendations have been made in the past without much success. It is, however, more a community responsibility than an indictment of these institutions which should be read into the sad aspects of the work of these two agencies. The Home for Colored Children is a far better supported institution. It would seem

reasonable to have the other two merge with it. It is probable, however, that here again one would meet the same resistance to giving up identity and to established sponsorship. This does not mean that the Terman Avenue Home meets in all respects modern standards of child care. Considerable modification in its own procedures would be required before it could become a completely satisfactory institution.

Community planning, instead of being concerned with individual institutions and the loyalties associated with them, would probably succeed in devising a more useful combination of services to take the place of those now given by the Ward Home, Curtis Home, Elizabeth Bradley Home, and the First Allegheny Day Nursery and Temporary Home. Any judgment with respect to the individual excellences or demerits of these institutions, even with respect to one that may meet all standards of service, fails to meet the needs of the community except as it may be related to a comprehensive view of the child care program as a whole. For this reason, also, suggestions that might apply to such institutions as the Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Pittsburgh and Allegheny Home for the Friendless are of only passing importance. No isolated study, such as the present one, even if more intensively pursued, could do more than the systematic supervision of the State Department does for the individual agencies. It is in a program for the community as a whole that the best use and proper assignment of these institutions will be found.

The problem presented by the Jewish institutions is, as has been suggested, simple and can be resolved without major changes within the present organization of child care in the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies. With the admission and discharge of children considered in the new case work agency, the J. M. Gusky Hebrew Orphanage and Home may gradually be transformed into a study home and temporary shelter. It is doubtful whether the Jewish Home for Babies will at any time justify its place in the Jewish child care field. A merger of the two institutions has actually been proposed but has thus far foundered on differences of point of view on religious matters. With reasonable goodwill and some ingenuity it should be possible to dispose of this difficulty.

SOME SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF CHILD CARE

There are problems of child care such as financing, coördination, and even prevention, that are merely special variants of similar problems in other parts of the social work field. These will be briefly mentioned later. Some few, however, of the more difficult ones—apart from placing out and institutional care—require special consideration and extend into technical areas beyond the service functions of social agencies. Among these are the questions revolving around the subjects of illegitimacy,

abandonment, and adoption. Difficulties surround these both in the service and the administrative aspects, that are purely within the realm of agency practice, and in the legal aspects that complicate and retard the formulation of a satisfactory program of agency service. The kinship of these problems lies chiefly in the disruption or irregularity of the parental status—whether of natural or substitute parent—and in the legal complexities which arise from the property-right implications of the relationships between parent and child. Another similarity among these special problems is that more than in most phases of child care or relief administration, local practice is largely bound up with state-wide statutory provisions, and these in turn are involved in the jealously guarded legal machinery that surrounds and impacts the status of property rights. A further complication lies also in the involvement of the community's concern with "immorality" and the special preoccupation of religious denominations both on "moral" grounds and because of their interest in insuring the child's upbringing within the natural parents' creed or church.

ILLEGITIMACY

Community agencies have been most concerned with the problem of illegitimacy because of needed care for the unmarried mother and her child or expected child. Traditionally the unmarried mother has been a separate problem in social work. Houses of shelter have been established, usually under denominational auspices, for the care and especially for the moral salvation of the mother. In recent decades the unmarried mother and her problem have been recognized as among the many variants of case work situations to be dealt with individually as the best interests of mother and child demand. Questions of morality have been pushed into the background as offering little help toward rehabilitation and, in the light of centuries of experience, little warrant of prevention. What was to be done with mother or child has been turned into a question of what might serve to bring the greatest happiness, physical welfare, and social rehabilitation to both. It is for this reason that the tendency of modern social work is not to segregate either the persons or the problem of the unmarried mother or of the illegitimate child, but to serve them in the same way as any individual or family in difficulty might be served; forcing financial support from the actual or putative father has become less and less advisable if it interferes in any way with the normal readjustment of the mother and child or if it threatens the security of the father.

With respect to the care to be given to unmarried mothers, the formal division of responsibility between the Children's Service Bureau and the Children's Aid Society in Pittsburgh, which was suggested in 1930, by which mothers under eighteen were to be allotted to the former and those

over eighteen to the latter, has proved as unworkable as the entire separation of the care of unmarried mothers from other family problems. In the plan proposed for Allegheny County, the entire question of whether or not the parent is married and the child legitimate is considered technically unimportant and bearing on the problem only in so far as each case may determine. It is hoped, for example, that when supplying state funds through the Mothers' Assistance Fund, questions of marriage and legitimacy will be ultimately disregarded and that if institutional care is necessary, it should be used only for the physical care of mother and child as long as they may require shelter because of the particular factors involved in each case.²⁹

If there is still room for the study of and special attention to the problem of the unmarried mother, it is because too little recognition is given in maternity hospitals and other institutions which admit such cases to the fact that they should be regarded as individuals rather than as moral deviates and that the welfare of both mother and child (beyond the physical care associated with confinement) is often subordinated to theories rooted in the moralistic attitude about illegitimacy which result in the separation, both physical and legal, of child and mother. It is therefore in the attitude toward the unmarried mother and in the legal status of mother and child that the principal source of danger and the greatest need for improvement lie. While in maternity homes and hospitals in Allegheny County the physical care given to mother and child are on the whole good, while there is an increasing effort to give or to obtain case work service for them, and while practices of referral to social agencies are reasonably good, the effectiveness of these maternity homes is severely limited by the attitudes and policies of the agencies that must take on the more permanent responsibility for their care. Almost all maternity homes and private hospitals require some fee from the patients. City patients who are unable to pay or who are not under the care of some social agency willing to take the responsibility, are referred to the Department of Welfare. At the city institution practically no planning for the children takes place except by referral to the Juvenile Court. With the exception of the maternity division of the Salvation Army, maternity homes as a rule will not accept cases of pregnancy subsequent to the first pregnancy. Negro girls are usually admitted to none of these homes with the exception of that of the Salvation Army. Shelter and hospital care for Negro unmarried mothers is usually very inadequate.

Within the legal field most of the difficulties arise out of technical dis-

²⁹ A comprehensive study of the entire subject of unmarried mothers and associated problems was made in 1934 by the Welfare Council of New York City and published under the title of *The Illegitimate Family in New York City*, by Ruth Reed, Columbia University Press. Much general information on the subject will be found in that volume.

advantages applying to the child for whom no paternity has been established. This is not only a question of obtaining support from the putative father but also one of giving the child legal status and rights. The Pennsylvania provisions for the establishment of paternity and for obtaining support for the child involves criminal proceedings and a jury trial. The defendant may not waive jury trial. Insistence on such trials, which occasionally is shown by maternity homes, is rooted in the desire to obtain economic support and gives too little recognition to the more serious damage that such proceedings, even if successful, may impose on the clients because of publicity and emotional upheavals. At least one maternity home in Allegheny County, while still cleaving to the principle, seeks to proceed by way of settlements and is reported to have considerable success. Aside from questions of support, the problem of illegitimacy concerns the status of the child as heir and the status of the mother with respect to prospective adoptions of the child. Legal literature abounds with technicalities concerning the establishment of paternity, legitimacy, name, guardianship rights, and so forth, which have no real relation to the personal welfare of the child, parent, or foster parent. Most of the problems associated with illegitimacy therefore must be attacked not by providing adequate physical care and suitable case work service for the personal adjustment of the mother, the child, or even the father, but rather through the complete revision of the legal technicalities which give the illegitimate child a status different from other children and which handicap the legal, economic, and social future of the child born out of wedlock. This is a major undertaking that should occupy the attention of jurists for some time. It is for this type of legal activity that recommendation has been made elsewhere for the appointment of a special standing committee on legislation within the Federation of Social Agencies.

ABANDONMENT

Two other groups of children directly affected by legalistic thinking such as that involved in questions of legitimacy are abandoned children and foundlings. The parent is the natural and legal guardian of the child until by legal action he loses that status. The abandoned child is one whose parentage is known and whose parents therefore could exercise the pertinent rights and responsibilities, if they could be located. The foundling is a child with unknown parentage, who is therefore without guardianship. There is no regular procedure available at the present for establishing guardianship for such children, and whoever happens to find a child may dispose of it. This fact may involve future problems for the child when questions of his birthplace, citizenship, and residence become important issues. It seems logical that the Juvenile Court should assume

the responsibility of caring for these children and should take the necessary steps for establishment of guardianship, for individual planning, and for follow-up. In most instances of this kind the assumption of guardianship for a child should lead to adoption, which again, even though at present not within the scope of the Juvenile Court, should be included as part of its responsibility for the general welfare of the child. Here again legal revisions are required and the lack of initiative of social agencies leaves the situation in its time-honored state of chaos.

ADOPTION

Legal adoption of a child may occur not only for abandoned and illegitimate children but also for other classes of children for whom continued guardianship and care by parents or near kin seems to be impossible or inadvisable and when the permanent welfare of the child may best be promoted by instituting family ties between foster parent and child.

The chief difference between free foster care and adoption frequently lies in the legal differences rather than in actual care. As long as guardianship and property rights are associated with the establishment of a technical parent-child relationship in law, adoption will continue to be an important instrument in the permanent planning for children who are without the advantage of care by their natural parents. A curious element enters into the problem at this point which has attained major proportions in the history of child care and of adoption and which is primarily not a problem of the child at all. Many parents who, for one reason or another, cannot have children of their own or who wish to increase their families beyond the number of their natural children, seek, for their own happiness and welfare, to adopt one or more children and to give them the same status legally and socially as if they were their own children. There is a great demand throughout the country for children for such adoption. On the one hand, this represents an opportunity and happy way out for the child; on the other hand, it represents a danger because the desire of the prospective parent for a child may outweigh the interests either of the child himself or of his natural parents or kin. The civil or proprietary aspects of adoption have been recognized throughout civilized history, and the legal technicalities which surround adoption are comprehensive and intricate. The advantages to the child that may accrue from adoption have not been sufficiently recognized by child-caring institutions, while the danger of adoption for the happiness and spiritual welfare of the child have not been sufficiently considered in the legal machinery leading to adoption.

In the interest of the child to be adopted, it is even more important than for foster home placement to ascertain whether the prospective

parent is temperamentally as well as economically adjusted for the child to obtain full social benefits. It is important that full study be given to the compatibility of child and adoptive parent, and it is important, therefore, that the legal provisions for adoption assure a method by which such compatibility may be ascertained and tested. This implies that the court having power to grant adoption should have facilities for the study of child and prospective parent and that sufficient time and occasion be given to the testing of their compatibility. Another factor of importance is the welfare of the natural parent of the child. When such natural parent exists and is alive, it is important to make sure that his or her rights, both legal and emotional, be not violated. The law provides that if there is a living parent his or her consent must be obtained for adoption of the child by foster parents. It is important, however, that this consent be real rather than formal and that it be obtained at a time when no serious emotional stress obscures the true desires of the parent and the possibility of permanent happy life by the natural parent and child.

In Allegheny County power to grant adoption is with the judges of the Orphans' Court. The court has available the services of investigators and conscientiously applies the legal provision for investigation, for consent of parents, and for other technicalities. Utilization of the investigator is unfortunately as yet optional, and the tendency to observe the letter of the law still obtains. It is, for example, impossible to obtain information concerning children under the jurisdiction of the court, because the law specifically provides that the records may be withheld from inspection or, in fact, impounded in the interest of the future welfare of the child. It has been impossible because of the literal interpretation of the law to learn exactly what are the practices of the Orphans' Court.³⁰

The Orphans' Court has no qualified social investigators, nor does it use the facilities of social agencies who might make suitable social studies of the advisability of adoption in a given case. On the part of the agencies also there is not always suitable preparation to meet the requirements, legal, social, and economic, of the problems of adoption. Frequently, for example, agencies obtain a surrender of the child on the part of the natural parent on the theory that such surrender entitles the agency to arrange for adoption. There is, however, no provision in Pennsylvania law for the transfer of guardianship by voluntary agreement or such informal surrender by parent to agency. The blanket surrender signed in such cases includes a promise on the part of the mother to give formal consent when the time of adoption comes. This, however, is not legally valid; yet it represents all the security that the agency can give to pro-

³⁰ A study of adoption conducted under the auspices of the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania in 1931 and 1932 was conducted in eighteen counties among which Allegheny County was not included.

spective foster parents unless formal consent from the parent through the court is obtained.³¹

Adoption in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County is still, taken in the large, an accidental, more than a case work, program for children, and the reasons for this may be partly psychological. Pittsburgh seems to be afraid of adoption—afraid, that is, of the final and irrevocable decisions which must be made; afraid, too, to assert so much confidence in a child who may be available for adoption. As one worker expressed it, the feeling is that few would-be foster parents can stand hearing the things that must be told them about the children who are available for adoption. The fact that child-placing agencies, as such, do not have an important status in the Orphans' Court may be another reason why adoption placement has not been developed more definitely as a function of the child-caring case work agencies. Occasionally such placements are made, but these are numerically so few as to be of little significance either to the work of the individual agencies or to the adoption situation as a whole.

Placement for adoption when made by the Children's Service Bureau and the Children's Aid Society or by the Catholic and Jewish children's agencies is done as a part of a case work program. All of these agencies investigate their foster homes carefully and do try to supervise the child in the home for at least a year before the legal adoption removes all control; but since the law does not require that the child reside for any stated period in the foster home before the filing of the petition and requires only ten days between that and the hearing, the foster parents may, and not infrequently do, make their petition in a much shorter time. Some of the social agencies have occasionally intervened in cases involving the adoption of children under their supervision, but where this has been done, the agencies seem not to have been very successful in putting their point of view before the court; and, in fact, some have even been put in the position of appearing unfavorably disposed toward adoption as a policy.

The Pennsylvania Children's Home Society (now renamed the Children's Home of Pittsburgh) which was organized primarily for the purpose of placing dependent children in family homes for prospective legal adoption, has generally been thought of as the only adoption agency, and

³¹ The surrender signed by a mother to an agency, though without legal value as a consent, was interpreted in one relatively recent case as constituting constructive abandonment by the mother, and although the mother was present at the hearing and refused to consent to the petition, the adoption was completed on the grounds of the abandonment construed from this release to the agency. The case aroused considerable very valid concern on the part of the various Pittsburgh agencies which include adoption as one of their functions. Abandonment in any case is weak as a basis for adoption and the theory of constructive abandonment is a ground which should be invoked only as an exceptional and protective measure.

it has been the only one which has done adoption placing on a large scale. This particular agency is now being reorganized, and at the present time its placements have greatly decreased. There are still (1935) upward of 500 children who were placed in free foster homes by this agency throughout the state, who are not known to have been adopted, and who are not having any supervision or follow-up. This particular agency has been accustomed to emphasizing the free home as an economical way of providing for dependent children and has accepted children from County Poor officers on grounds of poverty alone—a practice and emphasis eschewed by the best child care agencies today. Children were sometimes accepted with a lump sum payment for a period of temporary boarding care. Even during the past year the society has accepted some babies on blanket surrender almost immediately after birth—another undesirable practice. For many years this agency had its own lawyer, employed, of course, in each case by the foster parents. Standards of placement such as those made by the Pennsylvania Children's Home Society would not be acceptable under what are now recognized as good adoption practices.

Placement of children for adoption by maternity homes appears still to be a common practice, and with no provision in the law to govern the placing of children it is very difficult to bring this under control. Maternity homes which receive state aid are prohibited under the regulations of state aid from placing children for adoption; but not all maternity homes are state aided. All of the maternity homes which place children make some effort to investigate the adoptive home. All of them place very young babies. One maternity home requires the foster parents to file their petition in the Orphans' Court immediately, and does not permit them to take the child from the institution until this has been done. The institution does this for its own protection, as a precaution against the possibility that the mother may leave their jurisdiction and may not be available at a later date, or in case the foster parents for any reason wish to return the child. Its effect, however, is to encourage and stimulate immediate adoption, again a socially undesirable practice. Placing of children for adoption should not be a part of the work of maternity homes, and placing by such homes should not be acceptable in the community; but as long as the exercise of control is recognized as legitimate only at the final, rather than at the initial, point, there is little hope of changing a more or less customary and established practice.

At present little seems to be done in the way of educational publicity with respect to adoption. The children's agencies which are working in this field do carry on some educational work, but this is chiefly in relation to individuals. There is an awareness of the importance of this, but since these agencies are not working at all extensively in the field of adoption,

they do not, as yet, reach a large public. Nothing approaching an organized effort to reach specially interested groups such as doctors, hospitals, lawyers, maternity homes, and even potential prospective foster parents is being carried on. A certain amount of newspaper publicity occurs from time to time, but it is, of course, mainly concerned with the sentimental aspects.

The Adoption Committee of the Public Charities Association came to the conclusion, as a result of the special study referred to earlier, that an educational program emphasizing the social aspects of adoption and interpreting good adoption practices was the most important need in this field. It seems quite evident that no real change can be brought about until the community comes to see that this is a concern and a responsibility which is social as well as legal. The courts dealing with adoptions must come to regard themselves as social agencies without necessarily losing sight of their essential legal control. The discretionary provisions of the existing Pennsylvania law give the judges hearing adoption petitions a great deal of freedom, and if interpreted in terms of the best welfare of the child this might work to bring about the solution of some of the existing problems.

No complete program for the best combination of legal and agency practice with relation to adoption has been found as yet, to the knowledge of those constantly practicing in the field. Agency policy cannot meet all the difficulties in the law; nor can legal provisions alone operate without those facilities that will insure social and economic requisites in such complicated situations as adoptions tend to be. The emotional needs and the chances for happiness of child, natural parent, and foster parent are all involved, and these factors may undergo changes during the very process of adoption. Here, as in the case of the general subject of illegitimacy, careful legal study guided by enlightened social point of view must precede changes in the legal structure. Meanwhile, however, courts of record which have special responsibility for adoptions—the Orphans' Court, in Allegheny County—should either be implemented with competently trained social case workers who can provide the court with the intensive social studies required for successful adoption, or else some arrangement should be made by which the Orphans' Court could utilize the facilities of the Juvenile Court for this type of study and base its decision upon a complete understanding of child and parent, as well as upon the economic and technical considerations provided for in the law.

THE FINANCING OF CHILD CARE

The financing of foster care for children, taken as a whole, has never presented serious difficulties. It has been relatively easy to arouse sympathy

and generosity for helping children. The problems that do exist in this field relate to theoretical and technical rather than purely financial considerations. Should support be given to institutions in preference to foster home placement or vice versa? Should each institution be considered by itself, and if so, should its support remain the exclusive responsibility of its sponsoring group or should it be the responsibility of the community at large? In the former case, the problem is more clearly financial; in the latter, it is inseparable from the total child care program of the community, involving all institutions and foster home care as well.

The distribution of expenditures and income for the two major types of child care in Allegheny County can be given within certain limits of accuracy only. These figures should be taken as rough indications rather than as "statistics." Accurate data are not available; nor has it been possible to obtain information from all the agencies operating within the field. Some agencies carry on both a protective type of work with children in their homes and foster care operations— institutional and other. The allocation of expenditures in this type of agency as between personal adjustment and foster care is difficult, if not impossible. This applies particularly to the Juvenile Court—the largest and most important agency in the field—and to the Children's Service Bureau.

For what the figures may be worth, the following statistics represent the more important data for which an acceptable standard of accuracy can be assumed. Most of these figures are based on income rather than on expenditures of agencies, since income data permit certain important classifications not applicable to expenditures. The difference between expenditures and income is relatively little; over the period 1927 to 1934 the totals are very close together, with the exception of the boom period 1927 to 1929. For twenty-eight of the leading institutions³² for which data are available the relation between expenditures and income is illustrated by figures for the years 1927 to 1934 as follows:

³² J. M. Gusky Hebrew Orphanage, Holy Family Institute, St. Raphael's Temporary Home, St. Anthony's Orphanage, Pittsburgh Home for Babies, Girls' Service Club, Home for Colored Children, St. Rita's Home for Infants, Jewish Home for Babies, St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum, St. Peter's Evangelical Lutheran Home, Coleman Industrial Home, Pittsburgh Home for the Friendless, Louise Home for Babies, Elizabeth Bradley Children's Home, Allegheny Temporary Home,* United Press. Women's Association Orphan's Home,* German Protestant Orphan Asylum, Orphans' Home and Farm School,* Holmes Hall for Boys,* Robert B. Ward Home, Queen Esther Home, St. Paul's Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum, Curtis Home for Girls, Davis Home and Day Nursery, St. John's Lutheran Home,* Home of the Good Shepherd, Baptist Orphanage and Home Society. Those marked * are not included among institutions for which capacity and occupancy were given in Table 57, *infra*. This list omits the following: St. Joseph's Protectory, Episcopal Church Home, Toner Institute, Protestant Orphanage, Home for Widows and Orphans of Odd Fellows. Measured in terms of capacity, the 28 institutions for which the above financial data are recorded account for 2,715 out of 3,943 beds, or 68.8 percent.

YEAR	TOTAL INCOME	TOTAL EXPENDITURES ³³
1927	\$728,363	\$825,099
1928	787,491	835,873
1929	995,443	845,849
1930	748,543	820,055
1931	717,467	715,892
1932	611,496	628,207
1933	546,515	553,710
1934	590,916	568,173

The sums obtained for foster home and institutional care, respectively, reflect roughly the changing emphasis in these two forms of child care. The income for foster home care derived from the Juvenile Court is now almost three times as important as that obtained from all other sources and therefore determines in the main the ratio between foster home and institutional expenditures. With these limitations in mind, Table 47 in Chapter XIV may be referred to as giving an approximate picture of expenditures for the two types of child care.

The expenditures for institutional care to account for the institutions from which no financial data had been obtained may add between \$400,000 and \$500,000 to these figures, bringing the total of institutional care considerably above the foster home figures for income and expenditure, and indicating a total annual income for this part of social work in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County of between \$1,800,000 and \$2,000,000. The really significant financial considerations of child care, however, are not nearly all suggested by financial data alone. It is the diminishing trend of institutional use with the accompanying waste of capital funds and plant investment compared with the more flexible financial program involved in foster home care that constitutes one of the most important factors in the realm of expenditures for these two forms of child care.

For specialists and particular agencies in the field of child care there may be some interest also in the sources of income and their variations over the recent years. Information on these points is available in somewhat more accurate and dependable form for a limited part at least of the child care field, but its importance again is subordinate to the theoretical and policy considerations already referred to. For the twenty-four institutions reporting detailed information, there has been a shift of emphasis in the sources of income over recent years. Table 55 gives the principal sources for the institutions between 1927 and 1934.

³³ Some discrepancies will be found between these figures for expenditures and statistics in earlier tables, notably Table 47. These arise chiefly from a somewhat different agency coverage and varying interpretation of financial analyses of the agencies. The essence of the present generalization is not affected.

TABLE 55
SOURCES OF INCOME OF CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONS,^a ALLEGHENY COUNTY, 1927-34

SOURCE OF INCOME	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
All sources	\$728,363	\$787,491	\$995,443	\$748,543	\$717,467	\$611,496	\$546,515	\$590,916
Voluntary contributions	441,278	450,060	602,063	348,462	341,708	258,024	215,174	231,803
Community Fund	...	...	73,540	88,289	89,828	109,912	107,599	110,860
Investments	88,744	95,520	99,024	99,314	97,576	103,995	83,411	81,274
Operation	107,372	108,336	94,863	89,514	76,722	55,284	60,779	75,201
Government	13,042	29,854	28,420	27,142	30,245	31,013	32,785	36,204
All other sources	77,927	103,721	97,533	95,822	81,388	53,268	46,767	55,574

^a The institutions included in this table are:

<i>Community Fund institutions</i>	<i>Non-Community Fund institutions</i>
J. M. Guský Hebrew Orphanage	Elizabeth Bradley Children's Home
Holy Family Institute	Allegheny Temporary Home
Raphael Temporary Home	United Presbyterian Women's Assoc.
St. Anthony's Orphanage	Orphan's Home
Pittsburgh Home for Babies	German Protestant Orphan Asylum
Girls' Service Club	Holmes Hall for Boys
Home for Colored Children	Orphans' Home and Farm School
	Robert B. Ward Home
	Queen Esther Home
	Curtis Home for Girls
	Home of the Good Shepherd

TABLE 56
INCOME OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES^a GIVING FOSTER HOME CARE, 1927-34

SOURCE OF INCOME	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
All sources	\$94,053	\$80,719	\$102,531	\$99,838	\$112,094	\$144,346	\$151,192	\$172,421
Voluntary contributions	68,600	59,281	59,135	46,822	49,381	2,552	2,299	1,700
Community Fund	...	...	26,556	36,570	51,881	133,337	134,356	155,146
Investments	44	764	1,210	1,232	914	1,260	1,094	1,162
Operation	25,153	19,975	15,630	14,864	9,918	7,197	8,531	8,251
Government	256	699	...	350	...	...	4,912	6,162

^a Includes: Children's Aid Society; Children's Service Bureau (nonprotective, except that it is not separated in operating income); Conference of Catholic Charities; Pittsburgh Bureau for Jewish Children; Catholic Boy Welfare Bureau; Girls' Bureau; and Jewish Big Brothers Association.

Corresponding sources for the foster home agencies other than the Juvenile Court are shown in Table 56 for the same years.

Considerable further analysis might be undertaken from the original tables from which these summaries are drawn, but they would add little of general significance and would give a spurious sense of importance to what is merely a bookkeeping reflection of financial operations.

COÖRDINATION AND PREVENTION

In Chapter XII it was pointed out that social planning is a composite task in which the operative agency no less than the official coördinating agencies must show initiative and community-mindedness. In some sections of social work these planning obligations may be more effectively carried by the operative agency, while in others the greater responsibility must rest on the coördinating organization. The child care field belongs within this latter class. With upward of forty agencies and institutions active in the field, each independent, only a minority included in the Community Fund, and all closely controlled by sponsoring bodies manifesting intense loyalty to their respective agencies, planning and community perspective on the part of the individual agencies are almost impossible. Yet the present uncoördinated services not only are unnecessarily expensive but also obstruct the development of procedures essential for the safety and welfare of children and (equally important) for the possibilities of normal adjustment in the families of these children.

Coördination is of the utmost importance in the child-care field: (*a*) for adjusting institutional and noninstitutional facilities; (*b*) for integrating family relief and family adjustment with service to the dependent child; and (*c*) for relating the operative service of social agencies to the larger forces outside social work which, far beyond the capacities of social agencies, determine the possibilities of preventive work—prevention of child homelessness, of juvenile delinquency, of avoidable behavior problems.

Within the more immediate field of child care certain coördinative attempts have already been undertaken, most of them prior to the present study, some in consequence of it. The Conference of Catholic Charities is one example of it; the Jewish Children's Bureau and the more recent amalgamation of Jewish case work agencies is another. There is room, as has been suggested earlier, for the establishment of a Catholic council of children's institutions, and enough potential cohesion exists among these to justify some hope that it may come into existence. For the similar pooling of technical interest on the part of nonsectarian and Protestant agencies and for the three major objectives listed above, initiative may come from the Federation of Social Agencies and from its utilization of the help available in the State Department of Public Welfare.

There is now in operation in the Federation a Child Welfare Division, which has been described elsewhere.³⁴ This division was recommended by the 1930 study and was established early in 1933. At the time of the Social Study it had a number of standing committees such as: one for institutional care; one for care in foster homes; a committee on the handicapped; a committee on delinquency; and a committee on mental hygiene. The secretary of the division has been used as a consultant by the member agencies and has served as executive officer for the organization of meetings and for other organizational activities that naturally form part of the work of such a division. A number of "institutes" have been organized through the instrumentality of the division, and several special studies, including, for example, that of the Counsel Service Society and that of the Morals Court, were either initiated through the division or given assistance by its secretary. The secretary has also been helpful in organizing groups of agencies and agency personnel for consultation with members of the Social Study and has provided considerable material on the children's field to the staff of this study. To some extent the children's division has also been an intermediary for the State Department of Public Welfare in its supervisory and stimulative work with the children's agencies in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. The authority of the State Department of Public Welfare is limited in some respects, especially in those institutions which do not receive state aid. Nevertheless, through its inspections and the influence of its personnel, through persuasion and suggestion, the state department has been supplementing the coördinative functions of the Children's Division of the Federation of Social Agencies. Naturally the state department has been more effective in its service to children's institutions than with respect to child placing agencies. The difficulties of coördination and of social planning associated with it lie, however, deeper than the limitations of time and service that might be given by a single professional secretary to a division which includes nearly one hundred agencies and institutions and conducts work of standing committees, special committees, studies, and coöperative activities with state departments, other divisions of the Federation, and many community groups whose work relates to child welfare.

One of the principal difficulties in the field has been the absence of true leadership for the planning of a comprehensive children's program and for the consistent and cumulative development of coöperative activities within the field. Theoretically, leadership in child care aside from that which naturally belongs to the public school system, would be in the traditional child placement or children's aid organization. The development of agencies in this field in Allegheny County has been anything but

³⁴ Cf. chap. xi, *supra*.

coöperative. Leaving out of consideration one agency which has actually refused to provide help or information for the present study and has in other ways also demonstrated its retarded policies, the two principal agencies in this field—the Children's Service Bureau and the Children's Aid Society—have been too preoccupied with the division of operative responsibilities and the definition of types of client service to which the resources and services of their personnel should be given. Neither of these agencies has developed either the responsibility or the leadership for focusing the issues and problems of the children's field as a whole on large-scale planning in which the public agencies such as the Juvenile Court and schools would be coördinate participants or for adjusting the scope of interest between the children's agencies and family agencies. Not only has there been an absence of coördinated leadership, but disruptive rivalries have entered into the children's field in a manner that precluded either coördination or effective long-range planning. A similar difficulty is involved in the fact that the traditional separation of family agencies and relief agencies from children's agencies has been retained in the community's pattern of agency structure despite events of the times and technical developments within the fields, which have brought the two fields of operation closer and closer until the major part of their activities, as well as a considerable body of their clients, present an overlapping area of service.

For partially meeting this difficulty the present study has proposed the organization of a family and children's division in the Federation of Social Agencies, which under a single head would assist in the planning and coördination of services in such a way as to minimize artificial differences and to serve the central purpose of helping families and children that suffer from problems of economic distress or emotional disturbances. The volume of work which is incumbent upon such a division would require at least two professional secretaries, of whom one would have to specialize in institutional problems. Such leadership as may be necessary for crystallizing the children's problem would have to come from some combination of the interests and the energies of the new case work agency, of the Juvenile Court, of the school system, and of the Federation of Social Agencies in this new conception of its services as involved in the proposed division.

Uppermost in the minds of many workers in the field of child care has been the necessity of preventive programs. The conviction that many of the difficulties in a child's life could be prevented has expressed itself over and over again in special schemes or programs for prevention of delinquency, truancy, behavior problems, abandonment, and so forth. Con-

scious of the importance of healthful recreation under suitable surroundings for the development of sound habits and associations in the child, and of the adverse effect of the absence of recreational facilities in increasing the possibilities for crime and delinquency, there has been a tendency to concentrate upon consideration of recreation as *the* preventive of juvenile delinquency. The urgent need of doing something by way of prevention and the clear recognition of the many influences that make for troubled childhood have driven professional and lay persons to an over-emphasis of special schemes and special programs and has tended to narrow the perspective of what constitutes truly far-reaching prevention. Among the recognized evils of childhood, both direct and indirect, the most important by far, in the approximate order of their importance, are the following:

Poverty. Unsuitable family conditions that may be due in part to personal incompatibility, in part to social pressures, and in part to the destructive effects of immediate environment, such as poor housing, crowded streets, and the presence of commercialized vice.

Physical and mental handicaps of children, most of which are treatable, if recognized, either through medical services or through special classes, guidance clinics, and so forth.

Lack of sufficient and suitable recreation, especially because of insufficient playgrounds and play fields, under-utilization of school plants, unsuitable distribution of recreation facilities with relation to the greatest need, and insufficient public attention to the development of play centers, parks, ball fields, and so forth.

Uncoördinated and incompetent work of social agencies, public and voluntary, whereby children in danger of neglect or delinquency are not discovered, when discovered are not adequately treated, when treated may experience the service of agencies working at cross purposes.

These are not by any means all the evils that may befall a child but they exemplify the outstanding types and indicate that the task of prevention is not one task but many; that the development of each social instrument within its own field is far more important than any special scheme of coördination. It is also true, however, that such independent development in the fields of economic, educational, recreational, medical and other community services may be stimulated and enhanced if their respective contributions and the advantages of coöperative effort can be crystallized and vitalized by imaginative leadership in child welfare. This can be achieved by no patent program or magic touch. It may come, however, if the conviction for its need is strong enough and if the routine machinery for coördinative services is made as efficient as possible so that the chances of leadership as they arise may have an opportunity for growth, recognition, and effectiveness.

TABLE 57

CAPACITY AND PERCENT OCCUPANCY OF CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONS^a

INSTITUTIONS	CAPACITY DURING 1935	PERCENT OCCUPANCY
All institutions providing foster care exclusively	3,099	64.3
Catholic	2,147	66.9
Holy Family Institute	325	94.7
Home of the Good Shepherd	120	69.2
St. Anthony's Orphanage	118	85.6
St. Joseph's Orphanage	275	55.1
St. Paul's Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum	900	55.2
St. Raphael's Temporary Home	30	75.2
St. Rita's Home for Infants (closed April, 1935)	150	41.2
Toner Institute	160	75.1
St. Joseph's Protectory	69	89.9
Jewish	187	66.5
J. M. Gusky Hebrew Orphanage	100 ^b	76.3
Jewish Home for Babies	87 ^c	55.7
Protestant and nonsectarian	661	53.3
Baptist Orphanage and Home Society	45	40.3
E. A. Bradley Children's Home	28	85.1
Episcopal Church Home	60	64.4
German Protestant Orphan Asylum	52	46.3
Robert Boyd Ward Home for Children	41	71.5
Louise Home for Babies	25	98.5
Protestant Orphanage	150	59.7
St. Peter's Evangelical Lutheran Home	20	67.7
Home for Widows and Orphans of Odd Fellows	200 ^d	36.0
Queen Esther Home for Children	40	47.4
Homes for Negro children—nonsectarian	104	74.7
Home for Colored Children	48	79.8
Coleman Industrial Home	35	65.6
Davis Temporary Home	21	80.8
Miscellaneous agencies including some foster care	844	72.4
Christian Home for Women		
Infants	10	23.0
Mothers	12	32.5
Florence Crittenton Home		
Infants	10	47.5
Mothers	18	45.5
Salvation Army		
Infants	10 ^e	107.7
Mothers	28	68.2
Children's department ^f	16	34.9
Zoar Home for Mothers, Babies and Convalescents		
Infants	15	73.3
Mothers	35	73.0
Children's Department	45	74.7

^a Data secured from *Registration of Social Statistics*.^b Changed to 90 in September, 1935. ^c Changed to 89 in July, 1935.^d Approximate.^e Changed to 13 in October, 1935. ^f Closed November 30, 1935.

TABLE 57—*Continued*

INSTITUTIONS	CAPACITY DURING 1935	PERCENT OCCUPANCY
Roselia Foundling Asylum		
Children's Department	110 ^g	67.5
Infants of unmarried mothers		
Unmarried mothers		
Allegheny Temporary Home	22	77.1
Boys' Industrial Home of Western Pennsylvania	160 ^h	89.4
Children's Home Society	30	48.8
Curtis Home for Girls	27	89.5
Girls' Service Club	12	93.0
Home for the Friendless	154	70.9
Pittsburgh Home for Babies	40	96.3
Pittsburgh Newsboys Home	30	87.5

^g Includes 16 bassinets for infants up to three months.

^h Changed to 150 in July, 1935.

CHAPTER XVIII

ORGANIZED CARE OF THE SICK

The stake of social work in the field of organized medical care.—Provisions for organized service: hospitals, clinics, home care.—Hospital facilities and their utilization, total and for special groups: acute, chronic and convalescent, special types.—Clinic facilities.—The problem of free care and hospital finances.—Medical relief and the total problem of free medical care.—Standardization, coördination and research in the field of institutional medical services.—Unmet needs.

AS A special field of science and as a particular type of professional activity, medicine does not necessarily come within the scope of the present study.¹ Relationships between patient and physician and problems pertaining primarily to medical education and research are outside our immediate concern. Those phases of the care of the sick, however, for which organized responsibility has been assumed by government or philanthropy automatically take their places in a survey of public welfare intended to cover the work of social and health agencies.

Plans to provide organized care for the sick may be regarded as concerned with three major topics: (1) hospital and other institutional facil-

¹ In this chapter a condensed and epitomized statement is submitted of a report prepared by Gertrude Sturges, M.D., of the study staff. The full text of Dr. Sturges's report (with the exception of an introductory chapter and a résumé of the Milbank Foundation data) was released for public discussion in the spring of 1935, was distributed to members of the Hospital Conference and other interested persons and bodies, and was presented at a public meeting called for the purpose of transmitting findings and recommendations. The Allegheny County Medical Society, through its Board of Directors, had been apprised of the findings and members of the latter participated in the public discussion. As will be shown in a later chapter, substantial progress has been made in giving effect to the recommendations submitted by Dr. Sturges. Because of the relatively wide circulation that was given to the full report at the time of its release, and of the purely local and technical relevance of much of the factual material collected and organized by Dr. Sturges, it is not necessary to give as full a summary of the document here, as might otherwise be justified. In transmitting her original report, Dr. Sturges acknowledged her indebtedness to numerous persons and agencies, among whom the following must be included even in this brief summary: Michael M. Davis, Ph.D., Director of Medical Services of the Julius Rosenwald Fund; Nathaniel W. Faxon, M.D., Director of the Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston; and C.-E. A. Winslow, Dr.P.H., Professor of Public Health at Yale University, members of the technical advisory committee, whose services have already been alluded to; Dr. C. Rufus Rorem, Associate Director of Medical Services of the Julius Rosenwald Fund;

ities considered from the standpoint of medical needs as these may be determined by the incidence or prevalence of the chief types of illness; (2) medical care for patients not requiring hospitalization and unable to purchase medical service from their own resources. This phase of organized care has taken the principal forms of (a) outpatient service, (b) care of chronic illness, (c) convalescent care, (d) home care of the indigent; (3) standardization and coördination of medical facilities.

A complete and adequate program of medical care in a community includes satisfactory provisions for these three needs. As with other community programs, whether in the field of education, highway construction, police, or other public service, the provision of facilities cannot be regarded independently from questions of public economy and of administrative procedures. What the community needs and what the community can afford must both be considered, as well as the ever-present question concerning the most efficient use of resources for attaining the maximum degree of service.

Behind the concern for the establishment and the economic use of medical facilities lies, of course, the fundamental question concerning the amount of illness, the kind of treatment it requires, and the proportion of it which demands organized service rather than the exclusive and direct ministrations of the individual physician. These questions, however, are more easily stated than answered. It is difficult to ascertain the incidence of illness over any extended period of time. Death rates do, indeed, throw some light on the extent of illness and upon the corresponding need for medical services but not enough to serve as practical guides beyond a very general orientation. Many local conditions may, moreover, cause wide deviations from any even tentative criteria of the relation of death rates to illness. In constructing a general program of medical service it is useful, nevertheless, to utilize whatever norms of this kind may be available, and they are so used in the administration of public health.

So far as has been learned, Pittsburgh and Allegheny County seem to be unfavorably situated with respect to the extent of illness and to the availability of care in case of illness. In recent studies carried on in seven typical cities of the country, Pittsburgh, which was included among them, showed a considerably higher rate of illness than the total of the seven

the Milbank Memorial Fund; United States Public Health Service, especially Dr. G. St. J. Perrott; Dr. M. C. Bousfield, chairman of the Committee on Hospitals and Medical Education of the National Medical Association, and to the Julius Rosenwald Fund for loaning his services; the Hospital Conference of Pittsburgh; the Bureau of Community Work of the Pennsylvania State Department of Welfare, especially Helen Glenn Tyson; Lydia Irish; Dr. Alexander H. Colwell and Abraham Oseroff, members of the Citizens' Committee; Elizabeth L. Brezee and Mary Elizabeth Preller, of the staff.

cities studied.² If, therefore, the amount of service rendered in Pittsburgh is low in comparison with the services available in these other cities, that difference cannot be held as an expression of favorable health conditions. Actually the rate of illness was 15 percent higher in Pittsburgh than in the group of seven cities. Upon further classification of these cases of illness, the percentage of nondisabling illness was found to be 25 percent higher here than in other cities, while disabling illness exceeded the record of the other cities by more than 9 percent. We find, further, that the cases of illness reported in Pittsburgh received less medical service than cases in other cities, whether in the form of physicians' care, hospital or visiting nurse service. It is clearly indicated, then, that the lesser supply of medical service in this city is not a proof of lesser need for it, but, on the contrary, serves as an unmistakable challenge to the community for earnest and far-reaching changes.

The prime objective in providing hospital facilities for a community should be to make certain that enough beds are available to treat all patients requiring hospital treatment, whether rich or poor, whatever the nature of their ailments. By beds, in hospital parlance, is meant not the space alone, but all the services that go with the medical care of the patient in the institution. While the adequacy and the quality of these services naturally vary from place to place, this assumption relates to a reasonable basic standard. It is desirable also that hospitals be so situated as to make them reasonably accessible without too much loss of time in cases of emergency and to make it possible for members of the family and relatives to visit the patients. In so far as there may be a medical school or institution for medical research in the community, proximity of hospitals offering a sufficient variety of types of treatment is desirable for education and research.

What hospital facilities should be planned as necessary for Pittsburgh and Allegheny County in the immediate future? In the interest of such plans, what specific conditions, now in existence, should be altered, and in what ways?

Those responsible for the provision of institutional medical services in a large community usually see this problem as falling into a number of distinct, though related, phases. They are:

1. The question of enough facilities, not only for the total probable number of

² These studies were conducted with the coöperation of the U. S. Public Health Service, under the Milbank Memorial Fund by Perrott, Sydenstricker, and Collins and covered the following cities: Baltimore, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, New York, Pittsburgh, and Syracuse. Preliminary reports have been published from time to time in the *Milbank Fund Quarterly* and for purposes of the present study, a special tabulation of Pittsburgh material was made through the courtesy of the staff of the Milbank Memorial Fund. The data cited here are drawn from this special tabulation, as organized by Elizabeth L. Brezee, statistician of the Social Study.

patients to be served, but also for the special kinds of cases as they present distinctive problems of medical or administrative technique. Among the principal divisions in this class are: acute cases, children's service, maternity cases, communicable diseases, mental diseases, the tuberculous and other chronic types.

2. The question of finances is never a simple question, in view of the fact that a large and variable percentage of patients are unable to pay for the cost of their care and must therefore be given free or part-pay services. Deficits necessarily incurred as a consequence must be covered from other sources; these usually comprise fees from pay-patients in excess of the cost of their care, endowments, contributions, and often government aid.

3. The question of management and control (usually involving also that of financial maintenance) particularly as it relates to the relative responsibilities of public bodies and voluntary associations.

4. Related questions of supervision, standardization, research, and out-patient services, all of them cutting across the questions of adequacy, finances, and management.

So far as these interrelated questions may be disentangled, they will be treated separately in the following pages.

HOSPITAL FACILITIES AVAILABLE IN PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY COUNTY

In considering the quantitative aspect of hospital facilities we find that there were available in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County on October 30, 1934,³ 12,244 beds, divided about evenly among thirty-five voluntary and public (or official) hospitals.⁴ The latter comprise two independent units and two sets of four and three hospitals conducted, respectively, under the city and county "Home and Hospital" units. Twenty-five are general hospitals: those caring for acute medical and surgical cases, maternity, and so forth. Ten are special hospitals, including four for tuberculosis, two for mental diseases, two for isolation, one for children, and one for diseases of the eye and ear.

These figures represent the situation on October 30, 1934, the day on which the census was taken. Compared with the corresponding day in 1929, the record shows a net increase of 1,333 beds, accounted for by sundry additions and reductions by different institutions. This expansion involved the expenditure in less than five years of \$16,326,000, of which \$14,246,000 came from voluntary sources, and \$2,080,000 from the public treasury. The investment of such huge sums in plant construction or alterations, involving as it does a considerable obligation of further sums by way of maintenance, presents an important problem in community financing, as well as in hospital management.

³ A special census was taken at this time by the staff of the study with the coöperation of the hospitals and of the Hospital Conference. Further reference will be made to this census.

⁴ For complete list of hospitals covered, see Appendix D.

Was the creation of an additional capacity of 1,333 beds in five years needed for Allegheny County? If so, were the new beds provided where they were most needed? Was thought taken concerning the maintenance obligation that inevitably attaches to new plants?

Voluntary hospitals spent almost seven times as much for expansion as did public hospitals. But the use of hospital facilities did not increase in that proportion. On the contrary, occupancy in voluntary hospitals declined from 72 percent in 1928 to 56 percent in 1933, while the usual overcrowding in the public hospitals (a hospital is regarded as overcrowded when occupancy exceeds 80 percent of bed capacity) rose from 87 percent in 1928 to 91 percent in 1933 (see Table 58). Building programs, if guided by actual needs, would have indicated contraction in the voluntary field and active expansion in the public institutions instead of the almost 7:1 ratio favoring the former. It might be said, of course, that much of the capital expansion started in the prosperous years preceding 1929; but even if this explanation supplied the needed justification, we find that some institutions in the county actually went into debt for purposes of expansion.

With regard to types of medical service provided, the story seems no more logical, as we shall see in the analysis of bed facilities classified by type. Nor has thought been taken, apparently, for the maintenance needs or for other financial factors complicating hospital economy.⁵

TABLE 58

UTILIZATION OF THIRTY-FIVE HOSPITALS IN PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY COUNTY DURING 1928 AND 1933 AND ON CENSUS DAY, OCTOBER 30, 1934

TYPE OF HOSPITAL	NUMBER OF HOSPITALS	NUMBER OF BEDS PROVIDED			PERCENT OCCUPANCY		
		1928	1933	October 30, 1934	1928	1933	October 30, 1934
All hospitals	35 ^a	10,691	12,166	12,244	79 ^b	73	74
General	29 ^c	6,574	6,987	7,065	72 ^e	58 ^e	58
Public	4 ^d	722	965	978	75 ^e	77 ^e	70
Voluntary	25	5,852	6,022	6,087	72	55	56
Tuberculosis	4	713	829	829	83 ^e	92 ^e	87
Public	3	593	679	679	80 ^e	91 ^e	85
Voluntary	1	120	150	150	97	94	99
Mental (public only) ^f	2	3,404	4,350	4,350	91 ^e	93 ^e	98

^a Thirty-four in 1928.

^b Estimated in 3 hospitals.

^c Twenty-eight in 1928.

^d Three in 1928.

^e Estimated in one hospital.

^f

Date

Rated capacity

Percent occupancy

1928

2,916

105.7

1933

3,647

111.4

Census day

3,647

116.9

⁵ The report prepared by Dr. Sturges, made public in the spring of 1935, gives details by types of hospital, size, services, and other pertinent factors which are of importance for local guidance but not essential for this general summary.

The utilization of voluntary hospitals with relation to that of public hospitals (the latter almost entirely free) suggests an economic explanation of this discrepancy. The extent to which hospitals are used depends not only on the need for hospital care and the extent to which people have become accustomed to using hospitals for the types of illness which were formerly cared for in the home but also the patient's ability to pay. The facts presented above show that the voluntary hospitals in Allegheny County were used to only a limited extent of their capacity in 1933, but from this fact it must not be inferred that there was no need or desire for more hospital care than the actual use in this year represents. The economic situation has deterred pay-patients from entering hospitals if they could avoid or postpone hospital care and has, in general, forced hospitals to limit their service to such free patients as were in urgent need of care. One hospital stated this situation in its news bulletin under the caption, "Economic Determinism Forces the ——— Hospital to Combat Decreased Income with Reduced Service," as follows:

While the hospital regrets exceedingly the conditions which force the already modest salaries of the staff and employees lower and the policy of accepting only emergency cases for free work, there seems to be no other solution. Neither this nor any other hospital can afford to continue the former liberal acceptance of the burden of caring for non-emergency indigent patients and as a result contract staggering debts whether it be by borrowing money or by not paying bills promptly.

The foregoing data have been given for the entire hospital field, with only such differentiation as was of major importance between voluntary and public hospitals. From the standpoint of medical care proper, as it affects the patient himself, the greater significance lies in the availability—physical and financial—of the particular type of service which he may need. For this reason a further analysis of hospital facilities is desirable, emphasizing the classification of care needed: acute, chronic, convalescent, tubercular, mental, and other types.

FACILITIES FOR THE CARE OF ACUTE ILLNESS

In Pittsburgh and Allegheny County hospital treatment of acute illness is given almost entirely by voluntary institutions. In 1928 there were 6,574 hospital beds available for this purpose.⁶ Of these, 5,852 (89 percent) were in voluntary hospitals. Between 1928 and 1933 the total number of beds available for acute cases increased by 413, or nearly 7 percent. Of these, 243 were added to governmental facilities; the remainder, to voluntary hospitals. With the increase in population, the ratio of beds to the population did not materially change by this addition. But the amount of service to patients did decline by 13.4 percent in terms of patient-days

⁶ See Appendix D.

of acute illness. General experience and the testimony of physicians, as well as the trend of medical statistics as a whole, agree that this decrease cannot be due to lessening of the need for hospital care. The findings of the Milbank Memorial Fund strengthen this conclusion. They disclose the following facts:

That only 14 percent of all persons with disabling illness recorded in Pittsburgh received hospital care as against 20.9 percent of persons with disabling illness in the total of seven cities.⁷ If acute cases only are counted, the corresponding percentages are 11.1 and 18.3, respectively. Among the poorest group in the combined seven cities, 8.4 percent of cases of illness received hospital care in 1932 as against 2.3 percent of the corresponding group in Pittsburgh. Everything we know about Allegheny County as a whole would lead to the conclusion that the situation outside the city limits must have been worse rather than better.

The situation with respect to hospital facilities for acute cases may be summed up, then, as follows: between 1928 and 1933 there was an increase in bed capacity of 7 percent and a decrease in service of 13.4 percent in a community that gives appreciably less care to its patients in need of hospitalization than do other comparable communities. Mention has already been made of the fact that 89 percent of the beds for acute cases are in voluntary hospitals. How has the reduction of service affected the two groups of hospitals, respectively, remembering that each group added a net of more than 200 beds in five years?

Patient-days reported for twenty-nine general and special hospitals (excluding hospitals for mental and tuberculous patients) for 1928 and 1933 are as follows:

	PUBLIC	VOLUNTARY
Patient days, 1928	197,257	1,514,134
Patient days, 1933	270,091	1,212,202
Change 1928-33	+72,834	-301,932
Percent change	+36.9	-19.9

Facilities in public and voluntary hospitals and the expansions mentioned earlier seem to have no direct relation to the requirements and the distribution of needs. When the financial aspects of this situation, described below, are examined, their irrational character will be even more evident.

PROVISIONS FOR SPECIAL TYPES OF ACUTE AND FOR NONACUTE CASES

There is some cutting across and overlapping of special fields and the care of nonacute patients. Thus, service for children and care of communicable diseases somewhat overlap the tuberculosis, maternity, mental, chronic, and convalescent categories. There is also a certain leeway in the

⁷ 28,959 individuals were studied in the seven cities, of whom 3,468 were in Pittsburgh.

assignment of beds for different uses, which makes too rigid a picture of their distribution among services somewhat unreal. From a practical standpoint, at any rate, the slight overlapping and cross-classification offer no serious obstacles to an understanding of the general situation. We may then take the several types of special or nonacute facilities seriatim.

Children.—The needs of children, in so far as they constitute acute cases, are satisfactorily met. All but one of the general hospitals accept children, as well as adults. No special provision is made for two groups: children suffering with tuberculosis and children having mental ailments. Tuberculous children do have forty-four beds provided for them in the preventorium at Leech Farm, which is the municipal hospital provided for tuberculosis patients and is conducted by the Department of Public Welfare, but there are only four beds for children in the four tuberculosis hospitals outside Leech Farm, and so the total facilities available are inadequate. There is no provision whatever at the present time for the treatment or custodial care of children who are mental patients. Convalescent care for children is also inadequate, but that problem does not fall within the scope of this discussion of hospital facilities.

Maternity cases.—There seems to be adequate provision for maternity cases for the city and county as a whole if the percentage of occupancy is any indication of this provision. The time may soon come when an expansion of these facilities may be required because of the increasing rate of hospitalization for childbirth. Planning for this purpose would seem to be a matter that does not require immediate attention.

Communicable diseases.—The situation with respect to communicable disease is much more serious. Occupancy is low, 24 percent in 1928, 46 percent in 1933, and 28 percent on the special census day in October, 1934. The peculiar nature of communicable disease is such, however, that a low percentage of occupancy is imperative because of the suddenness with which epidemics increase the incidence of cases. The county outside Pittsburgh is not so fortunately situated. County cases are admitted to the municipal hospital only by courtesy, and a charge of \$4 per diem is made to the county for these cases. Patients outside Pittsburgh city limits may not demand admission, however, and such cases as typhoid, syphilis, gonorrhea, and ophthalmia are practically excluded. Immediate expansion, therefore, especially for the use by the county area, is imperative. This expansion may be effected, without additional buildings, by the utilization of existing voluntary hospitals if suitable arrangements can be worked out between the public and private institutions involved. Failing such arrangement, it is exceedingly hazardous to leave the county without an institution for communicable diseases as it is today.

Tuberculosis.—Facilities for hospitalization of tuberculous patients are

low. How low it is difficult to say in view of the inferior provisions for tuberculosis control in the health department of Pittsburgh and the complete absence of official tuberculosis control outside the city. While a systematic organization of tuberculosis control is one of the most pressing needs for the entire community, the certainty that more hospital beds for the tuberculous are required than are at present available leaves no doubt of the desirability of immediate expansion in this direction. This need is especially urgent for Negro patients. It has long been known and has again been demonstrated, in the recent study in Pittsburgh of tuberculosis among the Negroes,⁸ that the incidence of this disease among the colored population is exceedingly high and that far more than a proportionate share of hospital beds for patients of this type should be available to Negroes.

Mental cases.—The situation with respect to mental patients requires complete reorganization on several grounds. First, the city and county, respectively, conduct their own public hospitals for mental patients—the former with 2,450 beds, the latter with 1,900. A small number of additional beds is provided by three of the voluntary hospitals. In the State of Pennsylvania, as in many other states, it has long been recognized that the care of the insane is the task of the state, not of local communities. The continued operation of these hospitals, therefore, by city and county is out of line with the general principle recognized in the State of Pennsylvania and in the country as a whole and with the practice actually current in all but a few parts of the state. The first essential is to plan for a transfer of these institutions from city and county, respectively, to the State of Pennsylvania. In the second place, existing facilities are very seriously overcrowded, a fact which is particularly unfortunate in institutions of this type, in which the psychological setting is of utmost importance for treatment. The expansions actually contemplated, therefore, by the city and county for the addition of 400 and 530 beds, respectively, ought not to be held up, but should be incorporated in the general program of transfer from local to state control and treatment of mental diseases. As already stated, no facilities are available for children suffering from mental disease, and these also should be supplied with the minimum of delay. The same fiscal arrangements between local and state authorities may very well be carried on as are current in the rest of the state by which the per diem cost of support in these institutions is charged against the local authority by the fiscal authorities of the state.

Chronic and convalescent care.—The chief problem presented by the chronically ill is the inadequacy of facilities for their care, especially for certain

⁸ Elsie Witchen, *Tuberculosis and the Negro in Pittsburgh*, Tuberculosis League of Pittsburgh, 1934.

types of cases, such as children with cardiac and neurological disorders, men and boys, and Negroes. The existing institutions are used to the fullest capacity, and, moreover, the hospitals for the care of acute conditions are caring for a considerable number of patients who require long periods of care. The present facilities, probably because they are inadequate in quantity, seem to be used to too great an extent for older persons and for those who require very long periods of care (a year or more). An actual census, such as is contemplated by the State Department of Welfare, of those persons who require institutional and other types of care for chronic conditions would serve a very useful purpose in determining the amount and nature of facilities which are required to supplement the existing institutions. Obviously, therefore, a soundly organized plan for the care of chronic patients will provide, in the first place, a substantial increase in the number of beds for the care of those chronically ill, either by using one or more of the hospital buildings which have been or will be abandoned, or by utilizing unoccupied wards in general hospitals, adapting them for this purpose in the manner suggested in this report.

Such a plan will require, in the second place, a re-examination and readjustment of admission requirements both for the present facilities and for such additional beds as may be provided, to meet the needs of those groups who are at a special disadvantage at present, such as children with cardiac and neurological disorders, persons under forty, persons requiring relatively short periods of care, men and boys, and Negroes.

The care of convalescents is a problem akin to that of provision for chronic patients, with respect, not so much to duration, as to the nature of the care they demand. In Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, there is further similarity between the two problems in that neither is adequately provided for and neither has been given the necessary attention and study. On the face of it, there would seem to be no great pressure for convalescent care which is due primarily to a general conviction in the community that no facilities are available. It seems that in many cases convalescent care is neither thought of nor recommended where it would be of the first importance to provide it. A technical study of this phase of hospital care is necessary and might well be undertaken in connection with a study of chronic illness.

The care of Negroes.—The problem of the Negro patient is recurrent and disturbing. The 1930 population census shows that 6.1 percent of the general population consists of Negroes. Of the 9,110 patients reported upon on the special census day, October 30, 1934, in the thirty-five hospitals in Allegheny County, 729, or 8 percent, were Negroes. The distribution among governmental and voluntary hospitals differed, 9.5 percent in the former, and 5.7 percent in the latter. On the face of it these figures

seem to indicate that no discrimination is exercised against the admission of Negro patients. The known greater susceptibility of Negroes to a number of our prevalent diseases clearly indicates, however, that the care of 8.2 percent Negro patients when compared with the number of Negroes in the population (6.1 percent) is not sufficient to insure provision of appropriate care. A survey conducted in Philadelphia in 1929 showed the ratio there to have been 14 percent Negro patients to 7 percent population. Similar testimony comes from Allegheny County concerning the proportion of out-patients who are Negroes. Where records were kept, in six out-patient services, 19 percent of the patients were Negroes. Estimates from thirteen out-patient services establish a percentage of a little more than 17 percent. The same hospitals from which these records and estimates come show only 5.7 percent Negro bed patients. So much for the general situation. The particular facts about tuberculosis and venereal disease are well known and constitute a situation even more serious. The death rate from tuberculosis among Negroes is almost three times that among white people. A corresponding occupancy of hospital beds for the tuberculous would justify an expectation of a proportionately high percentage of Negro patients in the tuberculosis hospitals, but there were only 9.4 percent of these on the census day. These were, moreover, in the main, in the public hospitals. The single voluntary hospital devoted exclusively to tubercular cases reported only one Negro out of 148 patients on the day of the census.

The limited availability of hospital beds for communicable disease (including syphilis and gonorrhea) has already been commented upon. For convalescent and chronic patients the situation is even more serious. The two institutions for convalescents admit no Negroes at all. Three of the six voluntary institutions for the care of chronic disease admit no Negroes, and 78 of the 85 Negroes reported among the patients of the institutions for the chronic were in public hospitals rather than in private institutions.

These limitations upon service to Negro patients are reflected also in the restrictions upon Negro physicians and nurses. While this matter is primarily a subject of administration and management, it is pertinent also to the general problem of care for the Negro sick. Of nearly 50 colored physicians practicing in the community, only 3 are in any way connected with the thirty-five hospitals serving county and city. No institution in Allegheny County at present accepts Negro internes or nurses.⁹ The Medical School at the University of Pittsburgh has not graduated a colored physician since 1914. Compared with many other cities in the North

⁹ One of the voluntary hospitals has, since the writing of this report, made a beginning toward the admission of professional colored personnel.

and the South, such as New York, Philadelphia, Knoxville, New Orleans, Cleveland, Kansas City, and St. Louis, Pittsburgh is much more remiss in giving opportunities to Negro physicians as internes and as staff members, especially in tax-supported hospitals and sanatoria, and in bringing Negro physicians and nurses into membership on various advisory committees concerned with the health problems of the community.

In light of these conditions the future program for hospital care in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County should provide for admission to hospitals and sanatoria of Negro in-patients on the same basis as any other patients in need of care. Moreover, all tax-supported hospitals should recognize their especial responsibility to consider Negro physicians on exactly the same basis as any other physicians in making their staff appointments. Qualified Negro physicians should be given the privilege of treating their private patients in hospitals, through membership in the organized or courtesy staffs. Opportunities should be given qualified Negro physicians to work in out-patient departments of hospitals and for the training of Negro internes and Negro nurses in one or more hospitals.

CLINICS OR OUT-PATIENT SERVICE

In large cities clinics are to a large extent the poor man's doctor. While physicians continue, as they have done for countless years, to give free service to those unable to pay, in the course of time part of this burden has been accepted as a general public obligation and is carried through clinics. These originally started as dispensaries intended merely to provide free medicine for the poor. They have gradually become the chief form of free medical service in which diagnosis, treatment, medicines, and medical appliances have taken their respective places.¹⁰ In this country, the history of clinics dates back to Revolutionary times. In England they have been known for at least a century longer. The transition from dispensary to clinic is characteristic more of the latter decades of the nineteenth century, and clinic participation in the field of public health is still more characteristic of the twentieth century. No community now would think of its medical and public health provisions without including clinics as much as hospitals, medical practitioners, and public health agencies.

For reasons rooted in the history of hospitals and clinics, the first emergence of these services is associated with hospitals, public and private. In recent years there has been a growth of preventive and public health clinics under control of health departments and in association with tax-

¹⁰ The present study in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County included 26 out-patient services, of which all but two are out-patient departments of hospitals. All of these are maintained under voluntary hospitals. Only public health clinics are maintained by the county and municipal governments. All but two of the voluntary hospitals, on the other hand, do maintain some form of out-patient service. The clinics not affiliated with

supported hospitals, while diagnostic and treatment clinics are still more often intimate parts of hospitals under voluntary management.

Whatever advances may be made toward giving the poor man such hospital care as he may need and providing him and his family with medical attention and nursing when he is prostrated in his home, whether one particular scheme or another is adopted for assuring medical relief by public authorities, the clinic is likely to remain for him an important resource; there he will seek aid that he hesitates to demand from a personal physician whose fees he cannot afford. Particularly for the medical specialties, he will continue to go to the clinic. He will gladly pay what fee he can afford and will expect the clinic to charge him. The clinic will also be used by his fellow townsman who is not so badly situated that he cannot pay the ordinary doctor's fee, but who is unable to finance the expensive diagnostic accessories of laboratory, X-ray, and physiotherapy which so frequently are recommended by the conscientious physician. The "poor man," as well as this not-so-poor one, will be vastly benefited by the extension of clinical facilities for technical diagnosis.

These are the desired results: the full provision of all types of clinical services for ambulant patients who are indigent; the extension of diagnostic facilities for those of moderate income, with the assurance of a degree of convenience and human amenities to the clinic patient and a more generous, dependable and efficient financing.

In examining the clinic facilities in any community, some of the more important criteria by which we may judge them are: (a) whether the extent of service given is adequate for the needs of the community; (b) whether a sufficient variety of services exist; (c) whether they are located so as to be accessible to all that may require them; (d) whether the manner

hospitals are, however, affiliated with the University of Pittsburgh's Medical School as part of its educational organization.

The Out-Patient Services Included in This Account

Allegheny General ²	Passavant ²
Braddock General ¹	Pittsburgh Hospital Association ²
Belvedere General	Pittsburgh Skin and Cancer ³
Children's ^{2, 3}	Presbyterian ^{2, 3}
Columbia ^{1, 2}	St. Francis
Elizabeth Steel Magee ^{2, 3}	St. John's General
Falk ^{2, 3}	St. Joseph's
Homeopathic ²	St. Margaret's Memorial ²
Homestead ¹	South Side ²
McKeesport ¹	Suburban General ¹
Mercy ^{2, 3}	Tuberculosis League ^{2, 3}
Montefiore ²	Western Pennsylvania ²
Ohio Valley General ¹	Valley ¹

The symbol¹ means located in the county; the symbol² indicates those having medical social workers; the symbol³ indicates those associated with University of Pittsburgh Medical School.

in which they are organized and administrated takes sufficient cognizance of the standards of decency and self-respect to which those in need of service are entitled; (e) whether the method of financing such services provides the maximum of equitable conditions to patient, clinic, medical practitioner, and public.

There are no completely satisfactory criteria for judging the adequacy of clinic provisions in any community from statistical data on the number of visits, patients, and treatments. Judgment still rests to a considerable degree on trial and error tests.¹¹ The amount of clinical service has been generally on the increase, but to what extent this measures a growth of need and to what extent a more generous response by hospitals, the recognition of need or the availability of resources, and greater understanding of facilities by the patient it is impossible to establish. Recorded visits as reported by twenty institutions show an increase from 1928 to 1933 of 66 percent—from 259,224 to 430,374. Data available for twenty-five clinics show a growth of 18 percent between 1931 and 1933. Expansion is clearly indicated. Some of this growth may be attributable, however, to the depression alone. A comparison of figures for the first six months of 1933 and of the corresponding months of 1934 (for twenty-four clinics) shows that in the latter period, during which the payment of private physicians for medical care of the unemployed was authorized, visits were less by some 10 percent. But this reduction hardly cancels the much larger growth in the number of visits indicated in the earlier comparison.

It should be noted, also, that the lack of clinic facilities in the county districts outside Pittsburgh has held the total figures down to relatively low levels.¹² The only parts of the county for which out-patient service is readily accessible are the areas near the city limits on the north, the areas around Sewickley, which are served by the Valley Hospital out-patient department, and the eastern parts of the county near the Monongahela River, which are served by the Homestead, Braddock, Columbia, and McKeesport hospitals out-patient departments.

Seven of these out-patient departments are in the county, but they are not equally distributed or equally accessible. Persons living south of the Monongahela River are especially unfortunate with respect to accessibility of clinics. Moreover, not all out-patient departments admit patients without geographic distinction. Ten of these out-patient services (one in the county and nine in the city) report that they admit patients living any-

¹¹ C.-E. A. Winslow of Yale suggests that the "beginning of a modest standard" is represented by the ratios cited by Dr. Haven Emerson in an article in *Modern Hospital*, September, 1930.

¹² As indicated by a comparison with other communities quoted in Dr. Sturges's detailed report.

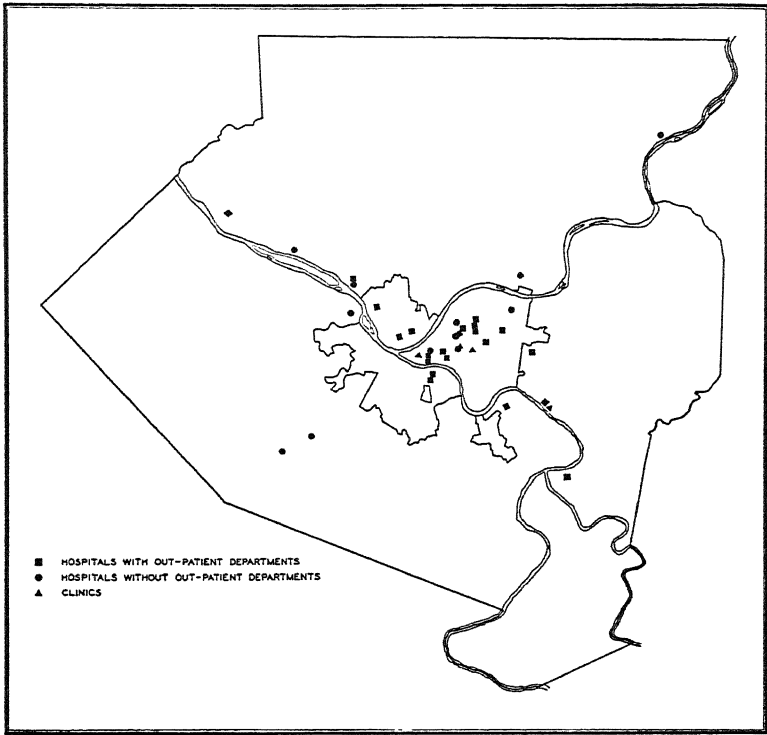


FIGURE 18

LOCATION OF HOSPITALS, OUT-PATIENT DEPARTMENTS, AND
CLINICS, ALLEGHENY COUNTY

where in the county. This number includes both of the out-patient departments of special hospitals. The remainder (sixteen) of the out-patient services report that they try to limit their admissions to patients who reside in what they consider their own districts, except for emergency cases and in some instances referred cases. In these sixteen institutions patients from outside the district are referred to the out-patient department nearest their residence. The city is not definitely districted for out-patient service, with each institution responsible for a certain area, but each of these sixteen institutions has decided what district it shall serve.

The accompanying map (Figure 18) shows where general out-patient service is available in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. It is apparent that a reëxamination of geographical distribution and some reorganization and expansion of services, especially for the outlying parts of the county, are necessary steps in a reasonable clinic program.

Are clinics available in as many varieties of medical service as might be sought by the patient? Data collected in the present study show that only about 25 percent of all clinic services are devoted to general medical and surgical work. This fact suggests that much of the general service to the poor is still given by individual medical practitioners, while the more specialized branches of medicine, in which practitioner and equipment are both much less widely distributed and the probable cost of services greater, tend to become the foci of clinical service. It is impossible to judge from statistics of this nature whether the several special services are available in adequate amounts, and certainly no attempt has been made to ascertain the quality of these services. Other parts of this study have demonstrated that areas of preventive and public health service are especially meager in comparison with the demand and with the requirements of public health standards. Thus, for example, tuberculosis clinics, venereal service, and child welfare clinics will have to be expanded considerably beyond present facilities before the needs of the community are adequately met. Within the more strictly medical, as distinct from public health, fields the greatest need is apparently for clinics providing general diagnostic service. Many physicians, willing and able to give free treatment to patients, lack the facilities of laboratory, X-ray, electrocardiograph departments, and similar equipment which is often essential for proper diagnosis. The cost of complete diagnostic service in which factors of this type are included precludes the patient's obtaining the necessary diagnostic service while still ambulant. This lack of facilities illustrates one of the most pronounced and serious needs for clinics in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County.

Only a few of the most pressing problems of clinic organization and management are selected for attention here.¹³ First among these are the considerate use of the patient's time and concern for his peace of mind in the matter of timing the clinic service. Necessarily it takes time to come to the clinic in the first place, for it is usually at some distance from the patient's home. But the wear and tear of waiting in crowded reception rooms is, if possible, a greater tax upon him. The American Hospital Association, after extensive experience in this field, includes in its standards for out-patient departments a recommendation that: "The admission of patients should be by appointment at a definite day and hour, as a measure of conserving the time of physician and patient, and promoting economy of space and equipment."¹⁴ That such a proposal is neither revolutionary nor utopian is indicated by the fact that several out-patient departments

¹³ A discussion of many of the important phases of the clinic problem will be found in the detailed report *The Organized Care of the Sick*, by Gertrude Sturges, M.D., made public in the spring of 1935 by the Social Study.

¹⁴ Transactions of the American Hospital Association, 1925.

actually operate one or more of their clinics on the appointment plan. The extent to which this system is in use, however, is not commensurate with its importance, nor does there seem to be sufficient interest in and conviction concerning the desirability of its expansion.

Not only does the patient suffer but the physician suffers as well from the lack of progressive organization of clinic services. The best clinic service can be attained only when the benefits to the physician match to some extent the sacrifice in time and labor that he makes for the service. A great deal of the medical service in out-patient departments, such as refraction, plaster work, and minor surgery, has little educational or developmental value to physicians, and some of it amounts to drudgery. In general, physicians seem to feel that routine physical examinations, or "health examinations," such as welfare agencies sometimes require for their clients, fall into the classification of professional drudgery.

In certain special clinics, such as those for patients with diabetic, cardiac, and similar diseases, the opportunity for studying and following the results of treatment of the special cases, is some compensation to the physician who gives his time to these clinics. Some of the physicians who serve in out-patient departments do not have the professional advantages of association with the senior medical staff on both in- and out-patient service. It is not reasonable for the public and those responsible for maintaining out-patient services to expect physicians to give hours of their time to the routine care of out-patients without compensation. It is recognized, however, that under the existing financial situation hospitals are in no position to pay the physicians who serve in their out-patient departments.

There are other ways in which members of the medical profession may feel that clinic services are either economically detrimental to their welfare or not sufficiently helpful to meet their own or their patients' economic needs. First, there is the question of abuse of dispensary facilities by patients who can afford to pay the private physician's fee. The only way in which this difficulty can be met is by perfecting the system of determining the patient's capacity to pay. Increasingly effective methods have been worked out for this purpose, in Pittsburgh and in other communities, and enough experience has been accumulated in this field to justify an improvement in the methods now in general use in this city. The other difficulty, also amenable to considerable improvement with some effort and coöperation, is the absence of arrangements by which private physicians may use the diagnostic appliances and services of clinics for those of their patients, who, while financially able to obtain medical advice and guidance, cannot afford the fees for X-ray and other scientific accessories to diagnosis.

The administration of clinic services is a complex problem in which the interests of patient, physician, institution, and public, and the task of financial support are inextricably involved, and which is further complicated by the extensive use of clinics for medical education, training and research, and for certain public health activities. Part, at least, of this intricate problem is inseparable from that of hospital organization and support, inasmuch as, with but two exceptions, clinics in this community are the out-patient departments of hospitals. This interrelation is particularly true of the matter of financial support. There is practically nothing about clinics that corresponds to the pay-patient departments of voluntary hospitals. The fee basis on which a large part of the service operates is a nominal one and does not begin to pay for the cost of its administration. The further discussion of clinic finances may be more profitably pursued in connection with the more inclusive problem of hospital finances.

FREE CARE AND THE FINANCIAL PROBLEM OF HOSPITALS AND CLINICS

It is generally recognized by those familiar with hospital administration that the task of conducting such an institution has many of the characteristics of a business enterprise and calls for the maximum application of efficient business administration. The patients are purchasers of a commodity for which they pay, and it is the task of the hospital to provide this commodity at as reasonable cost as possible and, excepting the proprietary institutions, without financial profit to the enterprise. On the other hand, hospitals are not true business enterprises in that they are not organized for profit. Moreover, the tradition of hospitals from the very earliest years of their history, takes for granted the provision of free service to the sick who are unable to pay for medical care. Thus there is a group of consumers of the commodity supplied by the hospital who do not pay for their purchases, and there is a group who pay only a small fraction of the value received. Hospitals, even when not affiliated with medical schools, have become to a considerable degree, institutions of research in the field of medical science. This function is not a direct part of the commodity purchased by the patient. Hospitals are also institutions for medical education, quite apart from any affiliations with medical schools, in that the practicing physician has found in the hospital the opportunity for professional observation and study beyond opportunities provided by his private practice.

At any rate, the present-day hospital, while a business in one sense, is a public service institution in a much larger sense and combines professional, educational, and philanthropic functions with service to the sick. The private patient who purchases his medical needs from the hospital does not pay or intend to pay for these other functions. Hospitals must, therefore, in view of these other services, derive their financial support

from sources other than pay-patients if their expenditures are to include the free care of the poor, or the part-pay care of those with moderate incomes, and also the educational and research functions mentioned.

There are, of course, certain alternatives that might, at least theoretically, be considered as possible: For example, treatment of free patients in the voluntary hospitals might be immediately discontinued. This solution, however, seems hardly practicable. In the first place, the tradition of centuries would not permit it; secondly, there is no other place where free patients may go, the public hospitals being thousands of beds short and already overcrowded; thirdly, the relation of the medical profession to these institutions and to their own professional needs would render the plan unacceptable; and, finally in a practical sense, perhaps most important, the reduction in overhead expenditures and fixed charges would not create a corresponding saving.

Some of these reasons would also hold against any radical reduction in the number of free patients. The indications are, on the contrary, that more rather than less free service is needed. Actually, a reduction has taken place in the total number of patients accepted in hospitals, but this decrease has been principally in pay-patients, and there has been a corresponding demand for free service from patients previously able to pay. As a result, there has been an increasing resistance to the acceptance of free patients because of the financial difficulties of the hospitals. While this resistance has meant that many patients could not get in, the actual number of free patients has, nevertheless, increased.

To render the situation still worse, there has been a tendency to increase and expand institutions by obtaining funds for construction and equipment without any provision for maintenance; and out-patient services, now rendered by all but a negligible number of hospitals, constitute an additional drain on their finances, all the more serious at this time as the out-patient services necessarily attract a large number of persons who previously may have been able to employ private physicians.

It is clear, then, that any solution of the financial difficulties of the voluntary hospitals must be planned on a large scale and by other means. In the following brief summary of the fiscal problems of the hospitals of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County only those facts are brought out that have a direct bearing on the changes proposed in the present report. A detailed and comprehensive statement that covers all essential aspects of the situation was included in the document prepared by Dr. Gertrude Sturges and made public at an earlier date.

Many persons will be surprised to know the financial importance of hospitals in the social economy of our day. As calculated by Rorem,¹⁵ in

¹⁵ C. Rufus Rorem, *The Public Investment in Hospitals*, University of Chicago Press, 1932, p. 25.

1928, they represent, exclusive of a 437-million-dollar endowment, a capital investment of \$3,125,000,000, which places them among the four industries with capital investments exceeding three billions.¹⁶ Estimated for the plant assets of the thirty-five hospitals of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County included in this study, the local share in that grand total is \$41,393,700 (in 1933). The plant assets are variously calculated at from \$1,940 to over \$5,000 per bed in the voluntary hospitals, which means that at a 56 percent occupancy, as reported, the investment of many millions of dollars lies idle, unproductive for investors and useless to patients. The key, of course, is the cost of maintenance, estimated as \$1,500 per bed per annum, and calculated by Rorem¹⁷ to involve, if endowed, \$30,000 per bed. Actual endowment is unthinkable under the circumstances and current maintenance must depend on regular appropriations for tax-supported service and a variety of income for voluntary hospitals.

The sources of support for voluntary hospitals at present are roughly¹⁸ of four types and the amount from each source is indicated below:

	1928		1933	
	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Endowment and investments	\$ 638,200	10.3	\$ 419,800	9.2
Income from pay-patients	4,835,400	78.0	3,135,900	69.4
Philanthropic contributions	272,500	4.5	316,000	7.0
Tax funds	451,900	7.2	677,000	14.4
Total	\$6,198,000	100.0	\$4,548,700	100.0

The decrease of income between 1928 and 1933 from the two largest sources of revenue, namely, income from pay-patients and from investments, has been \$1,917,900 or more than one-third. This has been in part counterbalanced by increases of 16 percent and almost 50 percent, respectively, from contributions and tax funds; but these increases, while large in percentage, amounted to only \$268,600 more for 1933 than the amount for 1928, leaving an apparent difference of \$1,649,300 in total income. Some of this deficit has been taken up by reducing expenditures, inasmuch as every practicable method of saving has been attempted in order to reduce this serious margin between income and outgo. Nevertheless, the total deficit actually incurred in 1933 was some \$350,000 or 60 percent greater than the deficit in 1928. There seems to be very little

¹⁶ Iron and steel, textiles, chemicals, and foods, and their products. *Ibid.*, p. 5 quoting U. S. Bureau of Census.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

¹⁸ For details, see full report by Dr. Sturges. The year 1928 is used as the last pre-depression year, 1933, as the last year for which data were available at the time of this study.

further reduction possible in the cost of operations to absorb the increasing deficits.¹⁹

The social consequence of this increasing deficit is even more serious than its financial aspects. It has already been indicated that hospital services in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County appear to be low in comparison with those in certain other communities. The financial difficulties have resulted in a gross reduction of services given by twenty-six of the voluntary hospitals of from roughly 1,555,000 patient-days in 1928 to 1,263,000 patient-days in 1933, most of the reduction falling on pay-patients for whom there has been a decrease of 32 percent, only slightly made up for by a 5 percent increase in the number of free patient-days given.

Hospitals, naturally, have attempted to increase income from contributions and from state aid, but, there is considerable evidence that the former may have reached its limits, while the latter is subject to conditions that will have to be changed if tax funds are to become sufficiently available to provide necessary hospital care for dependent patients. Three chief weaknesses appear in the system of state aid to hospitals. First, it is insufficient; second, it is not available to sectarian hospitals; third, it is given in uneven and uncertain amounts that bear but partial relation to the free services given by the hospitals. Table 59 clearly indicates that substantial readjustment is necessary before the amount or manner of distribution of state aid to hospitals giving free service may be depended upon.

Income from tax funds is almost entirely state aid. The few exceptions are apparently the following: the city of Pittsburgh pays to voluntary hospitals \$10 per maternity case for clients of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board; the County Poor Directors pay to one outpatient department for treatment of venereal and asthmatic patients; the County Commissioners of Allegheny County have been appropriating the sum of \$10,000 annually to the Tuberculosis League Hospital.

Even though hospitals give both pay and free service and are rightfully regarded both as business organizations and as institutions of public service, their financial problem must be treated as a unit, in which the difficulties of providing paid service can only partially be differentiated from those arising because of the extensive free care given. So far as income directly related to patients is concerned, the financial objectives of the hospital are, in brief, these: (1) to make sure that pay patients really do pay; (2) that funds for free care become available to the full extent of the need; (3) an objective which cuts across these, namely, the elimi-

¹⁹ In the complete report submitted by Dr. Sturges details and illustrations of this situation may be found.

TABLE 59

QUOTA GRANTED FOR STATE AID TO TWENTY-TWO HOSPITALS IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY FOR THE BIENNIUM 1933-35, WITH BED CAPACITY OF HOSPITALS, PROPORTION OF FREE DAYS' CARE TO TOTAL PATIENT DAYS, AND PROPORTION OF FREE DAYS' CARE FOR WHICH STATE AID WAS PAID IN YEAR ENDING MAY 31, 1934

NAME AND SIZE OF HOSPITAL	STATE-AID	BED	FREE DAYS' CARE, PERCENT	CARE PAID
	QUOTA FOR BIENNIUM 1933-35	CAPACITY, OCTOBER 24, 1934	OF TOTAL PATIENT DAYS ^a	FOR BY STATE PERCENT OF TOTAL FREE CARE ^a
Total	\$1,469,650	5,071		
Less than 100 beds				
Belvedere General	3,900	42	33.3	69.2
Ohio Valley General	24,000	70	48.2	73.0
101 to 200 beds				
Allegheny Valley	21,800	105	40.2	49.9
Eye and Ear	24,500	114	44.5	79.2
Homestead	44,800	118	56.1	76.6
Suburban General	15,600	118	28.1	67.1
Valley	29,200	135	32.4	56.9
Braddock General	47,300	137	67.0	68.6
Passavant	54,700	141	56.3	71.8
Tuberculosis League	89,400	150	71.8	53.6
Presbyterian	63,200	163	42.7	63.9
Children's	100,000	200	82.5	55.5
201 to 300 beds				
St. John's General	46,000	202	35.6	65.6
Pittsburgh	55,700	223	37.1	53.3
South Side	71,000	225	40.5	66.5
Montefiore	64,500	227	36.4	54.8
McKeesport	63,000	263	54.4	37.7
More than 300 beds				
Homeopathic	86,000	310	47.0	57.6
Allegheny General	181,200	405	54.1	58.6
Elizabeth Steel Magee	65,000	495	52.2	28.4
St. Francis	156,250	577	24.7 ^b	38.7
Western Pennsylvania	162,600	651	38.1	59.3

^a Year ending May 31, 1934.

^b For one quarter only.

nation, or at least the reduction of clearly unnecessary expenditures, principally those involved in the disorganized expansion of hospital facilities without regard to those already available. With respect to this last objective, the findings of this study lead to the following recommendations:

1. That there be no increase, in the near future, in the number of hospital beds for the general care of acute conditions or for the general care of children.
2. That no future increase of beds in any existing or new institutions, for any type of service, be made until a responsible body has studied and endorsed (a) the necessity in the light of existing facilities and their current utilization and (b) the practicability of adequate financial support of the expanded facilities.

3. That the present situation of overcrowding in the tax-supported hospitals for general care, which may be temporary, be met by using the voluntary hospitals for this type of service and paying them out of tax funds.

These recommendations are not intended to run counter to other recommendations which urge the expansion of certain special facilities, inasmuch as the latter can be carried out without an actual increase in the absolute number of beds available in the voluntary hospitals. These are:

4. That, after the beds now under construction at the city and county mental hospitals are put into use, consideration be given the need for further development of facilities for mental cases, according to the laws regulating the care of such patients and to the accepted standard for their care.

5. That some special provision be made for the observation and treatment of children with mental disease, either in the special governmental hospitals, or in such general hospitals as have adequate psychiatric staff service.

The principal means by which income from pay-patients of limited resources can be increased is through group hospitalization or voluntary insurance for hospital care. This method, commonly called the group insurance method, has been amply described, and its successful operation has been adequately demonstrated in a number of communities. What it offers to the patient is the usual advantage of insurance against unexpected expenditures, spreading the cost and so reducing the burden when the need actually arises. What it offers to the hospitals is an assured income of an appreciable amount to cover particularly that part of its expenditures for which there is least assurance of collectibility and for which no charitable funds are available.²⁰

Funds required for the provision of free services to hospital patients have come, as has already been indicated, from three principal sources: namely, contributions, investments, and tax funds. The first of these sources has provided relatively small amounts, considering the total hospital bill, and has reached practically the limits of its availability. It is the recommendation of this study that the full cost of the care of the indigent be met by tax funds. This means that any income from contributions and endowments that may accrue to voluntary hospitals should be used exclusively for the financing of educational and research activities and such free and "part-pay" care as is necessarily involved in medical education and research. It means the recognition, or at least the proposal, that medical relief, just as any material relief, should be regarded as the

²⁰ The Hospital Conference, to be referred to elsewhere, has taken this recommendation under advisement since the submission of Dr. Sturges's report and has made a number of special inquiries as to the practicability of the method. It is the expectation of some of the leaders in the field in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County that group hospitalization plans involving especially manufacturing plants may be in operation in the near future. See chap. xxi for actual changes.

basic responsibility of the governments, whether local, state, or federal; that providing needed hospital care to those unable to pay should not be subject either to the uncertainties or to the inadequacies of voluntary contributions; that the question to be answered should be only how and from which public source these funds should be obtained and how their distribution should be administered and controlled, rather than whether free hospital care should be financed from private or from public sources.

This proposition, as well as its counterpart in the field of general relief, is founded on two principles, both of which have been regarded as fundamental to all the recommendations of this study: (1) that basic relief is a public function; (2) that, as experience has amply demonstrated, not by the farthest stretch of imagination can private sources be expected in sufficient amounts to insure full and adequate free care.

To all intents and purposes these basic assumptions have been fully accepted in principle by the system of state aid which has been practiced in Pennsylvania for some time. The difficulties of that system, at present, are purely administrative and political. There is complete unanimity on the part of those acquainted with the subject that the equitable distribution of state funds in adequate amounts can only be made possible when an administrative distribution of these appropriations is substituted for the present system of special allotment to each hospital by separate legislative act. A second difficulty, one that will also require legislative remedy, is that which now limits these funds to nonsectarian hospitals. A third difficulty is that state aid as now practiced is too distant from the real local situation to insure the proper sort of supervision and control. It is recommended that all state funds to be allotted to individual hospitals be channeled through the local hospital department, which is also proposed herewith and which will be further described below, and that such a local department exercise complete responsibility over the distribution of free patients to public and private hospitals and over the compensation of voluntary hospitals from tax funds for service given to free patients.

The complications which are added to hospital financing by the responsibility for out-patient services are chiefly, if not exclusively, associated with the problem of free or only nominally compensated services. All clinic service comes under this classification. There is no pay-patient to make up for deficits. In fourteen voluntary hospitals for which information was available, the income from clinic services covered only 41 percent of expenditures in 1928 and 31 percent in 1933, the latter year showing a proportionately larger deficit, with almost four times the amount of expenditures.²¹ This deficit existed despite the fact that clinic physicians

²¹ Income, 1928, \$60,110; 1930, \$71,680; expenditures, 1928, \$146,700; 1930, \$229,400.

(with negligible exceptions) receive no salary, that no diagnostic services are made available for private patients of moderate income, that there is crowding and mass service, and that the county is inadequately served. Publicly supported hospitals give practically no out-patient service.

In view of these and other fiscal problems of hospitals and clinics, the following changes which have a direct bearing on their support, as well as other implications for medical service, would seem to be of pressing importance:

1. Control of new construction and expansion as already indicated in the voluntary hospitals and a large-scale expansion in public institutions.
2. Regularization and expansion of the principle of state aid for the care of free patients, whether in local public hospitals or by the temporary system of per diem payment for free patient care in voluntary institutions.
3. Extension of this principle of tax payment to out-patient and other clinic services.
4. Group hospital insurance for the moderate-income and employee group.
5. Compensation for physicians serving in clinics.
6. Introduction and maintenance of uniform systems and standards for determining financial responsibility of patients—whether in-patients or out-patients—with competent professional personnel.
7. Centralization and local (preferably county) control of payment for free patients to voluntary hospitals and clinics under plans to be outlined below.

MEDICAL RELIEF IN THE HOME

In a complete program of medical service to those unable to pay for it, provision must naturally be made not only for those requiring and receiving hospitalization and for those able to avail themselves of clinic facilities for ambulant patients, but also for those sick at home and in need of medical attention. Their care is part of the comprehensive problem of free medical service for the low-income groups in the population.

There are at least four kinds of assistance that may be required by any person sick enough to need help: medical advice, medical materials, nursing, and hospital care. Not every sick person needs all these things in every illness, but some one or combination of them he must have. He must have them whether rich or poor, whether he lives in apartment house, shack, or farm. If possible, he needs them more if poor than if rich, for the poor are sick more often and contract some diseases more easily than do those better off. The influenza epidemic of 1918 amply demonstrated this fact.²²

What are the organized provisions for this purpose in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County beyond the free care that the family physician may offer within the limits of his own time and means? Medical advice may

²² Edgar Sydenstricker, *Incidence of Influenza Among Persons of Different Economic Status during the Epidemic of 1918*, U. S. Public Health Reports, Reprint No. 1444.

be obtained by the needy sick in their own homes by application to the district municipal or county physician, or by clients of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board, from the family physician whose fee is then payable by that organization in the manner provided by its regulations.

The situation represents two different principles of providing home medical care for the poor: (1) by public officials employed for the purpose; (2) by private practitioners chosen by the patient and paid out of public funds. The experience of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County with city and county physicians has not demonstrated any basic fault with that system *per se*. It has, however, shown such glaring faults of organization, administration, and supervision that nothing short of a radical rebuilding will justify its continuance and further development. Choice of personnel, distribution of services, equalization of rate of fees, the establishment of professional standards, and continuous supervision by competent executives are some of the essentials for making this service acceptable.²³

No fundamental fault has been found with the other system either, that practiced in the Emergency Administration. There is even an admittedly conspicuous advantage in a plan which leaves the choice of the physician to the patient and interposes a minimum of bureaucratic interference between patient and medical practitioner. There are also advantages to the medical profession as a whole in this kind of service. Here, again, administrative and organizational problems are chiefly involved, and these can be adjusted finally only when the relations between state and Federal emergency services and the basic local service have been cleared up and adjusted. If both types of service, each having certain fundamental soundnesses, are to continue, they must be not only strengthened in themselves but also so correlated as to get the maximum advantages out of both. At present, in one way or another, the city Department of Public Welfare, the County Poor Directors, (the respective employers of the city and county physicians), the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board, as the administrator of the emergency system of medical care, and, with respect to preventive service, the city and state departments of health are all involved in this phase of medical relief. It is to be assumed that ultimately the responsibility must be not only concentrated but also localized. When that is done, it should be under a health department, or similar public agency, preferably one organized on a county-wide basis. Professional supervision of both administrative and technical matters is a condition so essential in this type of service that it ought to be introduced without waiting for any final readjustment in the alloca-

²³ A full analysis of the nature of this service and its difficulties will be found in the complete report on *The Organized Care of the Sick* by Dr. Sturges.

tion of services to city, county, state, and federal governments. The system of salaried physicians should be retained only if it is strengthened by the introduction of at least minimum standards as to the qualification, appointments, compensation, supervision, retirement, and methods of reporting by the physicians employed. To obtain the maximum advantages from the system in vogue under the emergency organization, it is also necessary, when a suitable county hospital or health department has been developed, that some experimentation be undertaken with a "panel system" by which patients are permitted to choose their own physicians from a list established for each administrative district, consisting of physicians properly qualified and willing to serve under such a system; the fees to such physicians to be paid from public funds in accordance with schedules to be agreed upon at the proper time, and the whole structure to be properly supervised by competent medical personnel. Whatever the exact administrative character of the service shall be, it cannot, at any rate, be conducted to the greatest advantage of community or patient if it stands by itself, unrelated to other forms of free medical service. Hospital, clinic, and home care must be parts of an integrated plan that assures a maximum continuity and unity of care to the patient. This system would still leave the provision of services to ambulant patients as a function of clinics in both out-patient departments of hospitals and independent organizations.

A fundamental reorganization of the system of medical service in the home or through clinics will help to adjust the continuous difficulties experienced in providing necessary medicines and medical supplies. There has been a variety of rulings on these essential items in medical care. There are recognized difficulties inherent in this phase of medicine, serious enough without further complications through inappropriate and unnecessary administrative involvements.

A condition too often overlooked is that needy patients may not belong exclusively to one category; that is, hospital, clinic, or home cases. Their status may, and in a large number of instances does, change back and forth from one to another. Moreover, it is not unusual to have different members of the same family require medical aid at the same time and in different ways. Fractional systems are bound to work inefficiently, and nothing short of an integration of the whole system of services under competent management and administration will meet the complexities of the problem.

The hospital care needed by these patients has been discussed in the preceding pages. Those difficulties that are not inherent in the hospital problem itself may relate to the admission of patients who are receiving the benefits either of clinic service or of medical aid rendered in the

patient's home. The transfer of responsibility and ways of facilitating the transition from one type of service to another are administrative matters that are bound to present continuous difficulties until such time as these medical services are centrally organized and internally adjusted. One means of minimizing the hardships arising from the present multiplicity of systems is the extension and more adequate functioning of social service departments in clinics and hospitals. Unfortunately, this phase of social medical service is one that has been least developed in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, especially on its quantitative side.²⁴

Two types of nursing services are needed by patients outside hospitals: first, preventive and educational service, second, bedside nursing in case of illness. The shortcomings of Allegheny County on the preventive and educational nursing services are part of its inadequate public health facilities in general.²⁵ Bedside nursing services, especially for certain diseases, have been recognized as of coördinate importance with other important aspects of medical aid but constitute, unfortunately, one of the most expensive of services. In recent decades more and more free or low-fee nursing services have been made available to the economically less fortunate members of the population through the visiting nurse and public health nursing organizations. While the preventive and educational work in the field of nursing has been to a considerable extent developed under public auspices through health departments and in schools, bedside nursing has been left entirely to private initiative. The thesis that this type of medical aid is important enough to justify making certain of its provision for the indigent, as well as for those able to pay, brings it in line with other medical relief which we assume as an obligation of the public authorities. It has been shown in the present study that the combined needs for preventive and bedside nursing in Allegheny County are met to not more than 20 percent of the extent needed. By no stretch of imagination can an adequate service be provided from private sources. It is essential, therefore, that in a well-rounded program of medical relief bedside nursing, as well as preventive work, be made available in close association with medical treatment.

Opinions differ as to whether the administrative control of bedside nursing in cases of indigent patients shall be placed in the hands of the public authorities who are to be entrusted with the provision of medical services, medicines, clinics, and so forth. In Pittsburgh and Allegheny County this is unfortunately only an academic question at present, since the municipal health department has taken no steps to provide bedside nursing under its own auspices; no county health department exists; and no public funds have been made available to the Public Health Nurs-

²⁴ See *supra*, chap. xvi.

²⁵ See *infra*, chap. xix.

ing Association for the provision of all necessary free nursing care.²⁶ The Public Health Nursing Association does, in fact, now provide this sort of care to the extent of its resources and in coöperation with the public authorities. Two methods of expanding this service have been suggested: (1) the appropriation by municipal and county authorities of funds to be used by the Public Health Nursing Association in giving bedside nursing to those patients who are charges of either government; (2) that bedside nursing, as well as other forms of medical relief provided by public authorities, be administered by them whenever the suitable departmental organization and expert professional supervision and control have been made available.²⁷

STANDARDIZATION, COÖRDINATION, CONTROL, AND RESEARCH

No attempt was made in the course of the present study to ascertain the quality of work done in the various medical institutions. Such a study would have been both inappropriate to the general task and impossible within the resources and personnel available. There are certain general safeguards that the citizen of a community has with respect to the caliber of work done in its medical institutions. These are principally ratings and reports based on examinations of nation-wide organizations and associations. Thus, the American College of Surgeons, which has since 1918 made annual surveys of hospitals of twenty-five beds and more, publishes a list of institutions that meet its requirements. Hospitals are either provisionally approved or fully approved in accordance with recognized standards. Approval in this sense is based largely upon organizational and external factors rather than upon an examination of medical services actually rendered. Unfortunately, the principal public hospitals in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County are not included in the list of hospitals approved by this organization. The report rendered in the course of the study by the Mayor's Committee on the Administration of Municipal Hospitals presents a situation in some of these medical institutions which would hardly justify their inclusion on lists of approved hospitals.

The American Medical Association also issues lists, both in its *Journal* and in its *American Medical Directory of Registered Hospitals and Related Institutions in the United States of America*. This same organization publishes additional lists of hospitals approved for internship and for residencies and specialties. Any interested citizen may find for himself which of the community's hospitals are included in these several lists.²⁸ The American Hospital Association also publishes an annual list of its institutional memberships. These are not to be interpreted in the same manner as the pre-

²⁶ Cf. *infra*, especially pp. 827 ff.

²⁷ Cf. *infra*, chap. xix.

²⁸ For full detail see the report by Dr. Sturges—*Organized Care of the Sick*.

ceding lists, but they give some general indication of the progressiveness of a given hospital. Seven of the hospitals included in the study were not to be found in this list. Among these were the Allegheny County Home and Hospital, Leech Farm and Tuberculosis Hospital, Municipal Hospital, and Pittsburgh City Home and Hospital. The first three of these are not among those annually examined by the American College of Surgeons for purposes of approval. The State Board of Medical Education and Licensure also lists hospitals approved for internship, and by consulting this list, also, the citizen may get further indirect suggestions as to the general standards obtaining in any hospital.

There is a further check represented by the powers given to the State Department of Public Welfare for licensing and supervising certain classes of hospitals. All hospitals, maternity and nursing homes (including institutions for the care of the chronic and convalescent) in both the city and county, which are operated for profit, and all nonprofit institutions located in the county outside of Pittsburgh that provide maternity service, are licensed and supervised by the State Department of Public Welfare.

Further control is exercised over those institutions receiving state aid. Under the Administrative Code of Pennsylvania, the Department of Public Welfare is given supervisory powers of considerable importance that can be made effective both directly and indirectly and have actually resulted in considerable improvement. By special provision, further powers are given to the Department of Public Welfare over institutions caring for mental patients. Additional safe-guards are represented also by powers given to the State Department of Public Instruction through its Board of Medical Education and Licensure by the indirect method of standardizing conditions for internship and residency. Similar provisions cover in part the training of nurses in hospitals.

Research, as relating strictly to the medical content of hospitals, is necessarily extraneous to the scope of this study. Research within the field of community use and the reporting of services has, however, considerable pertinent importance. No local medical organization in Pittsburgh or Allegheny County carries on research within this socio-medical area of interest. The Bureau of Social Research of the Federation of Social Agencies began in 1931, in connection with the system of national collection of social statistics, to secure monthly reports on the work of hospitals, convalescent homes, maternity homes, and all out-patient services of hospitals and clinics, and, more recently, of the noninstitutional care given to the sick by district physicians, the Emergency Relief Board, and public health nurses. Inasmuch as one of our chief problems lies in making existing facilities available to as large a proportion of the community as is possible, studies in the distribution of demand and provision of services

are exceedingly important. Certainly the expansion of out-patient facilities as a whole, particularly for the "county area," should be guided by researches of this type. A more thorough integration of the work of this bureau with similar interests of the public health authorities, the General Health Council, and particularly of the Hospital Conference constitute a desirable immediate objective.

The Hospital Conference has, up to the time of this study, limited its activities principally to common problems of a purely business or administrative character. The caliber of its work and leadership has, however, justified the hope that it might expand its scope of activities to correspond more nearly to its potential field of interests. Its services would be particularly invaluable in that phase of coördination which would control the expansion of voluntary hospital facilities. But it can serve such a function as this only by drawing into its activities lay leadership and donor interests. This uncoördinated and unplanned expansion has been shown to be responsible for a large portion of the financial difficulties of voluntary hospitals. It is also probable that the development of a group insurance plan, among other desirable activities, may best be promoted through an expanded Hospital Conference. There is every indication that this body is planning to realize its potentialities by an immediately expanding program.

The most important task of coördination, one which is inseparably associated with improved standards of service and with any assurance that low-income patients will receive necessary hospital treatment, is tied up with the problem of the distribution and support of free patients in hospitals, whether public or private. Elsewhere recommendations have been made for the creation of a county health department and for the transfer to such a department of the control and supervision of salaried public physicians and certain other services. It is also recommended that as soon as practicable a county hospital department should be established to which should be allocated the responsibility for the management and control of existing municipal and county hospitals and of additional hospitals under public financing and control that are necessary to bring this community up to the level of other large cities in the provision of free hospital beds. It is recognized that until a complete system of public hospitals for this purpose has been established, especially in view of the financial plight of the voluntary hospitals, the unused beds of the latter should by some contractual arrangement be made available to free patients at public expense. It is not practicable to postpone every improvement in the existing uncoördinated hospital situation until such time as a perfect alignment of state, Federal, and local governments may be established or until their relations to voluntary hospitals are com-

pletely reorganized and ultimate assurance is obtained of adequate funds for all free hospital treatment that may be needed. In what order improvements will take place and what steps must lead up to the final system may depend upon local events and conditions that cannot be foretold. The essential conditions of a final system may, however, be sketched out in the hope that a series of steps will be speedily arranged.

Assuming that the core of the future administration of public hospitals will be an Allegheny County hospital department, a system of adequate free hospital care can be envisaged as related to such a department. It will be one of its chief tasks to plan the best use of existing facilities of privately financed hospitals and to plan for expansion of public hospitals. This department must, however, also accept complete responsibility for the assignment or allocation of free patients, except as they may be admitted in emergency. Per diem payments, whether their ultimate fiscal source is state, national, or local government, should be made by order of this department at rates to be established in consultation with the respective hospitals and upon approval of the state authorities in accordance with regulations to be established by the county hospital department.

Funds utilized under the department's authority for the care of free patients may come from at least three sources:

(a) State aid now given directly to hospitals should be changed into a grant-in-aid to the county for allocation under local control, not subject to political favors and established at a rate planned to approximate the cost of hospital care, and arrived at by experiment and negotiation.

(b) Federal funds from the national relief administration to be utilized in accordance with regulations to be established by the Federal government and accepted by the state.

(c) Supplementing these funds, especially for use in payment to sectarian hospitals now ineligible to state funds, money to be raised from local tax authorities for that purpose in the same manner as such funds are raised for the support of patients in the public hospitals.

To uphold the technical standards of hospital services under public control, it will be desirable to admit pay-patients to these institutions so as to render them comparable to institutions under private control by securing the interest of the best medical talent available in the community. This practice is current in many communities in the country and has proved itself beneficial to the interests of patient and physician. There are further functions that such a county hospital department, especially in conjunction with an association of voluntary hospitals, may exercise in relation to the development of out-patient work and the coöperation of medical research and education. For the orderly development of free-patient service, however, and for assurance that no person shall go without hospital care merely because of financial inability to pay, is a task

that is equally the responsibility of the existing body of voluntary hospitals and of the city and county to be exercised through a hospital department such as that proposed.

To that department should be transferred all the medical institutions now controlled by the Directors of the Poor of Allegheny County and the Department of Public Welfare of the City of Pittsburgh, leaving under the care of these departments only the custody of indigent persons who are not primarily in need of medical service, such as the aged.

UNMET NEEDS

The technical inquiry into the available organized care for the sick in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County has been focused on the nature and distribution of the existing services more than on gaps in those services where needs were not being met. Some of these gaps have, however, been so obvious that they should not be overlooked, even with this orientation of the study in mind. Many of these omissions lie more strictly in the field of public health administration and will be alluded to elsewhere. There is serious inadequacy in the provision of dental care for the indigent. Details have been presented in the full report. Suffice it to say here that this appears one of the most neglected areas of treatment. The inadequate provisions for clinic and convalescent care have been pointed out. A failure to plan equitably for the care of Negroes has been found here as in many other communities. An important phase of this lack, however, extends beyond medical care of Negro patients into the realm in a sense more serious, of inadequate provision for the training and progressive study of professional members of the Negro race. Not only do hospitals and sanatoria fail to give Negro in-patients the same access to service as white patients, but Negro physicians are not given the uniform privilege of treating their private patients in hospitals through the only simple and efficient method of doing this, namely, by membership in the organized or courtesy staffs of hospitals. Negro physicians are not given opportunities to work in out-patient departments of hospitals nor are opportunities given internes and nurses of the Negro race for training in the hospitals in the community. Especially does the obligation of giving such opportunity devolve upon the tax-supported hospitals, which ought, so far as possible, to make a special effort to make up in this way the practical discrimination suffered by the Negro professionals in voluntary hospitals. Improvement of this type would directly redound to more generous service to patients.

Many other unmet needs are suggested throughout this study, which can, however, be made manifest and clear-cut only by consistent studies of the type that ought to be carried on through organized routine research,

such as that of the Bureau of Social Research of the Federation of Social Agencies and the activities of the Hospital Conference when its functions have been properly expanded.

The situation with respect to the organized care of the sick may be summed up in a brief recapitulation of its assets and an epitomized review of the principal ways in which its liabilities might be diminished. In any case, no reference is made to the quality of medical service rendered in any part of the system. Our inquiry did not touch upon that phase of the service.

Among assets may be classed, in the first place, the availability of apparently abundant facilities for the care of acute cases of illness, a system of state aid for free-patient service in hospitals, a variety of clinic provisions, an appreciation of the advantages of business-like hospital management, an active Hospital Conference with vision and energy, a body of trustees devoted to the interests of the hospitals, a Federation of Social Agencies earnestly coöperating, both through its administration and through its Bureau of Social Research, the makings of an effective system of home care by city and county physicians, and the medical relief program of the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board, far-seeing state authorities exercising supervision, and the existence of a sound economic basis for taxation and public administration.

For meeting the many liabilities, only some of the most important recommendations are mentioned here. A more comprehensive list will be found elsewhere.²⁹ These include the following:

Of greatest importance is the proposal that a county hospital department be created to administer the medical institutions now under the Pittsburgh Department of Public Welfare and the County Directors of the Poor, to increase the number of beds in public hospitals (especially for acute cases, the tuberculous, convalescent, and mental patients), to exercise full administrative control of the distribution and care of free-patients and payment therefor from various public funds.

Expansion of clinic facilities, especially for the county areas, is probably next in importance.

The reorganization of medical service in the home under a county health department and the integration of this service in a comprehensive program of medical care for the poor is equally necessary.

Recommendations have been made toward the rectification of the financial problems of hospitals and medical service by:

- (a) Controlling the expansion of voluntary hospitals
- (b) Regularizing and expanding tax aid for free-patients
- (c) Introducing group insurance
- (d) Converting part of the capital plant of voluntary hospitals to public service
- (e) Paying physicians in clinics
- (f) Reorganizing the pay service in clinics

²⁹ Cf. *infra*, Appendix B.

For the benefit of patients it is of utmost importance to provide more adequate facilities for special types of cases, such as tuberculous children, for all Negro patients and for convalescents; to improve clinic service by such devices as an appointment system; to provide diagnostic service to private patients with moderate means and extend the availability of medicines, prosthetic appliances, and laboratory service.

All these and many other suggestions will be more easily carried out if more effective and inclusive coöperation can be effected among medical and social agencies, public and voluntary bodies, through the expansion of the activities of the Hospital Conference, Federation of Social Agencies, General Health Council, and the medical profession.

CHAPTER XIX

PUBLIC HEALTH ADMINISTRATION

Organization of public health administration.—Administrative machinery.—Topographical factors.—Expenditures for public health administration.—Technical services of public health administration: Vital statistics, laboratories, sanitation, food and milk control.—Coördination, promotion, and research.—Direct services, diagnosis and care; communicable diseases, case reporting.—Tuberculosis control.—Venereal disease control.—School health supervision.—Maternity and child health.—Public health nursing services; health education.

THEORETICALLY there is a clear line of demarcation between public health service and the care of the sick: the former being devoted to prevention of disease, the latter to its care or alleviation. Actually public health administration¹ shades off not only into care of the sick but even into economic relief. Prevention, especially in the field of communicable diseases, is frequently inseparable from the treatment of individual cases. Often when not inherently associated with medical care, the occurrence of illness offers the opportunity for health education, which is so important an item in the prevention of disease. The point of tangency with economic relief occurs also in connection with treatment, since the latter, when necessary, may require expenditures generally

¹ The discussion of public health administration contained in this chapter represents a condensed version of the report submitted by Ira V. Hiscock, Professor of Public Health, Yale School of Medicine. Professor Hiscock was assisted by the late Marion H. Ewalt, of the Bureau of Social Research of the Federation of Social Agencies, especially in that phase of the subject dealing with the city of Pittsburgh, which has been published in full as *The Appraisal of Public Health Activities in Pittsburgh*, by the same Bureau. Further assistance was given by J. H. Watkins, instructor in public health, Yale School of Medicine, and by Alma C. Haupt, R.N., associate director of the National Organization of Public Health Nursing, who made a special study of the public health nursing situation. The entire report, as well as that on the organized care of the sick, also received the help of the Social Study's technical committee on health services, consisting of Michael M. Davis, Ph.D., Chairman, C.-E. A. Winslow, Dr. P.H., and Nathaniel W. Faxon, M.D., who gave minute study to the report and recommendations. Professor Hiscock was able to draw also on other parts of the study, particularly the findings of Dr. Gertrude Sturges, summarized in the preceding chapter, and the county study, conducted by Elizabeth T. Alling of the staff. His acknowledgments are also to staff members of the Bureau of Social Research, members of the Allegheny County Medical Association, the State Department of Health, and a number of public and voluntary agencies.

beyond the means of the patient and is therefore provided as the equivalent of economic relief. In view of this inevitable overlapping, public health administration may conveniently be subdivided into three phases: (1) organization proper, dealing with the machinery and facilities of administration, (2) technical services (non-personal) associated chiefly with disease prevention, and (3) direct services to individuals associated with the diagnosis and care of patients presenting problems of public health. The data available for the present report are classified accordingly:

1. *Organization of public health administration*
 - Nature of the community as bearing on the problem
 - Division of labor between state, county, and local community and voluntary agency
 - Cost and support
2. *Technical services*
 - Vital statistics
 - Epidemiology and laboratories
 - Sanitation (water, sewage, garbage removal, and so forth)
 - Food and milk control
 - Coördination, promotion, and research
3. *Direct services, diagnostic, and care*
 - Control of communicable diseases
 - General
 - Veneral
 - Tuberculosis
 - School health
 - Maternity and child hygiene
 - Health education
 - Nursing services

ORGANIZATION OF PUBLIC HEALTH ADMINISTRATION

Allegheny County, from the point of view of public health administration, is an enormous community spread over 725 square miles and containing, by the 1930 census, a population of 1,374,410 persons. It is not a homogeneous city evenly distributed. It is not even all urban in character as we have already seen. The population clings to the rivers, receding from them as the pressure demands, especially along the lesser valleys. Smaller aggregations of the population are sprinkled over the county, away from the rivers, around the hundreds of mines, and, in a few instances, as suburban communities. Nearly 85 percent (84.6) of the total county population was classified by the census of 1930 as urban; of the remaining part, 14.2 percent were considered rural-nonfarm, leaving a negligible 1.2 percent of farming population—in a community which, because it is called a county, is often thought of as rural. The census also subdivides population as distributed among communities of various sizes. According to this classification, 3.7 percent of the population is

found in communities of less than 2,500 inhabitants, while nearly nine-tenths of the population lives in places of more than 5,000.²

The urban areas of this county are practically contiguous, divided by imaginary lines of governmental jurisdiction, and leaving hardly more than 5 or 10 percent of the population in physically separate smaller communities. The health situation in such a county is likely to present common problems more frequently than separate, similar rather than different. One would assume that the administration of public health in Allegheny County would be conducted as a unified service. Actually it is subject to 123 separate governmental units (cities, boroughs, and townships).³ Ninety-one of these are by law required to conduct their own public health administration, while thirty, being so-called second-class townships (presenting less than three hundred persons per square mile) are regarded as communities at large, served, if at all, by the state's central health service. Within certain legally established mandatory limits, therefore, a relatively uniform urban population of 1,278,000 (93 percent outside the second-class townships) is served by ninety-one public health bodies. Subtracting the population of the four cities (Pittsburgh, McKeesport, Clairton, and Duquesne), the remaining eighty-seven health administrations divide responsibility for 546,300 persons. But this, as will be clear from further details, is still too simple a statement of the absurd situation in Allegheny County.

ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY

The State Department of Health has authority to make and enforce rules and regulations with regard to general sanitation, water pollution, sewage disposal, nuisances, communicable diseases, quarantine, and narcotic drugs. This authority, with respect to enforcement, is not exercised directly within municipalities larger than the second-class townships. Larger municipalities are required to provide their own administrative machinery for maintenance of public health. Each of them, therefore, has a health officer. In most instances there are boards of health of five members, appointed by the local municipal council. The local health officer, usually a layman, is appointed by the board of health. He is usually employed on a part-time basis and paid by the local community on either a fee or a salary system. There is little concern on the part of local officials for participation in public health activities on a county basis. The local

² See also above, chap. ii.

³ Divided as follows:

<i>Government units (as of 1934)</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent of population</i>
Cities	4	55
Boroughs	64	28
First-class townships	23	10
Second-class townships	30	7

community is the chief point of interest except when communicable diseases cross municipal boundaries, as they have a way of doing. The local health officer theoretically receives a report on each case of a communicable disease from the attending physician, forwards one copy to the county medical director and the other to the State Department of Health. If special medical service is required in connection with a communicable disease case, a local physician is usually employed on a fee basis, although the county medical director may be called. Most of the work of these local health officers actually has to do with quarantine, the follow-up of nuisance complaints, and sanitary inspections. A few municipalities have public health personnel in addition to the health officer, but the only organization of any size outside Pittsburgh is in McKeesport.⁴

The areas contained in second-class townships, perhaps on the theory that communities so sparsely populated cannot have adequate resources for proper health care, are made the direct responsibility of the State Department of Health and are served by health officers and sanitary inspectors provided by the state. At this point, however, our cumbersome governmental tradition steps in to complicate matters: for while the state assumes responsibility, it also respects the existence of county boundaries and carries on various phases of health work on a county-wide basis. For this purpose a county medical director is appointed and paid by the state in each county except Philadelphia. He is the direct representative of the State Secretary of Health. As such, he carries a dual rôle. He is the health officer for second-class townships within the county and is assisted in this work by such staff as may be assigned to him. He is also the representative of the State Health Department in the county at large, including all municipalities of whatever order, in so far as their health administration is subject to state control. This authority is, however, nominal and potential rather than real. His staff in Allegheny County consists of three health officers (really quarantine and sanitary officials, all laymen), four public health nurses, and certain school medical inspectors to be referred to later,⁵ while the director himself gives part-time only. Theoretically, he is responsible for enforcing all public health and sanitary laws of the state and the regulations of the State Department of Health

⁴ Here the health officer is active and interested in doing a constructive job, but he is handicapped by insufficient trained personnel and inadequate financial support. The staff consists of two sanitary inspectors (one part-time), a meat and milk inspector, a bacteriologist and a clerk for the laboratory, and a plumbing inspector. Sewickley employs a bacteriologist on part time. Duquesne has two half-time inspectors called "health officers."

⁵ Sanitary engineering and milk inspection services, also provided by the state, are administered through districts not coterminous with counties and usually include as many as six to eight counties.

in his county and for supervision and direction of his county personnel. While he does not serve the clinics, he is supposed to know what is going on. Under some circumstances, he is responsible for the official vaccination of school children. He is a consultant for any physician in connection with the diagnosis of communicable disease, and in questions of disputed diagnosis, is the final arbiter. He is responsible for the supervision of the work of boards of health in the boroughs and first-class townships. He may recommend that local boards of health be abolished when inefficient and that the work be taken over by the State Department of Health at local expense until an efficient local board has been organized. Only in boroughs and first-class townships can he recommend the dismissal of the local board of health.

He is concerned with the arrangements made for the sale of milk from dairy farms or other premises quarantined for a milk-borne disease. Quarantined farms cannot sell to pasteurizing plants, but can sell whole milk to pulverizing or powdered milk firms, or to condensing plants. He supervises and directs the work of the health officers (the sanitary and quarantine officials) and nurses and school inspectors supplied by the State, and he serves in an advisory capacity to the local registrars in the collection of vital statistics. And with all these responsibilities, the county health officer for Allegheny County gives only part time to this task.

The duties of the three quarantine and sanitary officers (called local health officers) employed by the state and working under the direction of the county director are: to receive reports from physicians of cases of communicable disease outside the areas which have their own boards of health, to establish and maintain quarantine (controlled contacts) under the state regulations, to search out and round up missed cases (unreported cases), and to quarantine them, and to make sanitary inspections, including the follow-up of nuisance complaints.

Thus far we have then:

1. A state department with general authority
2. Municipal health officers in communities other than second-class townships
3. Direct state service in the latter through county medical directors
4. County-wide supervision by the state, through the county medical director, of all public health administration, including boroughs, townships, and cities
5. Certain general health controls exercised through state personnel for the state as a whole or by districts

But there are further complications: cutting across this classification there are two other public health functions presenting still different organizational schemes. These are vital statistics and school medical inspection. Vital statistics remains the direct responsibility of the State

Health Department. Inasmuch as these statistics are necessarily based on local reporting, a system of registration of vital statistics has been worked out under the direct supervision of the State Bureau of Vital Statistics,⁶ and only incidentally paralleling the hierarchy of public health administration. There were at the time of the present inquiry 120 registrars of vital statistics in Allegheny County, theoretically subject to supervision by the county medical officer, but actually reporting directly to Harrisburg.

School medical inspection is designed to follow school systems rather than the organization of public health administration. It is therefore set up in relation to school districts. School medical inspection is assigned to local authorities in first-, second-, and third-class school districts,⁷ subject to supervision by the State Health Department; school medical inspection in fourth-class school districts (like general public health administration in second-class townships) is retained as a state responsibility and is carried on (with a few negligible exceptions occasioned by local initiative) by local physicians, appointed by the state and paid by per capita fees, who is responsible to the county medical director as a representative of the state. There is, by reason of the legal definitions involved, no relationship between the classification by type of municipality for general health administration and that by school district for school medical inspection. Thirty-five of the sixty-four boroughs and eleven of the twenty-three first-class townships are actually classified within the fourth-class school districts.

TOPOGRAPHICAL FACTORS

There are certain difficulties inherent in the topography and industrial character of the Pittsburgh district that would make the task of public health administration difficult enough without the artificial jigsaw puzzle of jurisdictions. While dwellings tend to keep to the valleys and cluster around industrial and commercial foci, there is not enough level space around these centers to provide adequate residential areas. Thousands of families are forced up the hillsides. The hills are, in fact, preferable dwelling places and are sought by those in better economic circumstances. But hillsides and plateaus are good places on which to live only if adequate resources are available to overcome the natural difficulties presented with regard to access, transportation, water supply, sewage, drain-

⁶ For further details, see *infra*, pp. 785 ff.

⁷ Divided as follows:

<i>School districts</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent of population</i>
First-class, over 500,000	1	49
Second-class, 30,000 to 50,000	1	4
Third-class, 5,000 to 30,000	47	35
Fourth-class, under 5,000	72	12

ing, grading, and landscaping. The better residential areas afford and provide these advantages. The poorer dwellings forced up the hills inherit the difficulties of the terrain without their advantages, and thus they present inherent risks for health. If public health is "purchasable," as we are told, that commodity commands too high a price under these conditions in areas lacking in economic resources and without jurisdictional advantage of pooling or equalizing costs. To the dangers to health arising from low wages and inadequate employment and from the smoke and sulphur due to the heavy industries, there are added the natural difficulties due to topography, inappropriate governmental organization, excessive cost of sanitary engineering, and, unfortunately, a serious lack of public interest or dynamic and competent leadership.

In estimating the amount for which public health may be purchased in a community such as Allegheny County, one must not follow too slavishly the experience in other communities. There are "overhead costs," constituting an enormous initial burden, from which other communities are relatively free. The handicap of topography must add considerably to the cost of street or road building, sewage disposal, water supply, bridge viaducts, and grading—all essential to public sanitation, before comparison with other communities can be made fairly. While this situation is admittedly complicated, it remains true on the other hand that the factors that enter into the determination of endemic or epidemic diseases take no cognizance of the balance sheet and pay no attention to difficulties of travel, to accessibility, or to municipal boundaries and budgets.

EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC HEALTH ADMINISTRATION

An attempt was made to obtain some data on the cost—that is, on expenditures—for public health in Allegheny County. Information is scarce and not easily available. Whatever generalizations may be based on the figures at hand, it should be borne in mind that any expenditures actually made should be discounted to allow for the extent, at present unascertainable, to which other expenditures preconditioning public health may have been provided by way of drainage, sewerage, and water supply.

The expenditures by official agencies for strictly public health purposes in the county, including Pittsburgh, in 1934 amount to only 50 cents per capita. This amount excludes, so far as possible, expenditures for garbage and refuse collection, plumbing inspection, and similar activities that do not properly belong in the health department, as well as maintenance of hospitals. Expenditures for school medical inspection are included. This calculation assumes that information for forty-seven boards of health and

thirty-seven school districts from which, by a variety of methods, information was secured, represents a fair sample of the situation in other communities of similar size or organization. To these expenditures have been added those of the county and state for local public health purposes in Allegheny County. The expenditures of the municipalities, exclusive of Pittsburgh, average only thirty cents per capita, more than half being for school health services. It is probable that the expenditures for the communities supplying data are higher, on the average, than for those not replying to our questionnaire.

Table 60 gives the bases of these estimates in some detail but gains its chief significance not so much from the general average, which must be regarded as somewhat speculative, but from the wide range of expenditures among the municipalities and groups of municipalities represented.⁸

It is to be noted that in Clairton, for example, only 10 percent of the expenditure is by the Board of Health, the remainder being for school health service. In Pittsburgh appropriate deductions from the Health

TABLE 60
EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC HEALTH IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY, 1934

OFFICIAL AREA COVERED	TOTAL	CENTS PER CAPITA	ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS COVERED
Pittsburgh ^a	\$461,291	69	Board of health and school
Clairton	10,327	67	
Duquesne ^b	5,846	27	
McKeesport ^c	16,020	29	
47 first-class township and borough boards of health	28,656	12	Board of health only
37 third-class school districts	51,059	18	School only
3 fourth-class school districts	3,874	21	School only
County, vital statistics	7,774	...	
State, county, personnel, and supplies	24,269	...	
Known official expenditures	609,116	...	Including whole County
Estimated expenditures, balance of county ^d	62,000	24	Including school and board of health
Total estimated official expenditures	671,116	50	Including whole county

^a Exclusive of some \$95,941 for plumbing, city physicians, extra school milk, and city obstetrical service, \$298,000 for tuberculosis and communicable-disease hospitals, and \$1,122,410 for garbage and refuse collection.

^b School cost estimated.

^c Exclusive of \$2,043 for care of dump and plumbing.

^d Estimated for balance of county on basis of samples reporting.

⁸ Too late for our present purposes it was learned, that a possibly exhaustive statistical basis for these calculations might be contained in the data available in the Pennsylvania Economic Council, Philadelphia, Pa. Cf. *supra*, chap. ii.

Department expenditures are made in this table because of the overburdened budgets for garbage, refuse, and plumbing services. In 1934 the Pittsburgh Department of Health spent \$1,122,410 for garbage and refuse collection and disposal as contrasted with \$259,602 for hospitalization of communicable diseases and for tuberculosis cases and \$498,746 for other services, essential to public health. The combined expenditures by the Department of Health and the Department of Public Education for strictly public health purposes amounted to only \$461,291, or 69 cents per capita. The major expenditure thus had little to do directly with the prevention of disease and the conservation of health, desirable as such service is from a municipal house-cleaning standpoint.

An examination of the figures shown below for 61 of the 123 municipalities in Allegheny County, for which relatively complete data have become available, indicates that more than two-thirds of them spent less than thirty cents per capita in 1934, including school medical inspection, as against a conservative "standard" of \$1 per capita:

EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC HEALTH <i>Per capita distributions in cents</i>	NUMBER OF MUNICIPALITIES REPORTING
More than 90	2 (Edgeworth and Neville)
80-90	...
70-79	2 (Elizabeth Borough and Greentree)
60-69	3 (Clairton, Sewickley, and Pittsburgh)
50-59	2 (Millvale and Elizabeth Town)
40-49	3
30-39	5
20-29	16
10-19	13
Less than 10	15

There are, of course, some voluntary agencies that devote their resources to public health services, but they cover only part of the county and are almost entirely nursing services. There is no community in the county with a public health program which can be regarded as adequate, even according to minimum standards.

Nearly three-quarters of a million dollars are expended for health purposes by official bodies in the county, including Pittsburgh. This sum is far too small, but with a trained and experienced director of health and a trained staff, working in a city-county health department with district branches, the county could be far more effectively served even on this budget. If a county health department served only the area outside Pittsburgh, the \$200,000 expended there would be more effectively invested if administered under one trained director of health than by the present method, through a hundred lay health officers, most of whom have not had the benefit of any public health experience or training.

A business concern or an industry would not long survive administration of the type permitted for health work in Allegheny County. There have been adequate demonstrations that public health is a purchasable commodity and that expenditures for carefully planned health programs executed by trained workers yield large dividends. Allegheny County has sufficient resources to provide a reasonably adequate public health program. For the county as a whole there is needed, through combined services of official and voluntary agencies, a budget of \$1.75 to \$2.00 per capita, exclusive of hospitalization. At least one dollar per capita should be provided from official sources alone. These amounts are needed over and above the money spent through any department for garbage, refuse, and plumbing work. The allocation of these funds, according to present experience, might be somewhat as follows:

	PERCENT
Vital statistics	3.5
Preventable diseases, including nursing, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases	37.7
Maternity and child hygiene, including nursing	38.3
Inspection services	14.5
Laboratory	6.0

The policy followed up to the present time has been to regard the city, borough, and first-class townships as primary units of health administration, with the county medical director, a state employee, serving these units in a supervisory capacity and the second-class townships directly. Upon local lay health officers, assisted by the county medical director, has fallen the responsibility not only for sanitation and communicable disease control but also for newer lines of public health work which have elsewhere become major factors in health conservation during the past quarter century. But the local system has undergone no important change to keep pace with modern developments so far as official departments are concerned, except in a few places, notably Pittsburgh, or in a relatively few functions, such as school medical inspection. The State Department of Health, with very limited resources, has attempted to help bridge the gaps; and the non-official agencies, especially the Public Health Nursing Association and the Tuberculosis League, have rendered invaluable services. There is, however, no coördination of the numerous activities, no organization to determine what the county needs in the way of health service, except possibly the poorly equipped State Department of Health, and no legislative or administrative machinery for supplying this need. The result is a poorly balanced and very incomplete health service, on which considerable sums of money are being spent, but with limited returns.

Past experience and the data obtained in this inquiry lead inevitably

to the conclusion that the outstanding need in the public health service of Allegheny County is for fundamental reorganization and strengthening. Some of the services are poorly developed and other important activities show hardly a beginning in certain localities. A complete, efficient, well-rounded health service for the whole county will require additional personnel and budget. But, even at the present rate of expenditure it would be possible to organize health service on a more efficient basis, through a county health department, soundly conceived. At any rate, what is needed above all things for reasonable administration of public health in Allegheny County is a county health department with comprehensive powers and complete jurisdiction (under State supervision). This step may involve legislative enactment but is absolutely essential for public health.

TECHNICAL SERVICES OF PUBLIC HEALTH ADMINISTRATION

Under this heading may be subsumed as among the essential and basic services required, at least the following:

Vital statistics	Sanitation and inspection
Laboratory services	Food and milk control
Epidemiology	Coördination and research

VITAL STATISTICS

The State Department of Health maintains a Bureau of Vital Statistics to receive, analyze, and maintain records of births and deaths throughout the state. Pennsylvania was admitted to the United States registration area for deaths in 1906 and to the area for births in 1915. Boroughs, cities, and first-class townships are the primary registration districts. Local registrars are appointed by the Secretary of Health and receive a fee of 25 cents per record, which is paid by the county treasurer. Deaths must be reported to the local registrar within five days and to the state registrar by the fifth of the following month. Births must be reported to the local registrar within ten days and to the state registrar by the tenth of the following month. As elsewhere, stillbirths are reported as births and deaths. In case death is thought to be caused by unlawful means, the coroner is notified. Burial permits are issued by the local registrars. The State Department of Health provides the postage and the blanks for recording the returns. The standard certificate and the international list of the causes of death are utilized.

In Pittsburgh the collection of vital statistics was begun by the city in 1870. Since 1915 it has been a function of the State Department of Health, which maintains a branch office for this purpose, adjacent to the offices of the city Department of Health. Although responsibility for the regis-

tration of births and deaths has been taken by the state, analysis and use of vital statistics for local purposes remain functions of the city. This latter service is performed by the Division of Registration of the Bureau of Infectious Diseases.

Certificates of births and deaths occurring in a community are filed with the local registrar on forms supplied by the State Department of Health. In Pittsburgh the procedure of checking certificates for completeness and accuracy and of indexing records follows accepted practices. Copies of certificates are bound and filed in a fireproof vault. Outside Pittsburgh, however, the local registrars have no special qualifications for this work, the activities are carried on in their homes, or in their private offices if they are in business, and the facilities for proper storage of these vital records are limited. It would be more convenient if the offices were located in municipal buildings, and more effective if the work were carried on in conjunction with the health departments.

Individual service rendered from the vital statistics records may be divided between that for which a fee is charged, namely, the issuance of certified copies, and that which is free. In the latter may be included the issuance to mothers of notification of birth registration, the provision to school officials of birth certificates for employment of minors, certified copies for the use of war veterans and their families, and verifications of certain data from certificates as supplied in increasing volume to charitable, welfare, and other agencies. The value of the birth certificate is becoming more generally recognized by the public.

Public health administrators and students need the guidance supplied by the data from death and birth records. Birth registrations show the sources from which the population is renewed. In the study of childhood diseases and in the planning of maternity and child health programs, birth records are indispensable. For the study of such conditions as communicable disease trends, heart diseases, cancer, nephritis, diabetes, and tuberculosis, accurately filled out death certificates are necessary. The staffs of the state and Pittsburgh departments of health are very limited for the increasing demands and opportunities for this type of work. The local registrars are not equipped nor trained for this activity.

Tabulations of vital statistics, essential for the guidance of health work, are made only by the Pittsburgh and state departments of health. The state department prepares routine tabulations of births and of deaths according to factors of major interest and by major political subdivisions of the county. In Pittsburgh tabulations of births and deaths are made daily by the Division of Registration in the city Department of Health from the certificates received at the branch office. Monthly summaries are obtained from these daily summary sheets. For purposes of compilation the

facts for each person are transferred to a separate punched card, and the cards are then sorted by machine.

Births are tabulated monthly by sex, color, and nativity of mother, month of occurrence, and by kind of obstetrical care. Annual summary tables, although prepared, are not published. Deaths are tabulated by cause, sex, age, and color. All deaths under one year are tabulated by cause and age in terms of months, weeks, and days. Puerperal deaths are routinely tabulated by causes, but not by kind of obstetrical care. Monthly tabulations are made for the ten locally most common causes of deaths, and for all communicable diseases. The morbidity reports received at the Department of Health are also tabulated by the Division of Registration.

During 1932 the method of recording and plotting births and morbidity and mortality statistics by census tract areas was adopted. In 1934 tabulations were being made for 193 such areas. This system of analysis greatly enhances the value of health statistics, since it not only renders more readily available the information contained in the reports but also segregates it by areas small enough for comparative analysis.

The city Department of Health did not issue an annual statistical publication between 1914 and 1933: The May, 1933, issue of *Pittsburgh's Health* was devoted to the presentation of certain statistical tables that indicated the status of Pittsburgh's health over a period of years. Data for some of the tables were complete by year from 1873 until 1932, while some of the information was for the years 1930, 1931, and 1932 only. Each year an annual report is prepared in typewritten form. Several copies are available in the office for general use.

A report containing the total number of deaths, the number of deaths from automobile accidents, and the number of deaths under one year is transmitted to the United States Bureau of the Census weekly, in accordance with a regulation of that bureau.

Graphic charts are prepared to show annual infant mortality rates, subdivided by principal causes. Charts have been prepared covering a period of years to show annual total death rates and the annual death rates from the following causes of deaths: Bright's disease, cancer, pulmonary tuberculosis, heart diseases, pneumonia (all forms), influenza, nervous diseases, and violence.

The vital statistics service for Pittsburgh receives a rating of nine-tenths according to the appraisal standards for cities developed by the American Public Health Association. For the county outside Pittsburgh less than half of this rating is obtained on the rural appraisal form. Most of the vital statistics necessary for the sound administration of health work are available locally for Pittsburgh, but such information for the rest of the

county must be obtained from Harrisburg. However, the analysis of these data has been of necessity limited, due to the lack of sufficient staff, in both the city and the state, and their use has been curtailed by the lack of timely published reports. Provision for printing the reports from time to time as they are prepared would form a foundation for more comprehensive planning of the public health program.

The actual statistics of births and deaths, with their various classifications and subdivisions, are of no immediate importance at this point, since our interest momentarily is in the administration of public health more than in its status. Statistics are desirable if they are to be used, if there is someone to use them; interpretation of the figures and the inauguration of steps to carry out whatever the figures may indicate as necessary for public health demand a responsible health department and an active professional body adequately implemented for public education and pressure. The former, we have seen, does not exist; the latter exists only in embryo, as will appear later. First among the technical requirements for the collection and analysis of vital statistics, including morbidity statistics, is the correct allocation of the incidence of births, deaths, and diseases. This precaution has been almost totally absent in Allegheny County.⁹ The significance of the proper allocation may be exemplified by the fact that the death rates from tuberculosis in Pittsburgh for 1932 and 1933 would have seemed low as indicated by the figures: 49.4 and 47.3 per 100,000, respectively; the actual figures, however, come to 73.8 and 66.2 per 100,000 when the residence of the patient instead of his place of death (the hospital) is made the basis of computation. Unallocated birth and death rates for the individual communities in the county give even more absurd figures, due to the location of the hospitals and the inclusion of hospital figures in the returns of the community in which they happen to lie. For vital statistics, as for other public health services, the answer is: an adequate county department.

LABORATORIES

Laboratory service is essential for two distinct purposes: preventive activities, involving analysis of water, milk, and materials of epidemiological significance in connection with communicable diseases, and diagnostic service required in the treatment of patients. The same laboratories can serve both purposes, but because of the constant demand for diagnostic analysis, laboratories tend to be associated with medical institutions. As with most aspects of public health, the city of Pittsburgh is far better served than the rest of the county containing the majority of

⁹ See a special report on the subject in the *Social Research Bulletin*, published by Bureau of Social Research, Federation of Social Agencies, June 24, 1936.

the population. Laboratory service in Pittsburgh received a score of more than nine-tenths in the Appraisal standards¹⁰ for 1933 and 1934 and came short of a perfect score only in examinations of milk samples and gonorrhea specimens.

Public health laboratory services in Pittsburgh are provided by the City Department of Health, the Bureau of Water in the Department of Public Works, the Falk Clinic, the Pittsburgh Skin and Cancer Foundation, and fifteen hospitals in the city.¹¹ The Pittsburgh District Dairy Council makes bacteria counts of the milk produced at the farms of its members.

The Department of Health, through its Division of Bacteriology in the Bureau of Infectious Diseases, conducts a public health laboratory where diagnostic service in connection with communicable disease is available to physicians throughout the city. The department has its own food and milk laboratory which is operated under the supervision of the Bureau of Food Inspection.

The volume of laboratory service provided in Pittsburgh, taken as a total, is above the Appraisal standard of 6,000 examinations per 100,000 population. For certain special types of work, however, particularly for typhoid fever and venereal diseases, the volume of service falls below suggested needs. The development of well equipped laboratories in various hospitals in the city has encouraged their use to a considerable extent by staff physicians. The amount of laboratory service provided for certain types of work (for example, typhoid and gonorrhea) by the hospitals and special clinics in Pittsburgh is therefore equal to, or greater than, that carried on officially. The laboratory work of the Department of Health is essentially of a routine character, and the procedures correspond with recognized standards.¹²

The county is entitled to service by the State Department of Health, which maintains a Bureau of Laboratories, the central laboratory being located at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia for state-wide service. There are four branch laboratories, one at the Franklin Hospital and one in each of the three state sanatoria financed from the sanatorium appropriation. Until two years ago, there were two motor field laboratories, one for the analysis, prior to approval, of water supplies along the highways for the protection of tourists and of areas through which tourists

¹⁰ Cf. *The Appraisal of Public Health Activities in Pittsburgh*, by Ira V. Hiscock and Marion H. Ewalt.

¹¹ These hospitals are: Allegheny General, Children's, Elizabeth Steel Magee, Homeopathic, Mercy, Montefiore, Passavant, Pittsburgh, Presbyterian, St. Francis, St. John's General, St. Joseph's, St. Margaret Memorial, South Side, and Western Pennsylvania.

¹² The full report submitted by Ira V. Hiscock contains tables on this service as well as numerous other tables which are omitted here in the interest of conserving space.

travel; the other for epidemiological purposes. The services of the milk laboratory and the routine examinations of public water supplies along highways were discontinued because of curtailed funds.

The Pittsburgh Dairy Council makes bacteria counts of milk produced at the farms of its members, which include a large section of the county milk shed. In addition, the Pittsburgh laboratory service covers a large amount of milk also serving the county outside of the city. The hospitals do extensive laboratory work for diagnostic purposes, while a few local communities, such as Sewickley and McKeesport, provide laboratory examinations for milk. There is no branch state laboratory in this area to enable the physicians and the local health officers, including the County Medical Director, to obtain prompt and efficient diagnostic and milk control services. The Pittsburgh laboratories cooperate from time to time in making special tests for the County Medical Director.

In order to obtain an impression of the adequacy of laboratory services for the whole county, the available data regarding examinations made by the state and local laboratories, official and nonofficial, were assembled for comparison with appraisal-form standards. The official laboratories alone attain about half the minimum standards for examinations of specimens for typhoid, tuberculosis, and syphilis and one-third for gonorrhea. Due to a large amount of work in examination of diphtheria specimens by the Pittsburgh Health Department Laboratory, the quota is exceeded for this disease. When the work of the hospitals is added, the standards are met and exceeded for each of these diseases except gonorrhea. For the county outside Pittsburgh, the laboratory service for all these purposes is very inadequate. Laboratory supervision of the water supply in Pittsburgh and the adjoining areas is apparently satisfactory, while the state laboratory work for the county area is far from adequate. There is still a problem of supervision of private water supplies. Laboratory supervision of the milk supplies in the county as a whole is somewhat incomplete, although in some localities, including Pittsburgh, McKeesport, and Sewickley, it is reasonably well covered except for periodic sampling of raw milk previous to pasteurization.¹³

County Medical Directors, Health Officers, and local boards of health are supplied, on requisition, with drugs, various biological products, supplies, and equipment from the Supplies and Biological Products Division of the State Department of Health. Silver nitrate for the prevention of blindness in infants, drugs for the treatment of syphilis, smallpox vaccine, diphtheria antitoxin, and diphtheria toxoid, among other products, are provided for use in the county.

Beyond the generally recognized importance of laboratory service for

¹³ Cf. *infra*, pp. 798 ff.

the general preventive and diagnostic services, there is particular reason why such facilities should be available locally, for prompt service. The value of diagnostic service for diphtheria and several other diseases depends upon promptness of reporting, as well as upon accuracy. Distances and the necessity for reliance upon mail deliveries are serious handicaps. If a county health department is developed, a public health laboratory, well organized and equipped and efficiently staffed, should be an important feature. Meanwhile, consideration might be given to a branch state laboratory in the county area, equipped to do routine diagnostic examinations and milk and water analyses, as well as to distribute the accepted biological products for communicable disease control. If a city-county department of health is organized, the Pittsburgh laboratory service might be enlarged to cover the rest of the county.

SANITATION

Among the most important duties of the health authorities, either by way of direct administration or by way of supervision and exercise of the police power, are those roughly grouped together as sanitation activities.¹⁴ They comprise chiefly the following: water supply; sewage disposal; sanitary inspection (e.g., of dwellings, barber shops, restaurants, and so forth); nuisance control, including flies, mosquitoes, rodents, and smoke abatement; garbage and refuse control.

Few of these activities necessarily require direct administration by health departments, but all are within the scope of what the community's public health program must include; that they be satisfactorily carried on is made the duty of the health department. But, as we have seen, a portion of the county, the area contained in second-class townships, is entirely without such departments and depends upon the far-too-inadequate services of a distant state department and of a nominally active health officer represented by the County Medical Director; of the remaining communities, Pittsburgh alone carries on all the various services included in a full program of sanitation. Communities ranging in status between second-class townships and Pittsburgh have neither direct state service nor sufficiently developed local facilities.

Of all the constituents of the program of sanitation, the supply of pure water is undoubtedly the most important. The most serious public health menace reported by the Pittsburgh Survey was the water supply of that city, and the greatest advance has taken place, undoubtedly, in this field.¹⁵ Water supply in Allegheny County may come from municipal water works publicly owned, from commercial water works, or from pri-

¹⁴ Services designed for the prevention and control of epidemics—epidemiology and its special problems—will be considered in a later section.

¹⁵ Cf. *supra*, chap. v.

vate wells individually owned. State supervision, as established by legislative act, is intended to cover mainly the supply or sale of water to the public and relates, therefore, principally to the first two types, although it covers the latter as well. Regulation applies to the sale or supply of water to the public as distinct from individual consumption.

The Purity of Water Act, enacted in 1905, prohibits the serving of water to the public without a permit and stipulates the conditions of water service. The source and process of purification and distribution are made known to the State Department of Health. If these are acceptable, a report with recommendation is made to the Secretary of Health by the engineer in charge of the service, the issuance of a permit being subject to conditions which give the department control over the water supply. Weekly reports of operations are made to the state, and at frequent intervals engineers inspect the supplies.

Bearing on the more general problem of water supply and supplementing the power of the State Secretary of Health to issue permits for water works (and sewers), there is a Sanitary Water Board consisting of the Secretary of Forests and Waters, the Commissioner of Fisheries, the Secretary of Health, who is chairman, and three other members appointed by the Governor. As created by the Administrative Code, the purpose of the board is to administer anti-stream pollution laws and to make investigations of ways and means of preventing pollution of the waters of the state. This problem of conserving the quality of water flowing into the streams is being approached in a comprehensive manner. By law, the health department is made the investigatory and enforcement agent of the board, and work is vested in the Engineering Bureau.

It is estimated on the basis of figures in Table 61 and from information obtained from local health officers that more than 90 percent of the population of Allegheny County is either served by or resides in sections served by public water supplies which are treated by chlorination, and most of them also filtered—a notable record of achievement compared with the conditions reported in 1907–8 by the Pittsburgh Survey.¹⁶

The problem of obtaining pure water is reduced, then, to the routine laboratory testing of samples from the known and licensed sources of water supply and the supervision of wells and other sources intended for private consumption, but which might, through disease carriers, prove indirectly dangerous to the general public. This type of control ranges from nearly satisfactory provisions in Pittsburgh to inadequate or uncertain facilities in the more isolated county communities.

More than 94 percent of the water supplied to Pittsburgh residents is

¹⁶ "35 Years of Typhoid" by Frank Wing, pp. 63–86, *Civic Frontage*, "The Pittsburgh Survey."

TABLE 61

LOCATION AND CAPACITY OF PUBLIC WATER FILTRATION PLANTS IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY^a

CIVIL DIVISION	DISTRICT SUPPLIED	SOURCE ^b	MILLION		
			POPULATION SERVED	TYPE FILTRATION ^b	GALLONS FILTERED DAILY
Bellevue	Avalon, Bellevue and vicinity, McKees Rocks, part Pittsburgh	W	50,000	P,Z	3.00
Brackenridge	Municipality	R	6,000	Ra	0.75
Carrick	Pgh. South Side suburban towns	R	200,000	Ra	14.00
Dixmont	State Hospital	CB	1,200	Ra	0.55
Duquesne	Duquesne and part Mifflin	W	21,000	Ra	0.80
Elizabeth	Monongahela valley towns, Elizabeth and Clairton	R	22,000	Ra	2.00
Haysville	Haysville, part Osborne, Glenfield	R	500	P	0.01
Library (Snowden Township)	Library Mining Village	W	2,000	Ra	0.05
McKeesport	McKeesport, E. McKeesport, Port Vue, vicinity	R	68,000	Ra	7.00
Natrona	Natrona and part Deer township	R	12,000	Ra	0.35
Oakdale	Oakdale	W	1,000	Z	0.04
Oakmont	Oakmont, Verona and vicinity	R	13,500	Ra	2.50
Pittsburgh	Greater portion Pittsburgh	R	600,000	F,S	120.00
Russellton	Bessemer Mines	C	1,600	Ra	0.06
Sewickley	Sewickley, Osborne and vicinity	CB	5,000	Ra	1.00
Springdale Borough	Springdale	W	5,000	U,Z	0.16
Springdale Township	Mine village and power plant	R	600	Ra	2.00
Tarentum	Tarentum, part East Deer Township	R	10,000	Ra	0.90
Wilksburg	Wilksburg and communities east of Pittsburgh	CB,R	170,000	Ra	15.00
Woodville	Allegheny County Home	W	1,200	P	0.20

^a Water chlorinated in all of these plants listed above. The following places, all, with one exception, obtaining water from wells, provided chlorinated but unfiltered water.

Braddock	Millvale
Coraopolis	Moon Run
Edgeworth	Pittsburgh Penitentiary
Etna	Pittsburgh (Duquesne Light)
Harmarville	Preston
Indianola	Sewickley Township
	Sharpsburg

^b W-well; R-river; CB-crib; C-creek; P-pressure; Ra-rapid sand; F-preliminary; S-slow sand; U-upward flow; Z-zeolite.

from the city water works operated by the Bureau of Water of the Department of Public Works; the Pennsylvania Water Company supplies a small portion of the easterly section of the city, and the South Pittsburgh Water Company supplies a small part of the South Side. The frequency of

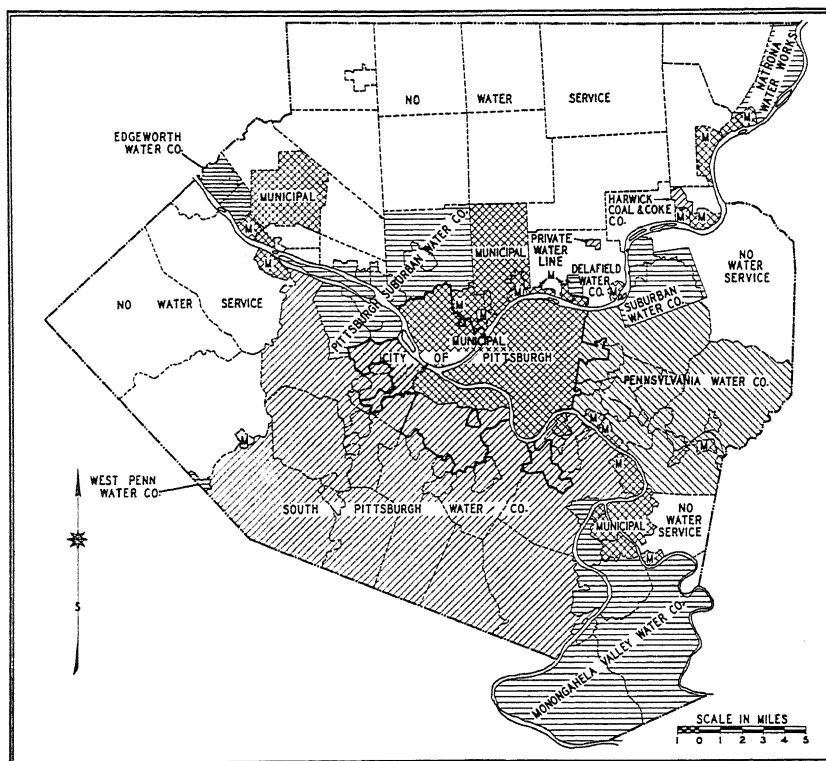


FIGURE 19

CONTROL OF WATER SUPPLY IN SECTIONS OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY

analysis of water supplies varies with the source. Underground supplies are usually analyzed once in three months, while filtered or chlorinated supplies are analyzed weekly and in some instances daily. For several years an examination was made of the water supplied along highways by the State Department of Health. Samples were collected and analyzed in a mobile laboratory, and the supply was posted according to its quality. This work was abandoned two years ago on the basis of economy. Permits are necessary to sell or give away spring (bottled) water, their issuance being based on inspection of the source and reports of quality. Upon request, bacteriological and physical examinations of private water supplies are made in the state laboratory.

The Pittsburgh water works system was one of the early treatment plants, and it played a significant rôle in the reduction of typhoid fever in the city. The water is filtered through slow sand filters and then chlor-

inated. It meets the United States Treasury Department (United States Public Health Service) standards of purity. The bureau maintains its own laboratory at the filter plant, and daily chemical and bacteriological examinations are made before and after treatment (some 55,000 samples being examined every year). The Department of Health collects and analyzes samples independently about twenty-five times a year. The bureau also frequently collects and analyzes samples of the other two water companies supplying the city. Results of the examinations made by the companies are filed with the State Department of Health.

For the collection of water samples in the county area dependence is upon the local health officers and, in the case of second-class townships, upon the three inspectors serving under the County Medical Director and responsible for the whole gamut of public health activities in those areas. The two motor laboratories previously operated by the state, while never an adequate service, no longer exist. As a result, the number of laboratory analyses of water for the county area outside Pittsburgh, as reported in 1934, totaled 855 as compared with some 55,000 annual analyses for the Pittsburgh water works system alone¹⁷ and with the standard adopted by the Health Appraisal of daily examination of all surface supplies. The supervision of private water supplies, a lesser but by no means negligible problem, remains practically an untouched area in sanitary control.

All this administrative machinery, good or indifferent, is based on the assumption that water is available, and its purity alone need give concern. While water is second only to air as an absolute condition of life and is certainly of the very first importance for the maintenance of public health and personal hygiene, there is, curiously enough, no provision for assuring the availability of water for every person, even though it is clearly beyond the power of a city tenement dweller to create his own supply. Drinking, ablutions, cooking, washing and cleaning, the flushing of toilets all demand a continuous water supply under urban conditions. Yet water is a commodity sold either directly or through taxation and may be withheld upon nonpayment of cost or tax. As a result, during the depression, despite the extreme menace to public health involved, water was repeatedly shut off from appreciable areas in the county, without the assumption by the health authorities of any responsibility for its restoration.¹⁸ Rare as such occurrences may be, they represent another example of a gap in public health administration.

Swimming pools present another phase of water supply control. For their operation a permit is required from the State Department of Health. In Pittsburgh the municipal Health Department and the Bureau of

¹⁷ Made by its own staff.

¹⁸ Cf. *supra*, chap. v.

Recreation exercise control and conduct periodical (usually daily) analyses of the water.

Sewage disposal is not only next in importance to water supply in the realm of sanitation, but is intimately associated with it in that one of the chief dangers of imperfect disposal is the likelihood of its affecting the purity of the water supply. Sewerage is as much a problem of highway construction and engineering as it is of health inspection and supervision. Sewerage is almost universally an urban function and applies to corporate communities only, in which roads have become "streets." As soon as a system of sewers has been constructed, the simple rural problem of privies and drainage is converted into one of sewage disposal. If the disposal is inadequate or unscientific it becomes inherently bad: worse than no sewerage and no disposal as it exists under rural conditions. The latter also must conform to certain minimum standards to prevent access of flies and insects to excreta, and to avoid drainage from privies to sources of water supply or to surface ditches. The problem of sewage disposal therefore may be essentially rural or urban: proper privy construction and supervision for the former, construction and maintenance of sewerage, street drainage, and disposal plants for the latter.

In light of these considerations, the vast majority of the population in Allegheny County should be served by urban types of sewage disposal. The municipality should provide sewers for the streets and should demand and enforce sewer connection for individual dwellings. It goes without saying that adequate disposal plants suitably located and properly managed should also exist. The topography of Allegheny County makes the engineering task of sewerage difficult and expensive; the crazy-quilt pattern of political subdivisions in the county makes the systematic and economical provision for sewage disposal difficult and unlikely. We do not have complete information at this time on the extent to which the municipalities, practically all of which suffer from this dual handicap, have adequate sewerage. Records do show, however, certain significant facts. Within the city of Pittsburgh there are still more than one thousand privy vaults in use;¹⁹ contrary to law, there are hundreds of dwellings on sewerred streets unconnected with sewers;²⁰ there are numerous streets within the city limits without sewers.²¹ There is, however, a Bureau of Sewers and a Bureau of Sanitation designed to develop, maintain and supervise facilities.²² Outside Pittsburgh there is little provision for any systematic attention. In two cities and several boroughs of the county,²³ prevalence of privies constitutes a notorious health hazard.

¹⁹ Cf. *supra*, chap. v.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² For details on Pittsburgh, see Appraisal Report, quoted *supra*.

²³ McKeesport, Duquesne, Homestead, and McKees Rocks.

For ninety municipalities above the rank of second-class townships (exclusive of Pittsburgh), there were in 1934 only five sewage treatment works, while twenty-three others served individual institutions and plants, such as hospitals, schools, and clubs. The largest single system, that of Pittsburgh, discharges all of its sewage untreated into the Allegheny, Monongahela, and Ohio rivers and Chartiers Creek.

Within the city of Pittsburgh the vestigial system of privies receives some attention from the Health Department, and a certain amount of public attention and pressure from voluntary interests, particularly the Pittsburgh Housing Association which has given considerable study and made many field investigations of the situation. For the county at large, it is no-man's-land, except in so far as the necessarily thin supervision of State Department of Health and County Medical Director can supplement the inadequate official provisions of cities, boroughs, and townships. In the absence of a county department of health the conditions of sewage disposal represent the fortunate results of chance and some of the advantages of a hilly country. There is need for extension of modern sewage disposal facilities and for a privy sanitation campaign in the unsewered areas. Counties with modern health departments are vigorously attacking this problem, and they maintain up-to-date information, with spot maps, showing the location of privies. It is unfortunate that the laboratory examination of water supplies by the state has been curtailed for economic reasons, as this is an important function to protect public health. The State Department of Health and local communities have made commendable progress in the provision of water purification plants. While the general plan of centralized supervision of sanitary affairs by the state is in many respects good, the staff and facilities are altogether too limited to provide a reasonably adequate program.

There are numerous other items in a complete program of public sanitation which cannot, however, be treated here: plumbing, garbage and rubbish removal, supervision of camp sites, control of flies, rodents, mosquitoes, inspection of barber shops and eating places, health examination of restaurant and hotel workers, smoke abatement, and so forth. For the city of Pittsburgh, the reader will find an exhaustive report in the *Appraisal of Public Health Activities* already referred to. For the county at large, information available is spotty and inaccurate. In the absence of any competent and well equipped central authority for the county and in the fortuitous presence only of particular regulations in the existing municipalities, it is fair to say that with respect to these manifold aspects of public sanitation there is only a minimum provision in Allegheny County outside Pittsburgh.

FOOD AND MILK CONTROL

The state provides leadership in the field of food control as it does in other departments of public health administration. The elaborate organization of the State Department of Health includes under its Bureau of Communicable Diseases a Division of Restaurant Hygiene, through which it sets up standards and regulations and exercises what responsibility it can in the rural areas of the state in the manner already described for public health as a whole. Milk control, the most important of food controls, is under its Bureau of Sanitary Engineering. Throughout the food control program the usual distinctions exist between responsibility for second-class townships and responsibility for municipalities of higher rank.²⁴ Of the latter, only Pittsburgh, McKeesport, Clairton, and Sewickley appear to give the problem active attention.²⁵ Of these, Pittsburgh scored about 75 percent in the appraisal.

Milk control has become a paramount concern of public health administration since the succession of discoveries in the course of recent decades that impure milk is frequently the carrier of communicable diseases such as typhoid, tuberculosis, and various intestinal infections. Control of the sanitary conditions of milk production, inspection of cows, pasteurization, and control of conditions of sale enter into the program of insuring pure milk supply. Practically every large city draws its milk from a milk shed of considerable area, which sometimes crosses state lines. Purely local control would therefore fall completely short of the necessary safety measures. The Pittsburgh milk shed, for example, extends over some eighteen counties in western Pennsylvania and into the states of West Virginia and Ohio.

It is the responsibility of departments of health to maintain a service for the control of milk supplies from the source of production to the point of delivery and to endeavor to educate the public to the value of an adequate supply of clean, safe milk, and the necessity of proper home care of milk. The two essential features to be considered are: (a) that production of milk on the farm be so conducted as to reduce the possibility of infection to a minimum, and (b) that subsequent pasteurization be so applied that any infection which does occur, despite the farm production precautions, will be prevented from reaching the consumer. Meeting either of these requirements alone is not sufficient, for although pasteurization is the one safeguard, it is not a panacea, and it cannot make of unclean milk an ideal food, nor will the most thoroughgoing inspection of the farms prevent the occasional infection of a raw milk

²⁴ Cf. *supra*.

²⁵ Cf. Appraisal Report, quoted *supra*.

supply with germs of one of the communicable diseases or with germs from diseased udders.²⁶

The State Department of Health issues permits for the sale of milk to the consumer. This right may be given to municipalities for the sale of milk within the city limits. This is true of Pittsburgh. Additional standards may be set up by the city. By means of the license to the distributor the state works back through the retailers, pasteurizers, and producers. The dealers inspect farms through inspectors employed by them and approved by the State Secretary of Health. Pasteurizing plants are supervised by either the state or the city. All raw milk is under the jurisdiction of the State Secretary of Health, and inspections are made by district men. Such an organization plan is logical, insures uniformity of procedure, and prevents overlapping activities by different inspection services. Its shortcomings are due to the lack of a reasonably adequate staff.

The Pennsylvania area of the milk shed is practically a "modified accredited area," the results showing that in all but one county less than one-half of one percent of the tested cattle have tuberculosis. Of the cattle tested in the remaining county, less than one percent were tuberculous. The Federal plan for the control of bovine tuberculosis testing is used.

There are 261 dealers licensed to sell milk in the county. The milk is obtained from 4,099 farms, two-thirds of which produce less than 250 quarts daily. Of 376,591 quarts of milk and cream handled daily by these distributors for Allegheny County, about 93 percent is pasteurized and 0.3 percent is certified.²⁷

Approximately 340,000 quarts of milk and cream are sold daily in Pittsburgh, giving a consumption of about one pint per capita per day. This milk comes from farms located within a radius of 100 miles, and approximately 99 percent is pasteurized.

Like other large cities, Pittsburgh is not content to leave milk control at the minimum standard required by state regulation, but through local ordinances and additional supervisory force adds to the safety of its milk supply. To a lesser extent the city of McKeesport and the borough of Sewickley also take supplementary precautions.

Pittsburgh has in force a city ordinance which requires the licensing of all milk dealers operating within the city limits. The license requires specified standards of sanitary attainment in the bottling plants, receiving stations, and farms where the milk is prepared; it further requires that all raw milk sold in the city must come from tuberculin-tested herds.

²⁶ *Community Health Organization*, edited by Ira V. Hiscock, Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1932, p. 158.

²⁷ See *Distribution and Consumption of Milk in Allegheny County*, by T. K. Cowden and C. G. Gifford, Pennsylvania State College, March, 1934.

An ordinance was passed in December, 1933 (effective January 1, 1934), which provides for the testing of producing cows for the Bang disease and requires the removal of all reacting cows from the herds producing raw milk.²⁸

All bottled milk in Pittsburgh must be delivered to the consumer within twenty-four hours after pasteurization. While neither the date of production nor the date of pasteurization is designated on the bottle, if the milk is pasteurized the bottle cap must so indicate. In the case of certified milk the cap designates the date on which the milk must be sold. The state regulations also provide that all milk sold in eating establishments must be served in the original container and opened in the presence of the consumer. Other regulations require the use of closed and insulated trucks for hauling milk to the city and prescribe a maximum temperature of 55° for trucks hauling a distance of forty miles. All employees of milk plants are under medical certification.

The milk laws of the state and the regulations of the cities of Pittsburgh and McKeesport are enforced by supervising inspectors employed by the Pennsylvania Department of Public Health and dairy inspectors employed by the city departments of health. The basic inspections are made by approved inspectors employed by the Pittsburgh Dairy Council, milk producers' organizations, and operators of milk treatment plants. The close coöperation that has been established among these groups is an important factor in adequate supervision of the milk supply.

The State Department of Health confines its work largely to the county outside Pittsburgh, although inspections of milk plants are made in the city as well. The state exercises direct control of the milk supply of the city through its contact with the producers outside Pittsburgh who supply milk to the city and also because several plants in the city sell milk in the outlying territory.

The dairy inspectors employed by Pittsburgh inspect at least twice annually every farm shipping milk to plants which have permits to sell in the city. In addition, they check the reports of the approved inspectors employed by the milk companies and make check inspections to see that conditions as reported by the company inspectors are correct. Plant inspectors control the raw milk dairies and pasteurizing plants. Milk inspectors as well as miscellaneous food inspectors collect the milk samples. The apparent duplication of city and state inspection service is due in part to the lack of a sufficient force in the State Department of Health.

The Pittsburgh District Dairy Council is an organization of milk producers and dealers. The membership includes approximately 8,000 farmers who furnish milk to distributors supplying the city of Pittsburgh.

²⁸ The enforcement of this ordinance has been delayed pending a court decision.

This council employs four dairy inspectors approved by the Pennsylvania Department of Health and makes monthly bacteria counts of the milk of its members. In 1933 they made 19,363 inspections and collected samples of milk for 109,739 bacteriological and 50,552 chemical tests. The member farmer receives periodic reports from the council advising him as to the quality of his milk and he is guided accordingly in his operations and methods.

The Milk Commission of the Allegheny County Medical Society supervises the production of certified milk. Each dairy is visited at least three times a month. A committee of the Milk Commission examines the plant with regard to the sanitary conditions of surroundings, rooms, and apparatus. A veterinarian in the employment of the commission tests the cattle. All employees of the plant are given periodic physical examinations by a medical inspector. Samples of the milk as it arrives in the city are collected and sent to the Division of Bacteriology, Department of Health, where the laboratory tests are made.

The city of McKeesport maintains a public health laboratory in which 465 routine milk samples (170 raw milk) were analyzed in 1933. Sewickley also maintains a laboratory service for the examination of milk samples. Approximately 80 percent of the supply is pasteurized.

COORDINATION, PROMOTION, AND RESEARCH

The principal and most important coordinating factor in the public health administration in Allegheny County is the State Department of Health. It gives leadership, defines the problem, exercises supervision, makes regulations, and actually administers certain services within the limits described earlier.²⁹ It is the activating force in public health thought and administration. Within the city of Pittsburgh the Health Department contains, under a somewhat less elaborate organization, many of the divisions of the state program. Its present set-up includes the following:

- General Office
- Bureau of Infectious Disease
 - Division of Administration
 - Division of Transmissible Diseases
 - Division of Bacteriology
 - Division of Registration

²⁹ Its bureau organization includes administrative or supervisory responsibility for the following major categories: Communicable Diseases, including epidemiology, tuberculosis, venereal disease clinics, restaurant hygiene; Laboratories; Vital statistics; Sanitary Engineering, including engineering, housing, milk control; Child Welfare, including pre-school, school, dental hygiene; Public Health Nursing; Public Health Education; Narcotic Drug Control; Sanatoria; Finance, including accounting, purchasing, supplies and biological products.

- Bureau of Child Welfare
 - Supervision of Pre-school Children
 - Supervision of School Children
 - Nursing Service
 - Division of Midwifery
- Bureau of Sanitation
 - Division of General Office
 - Division of Housing and Sanitary Inspection
 - Division of Plumbing and House Drainage
- Bureau of Food Inspection
 - Division of Dairy Inspection
 - Division of Meat Inspection
 - Division of Miscellaneous Food Inspection
 - Division of Laboratory
- Bureau of Smoke Regulation

The city department conducts, in addition, the Municipal Hospital for isolation cases and the Leech Farm sanatorium for tuberculosis. As is evident from this outline the department includes no special bureau or division for health education, no research division, and no central nursing unit. Neither for the city of Pittsburgh nor for the county as a whole does the Department of Health serve as coördinator, stimulator, or promoter of public health in the sense in which many similar bodies throughout the country have been functioning. Nor is this leadership exercised as yet by voluntary bodies in any striking fashion or to the desirable degree. The County Medical Association performs part of this service, the General Health Council another, the Public Health Nursing Association still another. But a comprehensive plan for promoting public health and for assisting in its adequate administration is not yet in operation in Allegheny County. If proof were needed for this all-too-well-known deficiency, it is amply provided by the fact that no organization or active movement exists for the promotion of the most important and central need of public health administration, a county health department. Among the prime tools for such a movement and for the actual coördination of health services are research facilities and an adequately staffed and organized health council. The only research services available at present are those of the Bureau of Social Research of the Federation of Social Agencies; and the program of the General Health Council, when compared with similar agencies in other cities, is embryonic.

This lack of coördinative and promotive organization, even more pronounced for the county as a whole than for Pittsburgh, is but partially compensated for by the activities of the other agencies already mentioned, of the Chamber of Commerce, with its participation in the national Inter-Chamber of Commerce Conservation Contest, of the various medical and dental committees, of the Hospital Conference already described,

and of the Federation of Social Agencies with its diverse influence through divisions and through groups of its member agencies. An active body for the promotion of public health activities, particularly for the establishment of a county health department, is one of the greatest needs within this field.

DIRECT SERVICES, DIAGNOSTIC AND CARE

The entire group of activities comprised in this division of public health service is characterized by the fact that, while the purpose remains preventive, the particular procedures resemble more nearly the direct service to patients given by physicians and nurses, than the laboratory, engineering, and office work involved in the other divisions of public health administration. This phase of public health administration includes:

- Control of communicable diseases
- School health service
- Maternity and child hygiene
- Nursing services
- Health education

COMMUNICABLE DISEASES

A substantial rôle in the control of communicable disease is played by the purely engineering and administrative functions of sanitation, food and milk control, laboratory service, vital statistics, recording, and general inspection. Those are the impersonal preventive measures for combating communicable diseases which have to do mostly with the control of disease for which the carriers of infection are water, food, insects, as well as individuals. When the activities of disease-producing germs have manifested themselves in the actual occurrence of the disease in a human being and the person instead of some other vehicle becomes a source of infection, while also requiring medical treatment for his own recovery, a different stage of control is reached. At this stage the nature of the procedure depends upon the particular characteristics of the disease, upon the knowledge available as to therapeutics and as to the epidemiological traits of the disease. Control depends, more specifically, upon: (*a*) knowledge of the occurrence of cases; (*b*) nature of the disease-conveying medium; (*c*) knowledge and availability of treatment for the particular disease (both for their sake as life-saving and as a means of obtaining the coöperation of patients in checking the spread).

These desiderata when translated into administrative terms call for: reporting, isolation and follow-up, and immunization. The basic assumption underlying all these procedures is that the diseases in question are communicable. Most of the diseases included are serious and carry a

large potential fatality.³⁰ The carrier or specific pathogenic germs of most diseases have been isolated, their "natural history" is known, and various types of immunization have been made available either as individual preventive or as mitigation or cure following infection. In the case of some diseases the etiology is not known, the specific germ has not been isolated, but treatment and even immunization have been achieved.³¹

As in all other phases of public health administration in Allegheny County, so here also the situation presents itself in three forms: Pittsburgh with its relatively comprehensive public health services, cities, boroughs, and first-class townships in which the employment of a health officer is mandatory, but which, with negligible exceptions, have inadequate or only nominal service, and second-class townships with no health officers, served only by state-county personnel. The extent and completeness of control of communicable diseases is largely affected by this administrative set-up.

Effective control of communicable diseases depends on prompt reporting of cases to health authorities, investigation of sources and means of spread, and elimination of avenues of infection.

Case reporting.—The state laws of Pennsylvania specify the diseases which must be reported. The municipal boards of health report cases weekly to the state department, except for emergency cases which are reported immediately. Reports are also made to the County Medical Director who may be called in for consultation purposes. It is observed, however, that boards of health have a tendency to call local physicians for this purpose and to pay them on a fee basis. Quarantine officers in the rural districts report cases daily. The State Department of Health has no emergency fund for use in case of an epidemic except that in the hands of the governor. In Pittsburgh the work of the City Department of Health in communicable disease control is carried on largely through the Bureau of Infectious Diseases. The organized program for diphtheria immunization is an activity of the Bureau of Child Welfare.

Reporting of cases of typhoid in relation to deaths in the county is about three-fourths of the Appraisal quota.³² The other diseases in this class, except whooping cough, are reasonably well reported for the county as a whole, although there are important delays.

³⁰ The most contagious of all, the "ordinary cold" is not inherently serious, except as a predisposing condition, its specific carrier and epidemiology is relatively little known, and its universal prevalence makes any control other than through personal hygiene impracticable.

³¹ For a brief but comprehensive discussion, see "Communicable Diseases," by C.-E. A. Winslow, in the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*.

³² On the average, aside from epidemics of special virulence, reports of less than 8 cases per death from typhoid, less than 10 cases per death from diphtheria, less than 100 cases per death from scarlet fever, less than 120 cases per death from measles, and less than 50 cases per death from whooping cough indicate definitely incomplete reporting.

Reports are received by the local health officer who forwards a copy to the County Medical Director and records the name, address, and certain other data in a day book. Later, summary reports are sent by the secretary of the Board of Health to the state department. If there is a district nurse, she is often called to aid in follow-up work. In Pittsburgh a consulting diagnostic service is maintained by the Bureau of Infectious Diseases.

Cases of these diseases in Pittsburgh are reported by the attending physician on blanks furnished by the City Department of Health.³³ A daily bulletin of the new cases of acute communicable diseases reported for that day is mimeographed for distribution to schools, health agencies, and hospitals, and contains the names and addresses of the cases classified by disease. Tabulations are made to show the daily incidence of disease. At the end of the week, summaries of case reports are sent to the state and Federal authorities.

Reporting of the acute communicable diseases in Pittsburgh, with the possible exception of typhoid fever, compares favorably with accepted standards as shown in the following tabulation of annual averages for the years 1929 to 1933:

DISEASE	CASES PER DEATH	
	<i>Pittsburgh</i>	<i>Standard</i>
Typhoid	6.2	8
Measles	215.7	120
Scarlet fever	104.0	100
Whooping cough	57.7	50
Diphtheria	12.9	10

The reporting of cases makes possible two immediately important steps in disease control: the study of possible sources of infection and subsequent administrative measures to eliminate them. This process frequently means a study of the water, milk, and sewage problem touching the life of the patient or the discovery of "carriers." The other step consists in the isolation and possible quarantining of the patient or patient's family and such treatment by immunization, hospitalization, nursing service or hygiene instruction as may be appropriate to the type of case. Among the most important and typical of these steps is immunization against diphtheria and the use of pneumonia serum based on results of laboratory procedures for identifying pneumonia "type."

It is obvious that with the type of organization and the limited staffs outside Pittsburgh the procedures fall considerably short of those described below for this city. In fact, some of the existing control measures described by health officials are antiquated and ineffective.

³³ Reports contain the name, residence, age, occupation, disease, date of onset, probable source of infection, physician's name, and date of report.

In the city of Pittsburgh patients with diseases for which definite control measures exist are visited by a medical inspector or nurse, usually the latter, from the Bureau of Infectious Diseases. General experience has shown that the public health nurse, acting in the capacity of a teacher, is very helpful in instructing the family regarding the necessity and meaning of proper isolation, for both the patient and the household. The diseases to which the State Department of Health gives special attention are smallpox, diphtheria, scarlet fever, typhoid fever, cerebrospinal meningitis, poliomyelitis, pneumonia, whooping cough, and measles. Those diseases that are the more serious and can be more definitely controlled are given preference, if a choice in priority of visitation has to be made.

With regard to Pittsburgh, control practices are in general in accord with the standards of the American Public Health Association except for its policy of not hospitalizing typhoid cases in the Municipal Hospital (devoted to communicable diseases) and for the lack of a suitable policy with respect to venereal diseases. The Appraisal standards scored 87 percent for this phase of work in 1933.³⁴ The county outside Pittsburgh is, as usual, far below acceptable standards.

A special and very important phase of isolation is the removal of patients suffering with communicable diseases to suitable special hospitals. Provision for this service is not up to standard in Pittsburgh and very seriously below in the rest of the county. Pittsburgh does at least have a special hospital for this purpose, conducted by the State Department of Health, but it is inadequate in size and, as already indicated, does not serve patients having any of several important diseases. The county outside Pittsburgh, with its population outnumbering that of Pittsburgh, is entirely lacking in hospital facilities for this purpose.³⁵

The Municipal Hospital for the isolation and care of Pittsburgh residents suffering from diphtheria, scarlet fever, smallpox, erysipelas, poliomyelitis (infantile paralysis), and epidemic cerebrospinal meningitis is owned by the city of Pittsburgh and operated by the Department of Health. The hospital has a capacity of 250 beds. There are also 28 isolation beds in the City Home and Hospital. During 1933 hospitalization was provided for 1,196 communicable-disease cases.

Cases of typhoid fever in Pittsburgh are cared for in general hospitals, while special cases of communicable diseases occurring in children may be accepted at the Children's Hospital. During the fiscal year 1933-34, for example, a small number of resident cases of scarlet fever, poliomyelitis, and cerebrospinal meningitis were thus cared for. The percentage of resident cases of diphtheria, cerebrospinal meningitis, and scarlet fever

³⁴ For details on Pittsburgh, consult *The Appraisal of Public Health Activities in Pittsburgh*.

³⁵ The problem of diphtheria control tends to be associated with general child hygiene and school health work and will be mentioned later.

hospitalized in Pittsburgh in 1933 was considerably above the Appraisal standards while hospitalization of cases of typhoid fever and poliomyelitis compare favorably with the standards.

The Eye and Ear Hospital provides excellent care for infants with *ophthalmia neonatorum*, but its facilities are limited and the service is expensive for the hospital. There is apparently no place for other gonococcus eye infections, and the lack of a plan to show who is responsible for care of such patients results in complicated problems for various organizations. In a similar manner the problem of care of vaginitis in little girls receives inadequate attention.

The Municipal Hospital accepts serious cases from the county outside Pittsburgh, for which the county pays at the rate of \$4 a day. Only forty county cases were thus cared for in 1933. Conversation with numerous local health officers revealed that the hospitalization of communicable-disease cases is rarely ever considered. Both physicians and local health workers have referred to the difficulty of this problem. The Municipal Hospital reports plans drawn for a new isolation hospital of three hundred beds for the city alone, or for six hundred if the county desires to participate in the service. However, no financial steps have been taken to secure building funds.

Many factors must be considered in determining the number of beds required to meet the local needs satisfactorily. One such factor is the use of hospitals by nonresidents. Communities vary greatly in the extent to which they are called upon to provide facilities for their suburban and trade areas. In Kansas City a survey showed that 37.4 percent of the patients for various conditions were nonresidents of the city; in Providence this figure amounted to 33.4 percent; in Memphis, 38.0 percent of the total hospital days of care were for nonresidents. In towns and rural areas hospital service is relatively new. In general, about one bed for every two thousand inhabitants is regarded as desirable for communicable diseases, although this ratio will vary with the attitude of local physicians and the health officers and the degree of room or home crowding that prevails. In any event, it is apparent that there is a real problem of hospitalization of communicable diseases in the county, which should be clearly presented to the city and county officials in an effort to secure agreement as to financial arrangements.

Until other facilities are opened up for the county cases, a plan should be developed whereby cases from the county needing hospitalization may, without delay, be admitted to the Municipal Hospital. Also, in view of the failure to provide hospital care for some communicable diseases even for Pittsburgh patients, arrangements should be made either for this hospital to provide the necessary facilities for hospitalization of typhoid,

syphilis, and gonorrhea patients needing this service, and of gonococcus eye infections, or for payment for such services to other hospitals where satisfactory care might be given. These are clearly official responsibilities and the necessary organization changes with financial provisions should be promptly made. In some of the communities in the county having general hospitals, consideration might be given to the arrangement of facilities for communicable cases for their own locality at least. There is increasing evidence to show that if communicable-disease beds are provided under the management of a general hospital in a pavilion or ward equipped and made convenient for aseptic medical technique, there will usually be a considerable period of the year when they can, in whole or in part, be used for other communicable-disease patients, especially children.

Two communicable diseases have come to assume major importance in the field of public health because of their peculiar social significance. These require special mention. They are: tuberculosis and venereal diseases.

Tuberculosis control.—Tuberculosis is a communicable disease of particular importance to the public health because: (a) it is a problem often chronic in character; (b) it usually affects family groups; (c) it is frequently a factor in creating economic distress.

Facilities for tuberculosis control in Allegheny County are provided by five tax-supported departments or organizations: The state and Pittsburgh departments of public health, the Pittsburgh Department of Public Welfare, the Board of Education, the United States Veterans' Administration. Their services are supplemented by two voluntary health agencies, the Tuberculosis League and the Public Health Nursing Association, and by private physicians.

The tuberculosis mortality rate in Allegheny County, as in the country at large, has been steadily declining for many years. The number of deaths in Allegheny County in 1934 (749) were not much more than half the number in 1920 (1,316). Of these 749 deaths, 449 were of Pittsburgh residents. In spite of this fact tuberculosis still remains one of the ten most important causes of death and takes a particularly heavy toll of those in middle ages. The importance of allocation of tuberculosis deaths to the place of residence, in order to determine incidence, has been previously emphasized. For the city of Pittsburgh, for example, it has been shown that by inclusion of deaths of residents which occurred in sanatoria outside the city and by deducting nonresident deaths occurring within the city the corrected mortality rate per 100,000 population in 1933 becomes 66.2 instead of 47.3. The rate was 247.3 for Negroes, compared with 40.9 for white persons. The tuberculosis rate for the county as a whole was 52.3, or 14 deaths per 100,000 inhabitants, lower than for Pittsburgh alone.

In the county there was an average of 780 deaths from tuberculosis during the past three years. If, as is usually estimated, there are five known cases for each annual death, there should be 3,900 cases under supervision. With the present size of family, there are usually two to three contacts of each active case, hence there would be some 10,000 persons who have been in immediate family contact with a tuberculosis patient. The tuberculosis problem may then be roughly estimated to affect, including patients who die, more than 14,000 individuals in a year.

It is required by law that cases of tuberculosis be reported to the Health Officer by physicians, hospitals, sanatoria, clinics, undertakers, and other responsible persons and agencies coming in contact with the disease. In 1934 there were about 1,200 cases reported to the State Health Department from the county, considerably less than the two cases per death regarded as the minimum standard for completeness of reporting. Evidences of incompleteness in local communities are numerous, as shown by the fact that deaths from tuberculosis exceeded the number of cases reported in sixteen localities in 1934, besides many other places where the only cases reported were deaths. In one of the cities it was noted that cases diagnosed in a local clinic are not reported to the local health officer.

Only cases of pulmonary tuberculosis are reported to the Pittsburgh Department of Health. There is a case file in the Bureau of Infectious Diseases which contains a record of the reported cases of pulmonary tuberculosis, but this is not an active register of known living cases. Death certificates which report tuberculosis as either a primary or secondary cause of death are checked against the case file each day. However, the death certificates of persons who died from other causes are not checked against this file. Thus the file may contain the names of persons dead from other causes. Health departments outside Pittsburgh have no local tuberculosis program. An active register of tuberculosis maintained in accordance with procedures developed by the National Tuberculosis Association, although an essential factor in the administrative control of tuberculosis, is not found in the county outside Pittsburgh and is imperfect in that city.

The reporting of cases of tuberculosis other than pulmonary tuberculosis is an important procedure which should be stimulated in Pittsburgh. The regular and systematic reporting to the Department of Health of all those patients discharged from sanatoria who are to reside in the city is also important. At present such reporting is neither centralized nor standardized.³⁶

³⁶ There is in progress a study of the tuberculosis cases reported to the Pittsburgh Department of Health during the five-year period 1929-33, to give more basic information regarding the problem.

There has been made an exhaustive inquiry of the tuberculosis problem among Negroes in Pittsburgh, which deserves careful study in conjunction with this report.³⁷ This study showed that of 1,029 Negro persons who had tuberculosis, almost two-thirds either had been born in Pittsburgh or had lived in the city for more than ten years. The extent to which tuberculosis had been unrecognized in the past among local Negroes, and the value of case-finding in locating unsuspected disease are indicated by the increase in the number of cases among colored persons reported to the health department during the years while the inquiry was in process. In 1933, the final year of the survey, the number of cases reported was three times the number reported in 1930, the year before the survey was inaugurated.

The need of greater facilities for hospital, clinical and field nursing care was evidenced in that one-sixth of the cases diagnosed were not under treatment when the survey terminated, that only one-half of them were under the supervision of public health nurses, and that only one-sixth of the entire group (one-third of the active cases) had ever been hospitalized. For those hospitalized, the average length of stay was only three months, which is too short a time for permanent benefit, particularly as almost 90% of the cases hospitalized were in far advanced stages of the disease.³⁸

Undoubtedly a very large, if not the largest, amount of service to ambulant tuberculosis patients is given by private physicians. The number of such patients, the frequency of visits, or the proportion of them who are annually (or eventually) hospitalized cannot be ascertained. As might be expected, with a disease which takes such heavy toll among the masses, a very heavy proportion of the service is given through clinics. These may be regarded as composing five groups: (a) out-patient departments of hospitals (24); (b) independent clinics (2); (c) state-operated clinics (in 5 places within Allegheny County); (d) clinics conducted by the Pittsburgh Department of Health (3); (e) clinics conducted by the Tuberculosis League (3). The annual visits to these clinics based on 1933 figures (and one 1934 estimate) number roughly 33,000, of which, in contrast to the distribution of the population, probably not less than 25,000³⁹ represented Pittsburgh cases, leaving the rest of the county, as usual, extremely underserved. X-ray examination facilities are much less generous than clinical services and less available outside than within Pittsburgh.

Among the basic needs in the follow-up, treatment and educational

³⁷ Elsie Withen, *Tuberculosis and the Negro in Pittsburgh*, Tuberculosis League of Pittsburgh, 1934.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

³⁹ 88 percent of the 13,339 cases reported for the Tuberculosis League are Pittsburgh visits; the Pittsburgh Department of Health reports 1,020; the out-patient clinics, heavily weighted with Pittsburgh cases, 15,813; while the five state clinics, four operating outside Pittsburgh, account for only 2,600 visits as based on six months in 1934.

service to tuberculosis patients and their families—the “contacts”—is that of nursing visits. As part of the public tuberculosis control, nursing service is second in importance only to clinic facilities, while institutional facilities are probably the most important treatment resource. If the number of publicly operated clinics is a gauge of the official responsibility exercised, the low standard of service would be indicated by the fact that local public clinics numbered only three out of thirty-seven, while local plus state clinics accounted for eight out of the thirty-seven. Of the roughly 33,000 visits recorded, only some 11 percent are reported by official clinics. Nursing service is not only insufficient in the aggregate, but it emphasizes the same general characteristics as the clinical service: serious deficiency outside Pittsburgh, unequal sharing by the public departments, and, by reason of the lack of a county health service, only state-paid and voluntary services in the county. Of some thirty thousand nursing visits in 1934 to tuberculosis cases, only one-sixth were made outside Pittsburgh. Even Pittsburgh’s services fell, in 1933, below two-thirds of the standard required by the Appraisal form. By this criterion the rest of the county does not qualify to the extent of 10 percent. Of these visits, moreover, the Public Health Nursing Association, a voluntary organization financed by the Community Fund, accounted for three-fourths, the Tuberculosis League for some 7 percent and the combined efforts of City Health Department and state clinics for only about one-sixth. The most conspicuous part of the treatment of tuberculosis is that afforded by hospitals and sanatoria, treatment regarded as necessary at some time for practically any patient with active symptoms of the disease.

There are eight medical institutions serving the needs of Allegheny County. Two of them are municipal institutions serving exclusively the city of Pittsburgh (one under the Department of Health, and one under the Department of Public Welfare); one, a county hospital under the County Directors of the Poor; three are state hospitals admitting patients from a considerable territory beyond Allegheny County; a Veterans’ Hospital under Federal control and one conducted by the Tuberculosis League serving theoretically the entire county. There seems to be no definite allocation of space to Pittsburgh or Allegheny County in the state or Federal hospitals, and available bed capacity in these institutions can only be calculated on the basis of patient-days of local residents. There is listed on page 812 the available bed capacity for tuberculosis patients in the city of Pittsburgh.⁴⁰

Pittsburgh has the exclusive use of 423 beds, and by inclusion of the apparent “allocations,” 606 beds. For these facilities⁴¹ the report shows

⁴⁰ See also Table 62, *infra*.

⁴¹ Apparently some 70 extra beds are used as a sort of camp extension at the City Home and Hospitals, raising the theoretical capacity to 676.

	BED CAPACITY FOR TUBERCULOSIS	TOTAL BED CAPACITY
City Tuberculosis Hospital	290	290
City Home and Hospitals	133	2,935
Three state sanatoria	67	2,515
Veterans' Hospital	35	181
Tuberculosis League Hospital	81	150

225,955 patient-days for 1933, or the equivalent of an average daily occupancy of 620 beds. On the basis of a standard (now generally accepted) of two beds per annual death from this cause (on a five-year average), Pittsburgh is little better than half prepared to hospitalize its tuberculous patients. This judgment is further supported by the existing ratio of minimal cases on admission, 11 percent (Table 62), instead of the more reasonable standard of 20 percent, shown for 1933; a similarly low rate, 4 percent instead of 10 percent, is shown for admissions of persons under fifteen years of age.

By this time the reader is undoubtedly prepared for lower standards all around for the county territory outside Pittsburgh. Accurate data are not fully available, but an approximation is possible. As against 423 beds under public management in Pittsburgh (493 counting camp extension), the county has 256 beds, one-fourth less, despite a larger population. As against 188,573⁴² patient-days reported for 1933 in the two Pittsburgh institutions and for Pittsburgh residents in the Tuberculosis League Hospital, 89,416⁴³ were reported for the county's institution and the county residents of the Tuberculosis League Hospital: less than half for an appreciably larger population. To make up for this deficiency, there is perforce a greater utilization of beds outside the county hospital. Thus if the ratio of admission to "allocated" beds is the same for the rest of the county as for Pittsburgh, the three state sanatoria may be regarded as affording 363 beds, the Veterans' Hospital 46 beds, and the Tuberculosis League Hospital 150 beds, or a total, including the 256 of the county home, of 815⁴⁴ for county use, of which about half is outside the county.

The care of children who, because of contact with tuberculous cases or of subnormal vitality, are in need of special protection is an important part of the tuberculosis control program. Only a limited number of children receive this care in Pittsburgh, and a negligible number in the county outside Pittsburgh (as reported for 1933, three were admitted to the Tuberculosis League Hospital from the county, 13 to the county home,

⁴² Calculated from data obtained for and reported in the hospital study. Cf. chap. xviii, *supra*.

⁴³ *Ibid*.

⁴⁴ The ratio is based on capacity and admissions in Table 62 for Pittsburgh (each institution being considered separately); 38:67, 50:35, 115:81. Admissions reported for the county territory are 206, 81 and 118, respectively.

TABLE 62

HOSPITALIZATION OF PITTSBURGH CASES OF TUBERCULOSIS, 1933

	TOTAL	CITY TUBERCU- LOSIS HOSPITALS ^a	CITY HOME AND HOSPITALS	TUBERCU- LOSIS LEAGUE HOSPI- TAL ^b	STATE- SANATORIA ^a	VETER- ANS' HOSPI- TAL ^b
Number of beds	562	246	133	81 ^c	67 ^c	35 ^c
Number of ad- missions	695	239	253	115	38	50
Adults	668	227	253	110	28	50
Children under 15 years	27	12	0	5	10	0
Cases under care during year	1,298	473	455	180	98	92
Adults	1,251	446	455	175	83	92
Children under 15 years	47	27	0	5	15	0
Total patient- days	225,955	85,456	73,365	29,752	24,470	12,912
Average daily census	620	234	201	81	67	35
Percent of ad- missions classed as:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0 ^d	100.0	100.0
Minimal	10.8	15.5	13.4	6.6	7.9	4.0
Moderately advanced	30.0	36.0	12.3	41.4	15.8	26.0
Far advanced	49.7	35.1	73.9	41.1	44.7	58.0
Others ^e	9.5	13.4	.4	10.9	31.6	12.0

^a Exclusive of the preventorium.

^b Although these hospitals serve areas larger than Pittsburgh, only care provided for Pittsburghers is presented here.

^c Estimated as allocation by calculating Pittsburgh residents from patient-day count.

^d Percentages based on total number of patients admitted regardless of residence, but it is assumed that the percentages for Pittsburgh admissions would be similar.

^e Includes cases admitted for observation and for surgical treatment and non-tuberculosis cases.

while 69 admissions under fifteen years of age are reported for the three state hospitals).

The Pittsburgh Department of Health maintains a preventorium of 44 beds at the City Tuberculosis Hospital for the care of pre-tuberculous child patients of five to twelve years of age. The number of children under preventorium care during 1930 and 1933 is shown below:

	1930	1933
Number of new admissions	37	34
Total number of children under care	78	76
Total patient-days care	15,233	15,123
Average length of stay in days of dismissed cases	474	514

The first open-air school in Pittsburgh, said to have been the second in the United States, was started by the Tuberculosis League in September, 1908. Since 1910 the open-air schools in the city have been financed by the Board of Public Education. In 1930 the board operated four open-air schools; one at the preventorium of the city Tuberculosis Hospital, one at the Tuberculosis League Hospital, and two in public schools. The school at the League Hospital was discontinued in 1933, and the children were transferred to the open-air school operated in the nearby public school. Children eligible for Grades 3 to 8 are admitted on the basis of malnutrition as determined by the school physician and substantiated by clinical findings. The instruction corresponds with that of the public schools. The average enrollment in the school year 1932-33 was 121, compared with 150 in 1929-30. The average length of stay in the schools is between two and two and one-half years.

There are twenty-seven summer camps sponsored by Pittsburgh agencies where a large number of children and adults spend two weeks of their vacation. Although it is possible to obtain fresh-air care for a few tuberculous contact children, there is no camp in the community which is primarily concerned with their care.

The education of the public with regard to early diagnosis and treatment is a very necessary part of a tuberculosis-control program. The organized program for community health instruction in tuberculosis control in Pittsburgh is for the most part provided by the Tuberculosis League. The Tuberculosis League sponsors an Early Diagnosis Campaign launched each spring, as well as the annual Christmas Seal Campaign. The Early Diagnosis Campaign, an all-year project, features the value of more intensive case finding. Lectures and talks are given before organized groups and over the radio in an effort to stimulate case reporting and early diagnosis. The annual Christmas Seal Campaign is directed toward keeping the community informed of the tuberculosis problem. Some of the funds secured by local committees are used toward district nursing services.

During 1933 the League distributed 50,000 pamphlets in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, and the staff gave 201 lectures and radio talks. Motion pictures were shown to thirty audiences. The schools in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County feature health education in various ways.

Tuberculosis services in Pittsburgh, on a quantitative basis, receive a score of about three-fourths of the Appraisal-form standard for the years 1933 and 1934. The rating for the county, with its very limited nursing, clinic, and sanatoria services, would be considerably below that of this city. The clinical service, including consulting diagnostic service, of the Tuberculosis League is of a high order, as is the medical and surgical care of patients in the institution. The Negro health survey brought to light

significant findings which challenge future program planning to provide more adequate services for this group of the population.

The major deficiencies in the tuberculosis-control program of the county are due to the lack of an active tuberculosis register to show currently the location and status of known living cases; incomplete reporting of cases in the county area; inadequate nursing staff for home supervision of clinical and post-sanatorium cases; low percentage of cases registered at clinics and admitted to sanatoria early in the course of the disease when they may be most benefited; lack of standardized procedure in reporting to health departments cases discharged from sanatoria; and very limited facilities for the hospitalization and care of children and Negroes.⁴⁵ There is need for additional clinic hours and for clinics served by a sufficient number of physicians and nurses with special training in tuberculosis care. The clinics should be properly equipped to insure careful diagnosis and adequate records, including provision of X-ray facilities and trained personnel for interpretation of films.

A coördinated plan to insure most effective administrative procedures has not yet been developed. More detailed agency records of activities would undoubtedly reveal greater and more extensive services than we have been able to present here, although the need for correlating these services is apparent. A more effective program would doubtless result if the home follow-up nursing service for tuberculosis were more closely coördinated. Related to this problem is the importance of a bureau of public health nursing with a properly qualified supervisor.

Citizens should recognize the responsibility of the City Department of Health for the control of tuberculosis and the necessity for providing adequate facilities to fulfill the obligation entailed by this responsibility. In a city as large as Pittsburgh and certainly for the entire county with its more than 1,300,000 population there should be a separate bureau of tuberculosis in the health department, administered by a clinician with adequate training in tuberculosis practice and health administration. The State Health Department should extend its services in the county area until such time as a county health department may be developed. Among other things, a responsible trained person should be secured to give full time to the development, stimulation, and maintenance of a comprehensive program of tuberculosis control.

Venereal disease control.—The diseases syphilis and gonorrhea represent two of our most serious public health problems. An adequate plan for combating them should include and correlate public health activities with medical measures, educational measures, recreational and protec-

⁴⁵ See report of Pittsburgh Advisory Committee on Tuberculosis with relation to Mayview and Leech Farm.

tive social measures, and law enforcement. Only the public health measures and certain phases of medical and educational activity fall directly within the health officer's field. In the conduct of such a program, a health department should endeavor particularly to secure close coöperation with the State Department of Health, the county medical society, and voluntary public health and nursing agencies. Among other provisions, experience has shown the need of a law requiring notification of all cases of venereal diseases under such conditions as will best insure action for protection of the community and care for the individual. Syphilis is probably the basic cause of more deaths than any other disease, while gonorrhea is an important cause of much incapacity and suffering. The etiology of these diseases and methods of diagnosis and treatment are known. Yet there is lacking in Allegheny County an organized program to ascertain the scope of the problem or to provide systematic treatment and follow-up service on a city or county-wide basis.

The State Department of Health has a section on venereal disease clinics consisting of a director, clerks, and part-time clinicians. Arsenicals for treatment are supplied on requisition to certain official clinics, but not to out-patient departments of hospitals, which handle most of the treatment work in the county. By law, all inmates of penal institutions are required to be examined; and if found infected with a venereal disease, they are treated.⁴⁶

Various hospitals in Pittsburgh, and two in the rest of the county (McKeesport and Sewickley), operating independently, conduct clinics where treatment for venereal infections is available. Falk Clinic, formerly the Pittsburgh Free Dispensary, operated by the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine, provides treatment for a large number of cases. The hospital survey⁴⁷ showed that twenty-four out-patient departments of hospitals and two independent clinics in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County rendered the following services in 1933 to venereal cases:

TYPE OF CLINIC	WEEKLY SESSIONS	HOURS PER WEEK	NUMBER OF VISITS
All clinics	89	156½	81,768
Dermatology	19	25½	14,927
Venereal	10	18	15,306
Genito-urinary	30	50½	38,277
Gynecology	30	52½	13,258

⁴⁶ The state police have been appointed health officers, and they operate, therefore, in a dual capacity, although their duties are kept separate. When they are functioning as health officers in a "health raid," they act under the reasonable suspicion clause of the quarantine law, the apprehended prostitutes being taken to a detention house where the bail feature is unavailing.

⁴⁷ Cf. *supra*, chap. xviii.

These visits represented 14.2 percent of the total clinic visits reported for all purposes. In the Pittsburgh Appraisal it was noted that some four thousand new patients reported to fourteen of these clinics in a year, but that the average annual visits per patient were only eight as compared with the Appraisal standard of fifteen. In other words, the frequency of visits to a clinic for these diseases which require systematic treatment averaged only a little more than half a minimum standard. There is no regulation requiring the reporting of cases of gonorrhea, chancroid, and syphilis, although such a report is important. Furthermore, there should be a provision for the assembly of current information from all clinics and hospitals regarding cases under supervision, treatments given, and other pertinent data. A limited number of infected persons who fail to continue treatment until noninfectious, are reported to the Department of Health, but there is little follow-up service, except by the Morals Court.

In 1930 a Division of Venereal Disease Control was developed in the Bureau of Infectious Diseases in Pittsburgh to continue some work which had been done under the State Department of Health. The work of the examining physician is done in coöperation with the Morals Court, where all cases involving women and minors sixteen years of age or more are tried. By order of the court, any female offender may be given a complete physical examination, including analysis of smears and blood. If the woman is found to have a venereal disease in an infectious stage, she is committed to the City Hospital at Mayview to be given regular treatment. During 1933 a physician and a nurse of the Department of Health made 171 visits to the Morals Court, the physician examined 528 patients, of whom 69 were placed under quarantine at Mayview.

Institutional care for infectious cases is provided also by the Home of the Good Shepherd. In 1930 the home had under treatment 170 venereal cases. Of this number, 104 were gonorrhea cases, and 66 were syphilis. The average length of the quarantine period is eight months.⁴⁸

In connection with the Negro tuberculosis survey in Pittsburgh,⁴⁹ 8,385 persons were examined at the survey clinic, of whom 3,624 were male. Of this number, 12.1 percent of the males and 11.1 percent of the females were diagnosed as having syphilis. The disease predominated in young adults, occurring before age thirty more frequently in females than in males; but in persons of more than thirty years, the ratio was reversed. An analysis by occupation shows that 20.7 percent of those diagnosed as

⁴⁸ In 1931, 68 cases of gonorrhea and 46 cases of chancroid were given 2,081 treatments at the Home of the Good Shepherd. At McKeesport Hospital in that year there were 158 cases of gonorrhea, 109 cases of syphilis and one case of chancroid, with 5,371 treatments given.

⁴⁹ Elsie Witcher, *Tuberculosis and the Negro in Pittsburgh*, Tuberculosis League of Pittsburgh, 1934.

having syphilis were employed as domestics. More than four-fifths of the syphilis diagnosed in females was in women of child-bearing age. The survey report properly emphasized the hazard to public health and the dangers of congenital syphilis. It further stressed the problem of inadequate treatment facilities among indigent Negroes. Only about one-third of the cases were under treatment when the survey terminated, and almost one-fourth had never been treated.

Earlier in this chapter brief consideration was given to the problem of hospitalization of venereal disease cases, especially to the lack of facilities for acute cases. Of all the hospital beds in the county, only twenty-eight, or 0.4 percent, were listed on the census day as designated for venereal disease cases; but there were forty-eight cases actually in the hospitals. While only six institutions stated that they do not admit cases of venereal disease, the hospital analysis would suggest that the prevalent practice is, in fact, to exclude this type of case.

Since the treatment of venereal infection is necessarily of long duration and expensive and the incidence is to a considerable extent in the population group having little appreciation of the importance of these diseases, a large proportion of patients discontinue treatment before being cured or rendered noninfectious. Follow-up of patients who discontinue treatment is limited in both official and unofficial bodies.

Health practices for the control of syphilis and gonorrhea receive a rating of only four-tenths of the appraisal form quota for Pittsburgh, while the services are much less for the rest of the county. Considerable work is done by private physicians for patients who can afford private treatment and by hospital clinics for others, but there is no carefully planned and organized program. Such a program should be based on a more detailed study of the problem than has been possible here, and the General Health Council should be in position to render a most valuable service in this connection. Furthermore, this problem of syphilis and gonorrhea should be approached as a health problem rather than by giving major emphasis to the moral and police aspects. With regard to some patients it is true that both groups are involved, and coöperation is necessary. Application of epidemiological methods, more emphasis on the discovery of sources of infection, and on follow-up of lapsed cases are important features of a modern program.

Brief reference to experience elsewhere seems appropriate. In view of the special problems presented by these diseases, it is usual for the health officer to permit physicians who will agree to act as his representatives to report their cases by number and withhold names and addresses, so long as patients remain under treatment and observe all precautions to prevent the exposure of others to infection. The administration of law should, how-

ever, require the prompt reporting by name and address of every recalcitrant patient, and the health officer should take such measures as are necessary to return infectious patients to medical control. Unless exceptional conditions exist, reasonably coöperative reporting should show at least 600 new cases per year per 100,000 population, while some thousand old cases would remain under treatment from the preceding year.

Health departments should coöperate with the medical profession in diagnostic and treatment procedures, and, in so far as it may be necessary to supplement hospital and clinic facilities, actually operate clinics under such conditions of free and part-pay service as local circumstances warrant. Where practicable, it is better that such clinics should be a part of the out-patient service of a general hospital. The importance of an adequate follow-up service and of an organized educational program should be stressed.⁵⁰

SCHOOL HEALTH SUPERVISION

There is no essential difference between the health of a child at school and that of a child who is not at school. The nation-wide acceptance of school health supervision lies, therefore, not in any peculiarity of that phase of public health. Rather, it represents the general recognition of the importance of good health in the future life of the child. Supervision by the school opens up the practical possibility of continuous oversight during ten years or more of the child's life, gives an opportunity for instruction in hygiene to child and parent, and incidentally provides an additional opportunity for detecting and preventing the spread of communicable diseases; not least of its advantages is the fact that it provides timely opportunity for the application of corrective measures for any remediable defects that may be discovered by examination of the child. Recent developments have made the health of the school child a common problem of public health and school officials, and there has been a tendency to entrust its administration to medical personnel under school administration, with public health officials acting in advisory capacity.

Under this system local school health provisions follow the general pattern of public school administration in the state, divided into four classes, designated school districts of the first, second, third and fourth class.⁵¹ In the first three of these classes medical inspectors for schools are appointed by the local school authorities,⁵² with the State Department of

⁵⁰ See *Community Health Organization*, p. 81, and *Venereal Disease Information Bulletins*, of the United States Public Health Service.

⁵¹ Cf. *supra*, chap. ii.

⁵² Except that parochial schools in Pittsburgh are served by the municipal Health Department.

Health nominally serving in an advisory capacity. The fourth-class districts are served by local physicians who are appointed, paid, and directed by the State Department of Health⁵³ (except in Edgewood which has provided locally for this service). These inspectors receive twenty cents per pupil examined. Children with defects are referred to private physicians (by school nurses in districts of the first three classes and by the state nurses in the smaller districts). The section on school hygiene in the state department has standardized, so far as possible, medical examinations throughout the state and receives periodic reports from the districts. The dental section in the state Bureau of Child Welfare serves largely in an educational capacity, encouraging local communities to place dental hygienists on their teaching staffs.

Pittsburgh is the only first-class school district in the county. The program for 1934 was similar to that of 1933 described in detail in the Pittsburgh Health Appraisal report,⁵⁴ which has been liberally used here. The responsibility for this work rests jointly with the Board of Public Education and the City Department of Public Health. The Board of Education, through the Department of Hygiene, provides for the physical examination of all public school children in order to detect physical defects. Immunization and control of contagion in public and parochial schools and the physical examination of parochial school children are activities of the Department of Health through its Bureau of Child Welfare. To prevent duplication in the personnel dealing with the health of school children, an arrangement has been made whereby the Department of Health and the Board of Education jointly employ the same staff of physicians and nurses.

Details for the school health service of Pittsburgh are omitted here, as they are given in full in the Appraisal publication for the city. In summary, it may be stated that school health services in Pittsburgh score more than eight-tenths of the Appraisal standard in 1933. Among further improvements which might be considered in the future are:

(a) The development of regular conferences of principal, teachers, and associated nurses to explain the coördination of working relationships in the school health service program.

(b) The development of parent-teacher-nurse conferences at schools for consideration of health problems of the school child as a supplement to home visits by nurses.

(c) Increased efforts to enlist the interest of parents to be present during at least the first regular examination of the school pupils.

⁵³ In 1933-34 the sum of at least \$160,000 would have been needed in the state for adequate school inspection in these districts, but only \$32,000 was appropriated.

⁵⁴ *Supra*, p. 775.

(d) Provision of a plan whereby teachers are acquainted with the results of the medical and dental examinations and the progress of the follow-up work.

(e) Gradual increase in the provision of larger play areas for schools with adequate supervision of recreation activities.

(f) Appointment of a small Joint Committee on School Health Supervision representing the Departments of Education and Health, and also the County Medical Society Conferences on the dental society, the nursing and social service groups, to provide for joint program planning and correlation of services.

McKeesport is the only second-class school district in the county, employs one physician, two nurses, and a dental hygienist, carries on routine physical examinations, "pupil examinations," vaccinations when needed, nurses' visits in the homes, dental prophylaxis, and so forth.

Third-class districts comprise 35 percent of the county's population, with some 93,000-odd pupils in their public schools. Medical inspectors, provided in all of these districts, make annual examinations of the pupils,⁵⁵ and endeavor to control communicable disease and to stimulate the correction of physical defects. Twenty-two boroughs and townships, with a combined school population of 42,806 (45 percent of the pupils in third-class districts), are without school nursing service. Two of these districts have dental service. In two districts the school administration provides the nurses who work under the supervision of the Public Health Nursing Association, while in a third, this organization does the school nursing work along with its regular community nursing. Reports of the school health services are sent to the State Department of Public Instruction and to the County Superintendent (except for independent districts) on uniform record blanks. The two major deficiencies are the lack of adequate school nursing personnel and of routine provision for correcting the defects discovered.

The program of Clairton deserves special mention, as it seems to be more complete than that of most communities in the county. There are some 4,400 pupils. The medical inspector's work corresponds to that of the other districts. Two nurses work in the schools and do the home follow-up. Weekly dental clinics are held in schools for the examination of all children in the first and second grades and for the correction of dental defects. All of the eight dentists in the city participate in the program, working in rotation. By the end of each school year, it is the aim of the school to have corrected the dental defects of all first- and second-grade public school pupils. Consideration is being given to the extension of this program to parochial school pupils, as has been done in a few other places. By health instruction, by classroom teachers, by special teachers in high school, it is aimed to permeate the entire curriculum, and a special course of study has been devised for this purpose.

⁵⁵ Some districts were limiting inspection to primary grades at the time of this study.

The net school enrollment in the fourth-class school districts is 37,071, and school nursing service is provided locally for 11,655 of these pupils. The work in the other schools is carried on by the four state nurses. Their program of follow-up of tuberculosis, communicable disease cases, and of crippled children together with work in the clinics and child health conferences is so heavy that the amount of time remaining for school nursing work is exceedingly limited. Furthermore, the school medical inspection provided for this large group of school children living in districts representing 12 percent of the county population, is also very limited, except in Edgewood with its 850 pupils.

The Edgewood program, still within the fourth-class category, deserves special mention because of its careful development beginning in 1907 of a practical procedure for this type of community, at a cost of only \$1,500 a year, or less than \$2 per pupil. Beginning with the opening of school, a thorough medical examination is given each child by a group of physicians acquainted with routine physical examinations, working throughout each school day until the task is completed. The results are sent to parents in personal letters signed by the superintendent, with the request that parents review the report of the physical condition with their family physician. The school physician spends an hour at school each morning during the school year, to pass on re-admissions, to examine children referred for other special purposes, and to interview parents. Protection against diphtheria is stimulated, and more than 80 percent of the children are said to be immunized. Since 1910 a method of communicable disease control has been followed for diseases such as measles and chickenpox whereby nonimmune contacts of a case in a classroom are isolated in their homes on the ninth calendar day after known exposure for a period of at least five days. This process, coupled with careful checks of suspicious symptoms, has been helpful in keeping communicable disease spread to a minimum.

School health work in Allegheny County, outside Pittsburgh, is very uneven, varying from a complete medical, nursing, dental, and health instruction program in the city of Clairton, and a well organized program in Edgewood and McKeesport, including special classes, to lack even of annual examination in some of the fourth-class districts. The third-class districts have medical inspections, but nearly half lack the fully-as-important nursing service. Limitation of facilities for the correction of physical defects represents a great handicap.

MATERNITY AND CHILD HYGIENE

In so far as the modern public health program reaches out beyond laboratories and engineering service into preventive work for the masses

of individual persons, it is in the field of maternity and child hygiene that it finds perhaps its greatest opportunities. It has successfully established health care in the school system, and it has been pressing on to pre-school and infant care and to maternity care as well. By this time, the expectant mother, the infant, and the child approaching school age are recognized as within the scope of responsibility of a public health program. This responsibility has two principal phases. One concerns itself with establishing standards of care and reporting systems affecting the private practitioners in the field of medicine (physicians, nurses, midwives); the other deals with direct services to mothers and children who might not in the course of ordinary events recognize the necessity or possess the resources for seeking and obtaining the appropriate medical services.

Maternity and child hygiene might, if so defined, cover almost the whole field of medical practice. In the sense in which it constitutes a recognized part of the public health program it may be considered as comprising the following central features:

Respecting what is conveniently designated as maternity care we have:

- Supervision of an instruction to expectant mothers
- Obstetrical service
- Post-natal care of mother and infant.

Child hygiene includes for the infant and pre-school periods:

- Medical supervision
- Milk supply
- Nutrition service
- Immunization
- Corrective treatment

In both divisions of the field, services center in the work of physicians and nurses, but they include dental and other special professional skills: organizationally they imply the existence of some stimulating and co-ordinating body, preferably the local health department, volunteer bodies such as medical organizations and health council, institutional facilities, principally clinics, some standardizing and supervising body, and, behind it all, adequate financial resources.

In Pennsylvania several bureaus of the State Department of Health supply the basic standardizing and educational requisites. These are not sufficient, however, to take the place of the activities of local health bodies where these are inadequate or in the rural sections where they do not exist.⁵⁶

The pre-school division of the State Department of Health conducts

⁵⁶ The Child Welfare Bureau of the State Department of Health includes divisions for pre-school, school, and dental hygiene. The bureaus of Public Health Nursing and of Public Health Education are also interested.

child health centers in the county outside Pittsburgh, assists in the child health program of preparation for school, and distributes literature. Midwives are registered and supervised by the State Department of Health. *Ophthalmia neonatorum* is a reportable disease, the installation of a prophylactic solution in the eyes of newborn infants is required, and the material is supplied. Lying-in hospitals and children's homes are licensed by the Department of Welfare.

Inasmuch as dependence for this entire field is so largely upon local health departments and upon clinics and social agencies, it might be expected that the standards and available services in Allegheny County would be far more advanced in Pittsburgh than in the rest of the county. While Pittsburgh did not score more than nine-tenths for its prenatal and obstetrical care services in 1933, about the same in infant hygiene, and less than three-fourths for pre-school services, the score for the county program would undoubtedly be far below this rate, despite the auxiliary resources represented by the school nurses and the extension of the work of Pittsburgh's voluntary agencies into the rest of the county.

The first essential in a system of maternity hygiene is to make provision for the supervision of the health of the expectant mother. In view of the prevalence of poverty and of considerable lack of public understanding of the nature and importance of prenatal care, this program implies the need for extensive clinical and nursing services.⁵⁷ From the data available for the present inquiry (unfortunately less complete for the rest of the county than for Pittsburgh) it appears that only one prenatal clinic conducted in the county area, in 1934, was that in Braddock under the auspices of the Public Health Nursing Association. Pittsburgh lists eighteen such clinics in 1934,⁵⁸ in addition to the special program of maternity care for indigent persons inaugurated in August, 1933, and providing a public subsidy for such cases treated by private physicians and hospitals.⁵⁹ There are no prenatal clinics under public auspices anywhere in the county. Neither is there any prenatal nursing service, which, like the clinic service, is far less generally available outside than within Pittsburgh. It is almost exclusively given by the Public Health Nursing Association, by the nurses employed by two life insurance companies, to some degree by four local community nurses, and by the four state-paid nurses comprising part of the staff attached to the County Medical Director. It is

⁵⁷ An analysis of neonatal deaths and stillbirths in their relationship to economic status of families and health of mothers, made by the Public Health Nursing Association, showed the need of extended maternity care. The maternity mortality rate of cases carried by the organization in 1934 was 2.7 per 1,000 live births, comparing favorably with a general rate of 6.6 for the city of Pittsburgh.

⁵⁸ Detailed information for Pittsburgh services is contained in the Appraisal Report published by the Bureau of Social Research. Only general reference will be made here.

⁵⁹ Cf. discussion of medical relief pp. 764 ff., *supra*.

within the province of the work of these nurses to teach the hygiene of pregnancy, preparation for delivery, dietary facts, and other routines, to advise medical attention, to collect specimens for urinalysis on request, and so forth. The Public Health Nursing Association, in accordance with its purpose of serving so far as possible the entire county, reports service to 3,811 out of 9,310 prenatal cases in 1934, or a little better than 40 percent in the area outside Pittsburgh. This proportion, while not in keeping with the actual distribution of the population, exceeds the share of service usually obtained by the county population.

Obstetrical care, as the next step in maternity service, may be given as part of complete supervision beginning with prenatal care—as in the cases of the University Maternity Dispensary in Pittsburgh—or independently. This care cannot, of course, be given in clinics, and therefore takes place either in a hospital or in the home. In the former case it becomes part of the hospital routine and is somewhat outside the scope of the present discussion. After discharge from the hospital, however, continued supervision is necessary, and when the services of a private physician or nurse are not available, this becomes a part of the public health nursing program for maternity care.⁶⁰ Obstetrical service may be regarded, therefore, as including this follow-up (*post partum*) service given by the public health nurse and nursing service in assisting the physician in connection with home deliveries. In view of the increasing ratio of hospital deliveries,⁶¹ *post partum* service is gaining in importance (of maternity visits made by nurses of the Public Health Nursing Association, more than 80 percent are *post partum* or infant-care visits).

Taken as a whole, Pittsburgh presents an extensive, but not yet complete, maternity service, with the rest of the county years behind and with little sign of progress except as the extension of the work of the Public Health Nursing Association into the county may promise better results.

The chief distinction between infant and child care—up to one year

⁶⁰ For the protection of those mothers who for one reason or another use the service of a midwife (2.7 percent in 1933), midwives are examined and licensed by the State Board of Medical Education and Licensure and supervised by the City Department of Health in Pittsburgh and by the state nurses in the rest of the county. There were 29 licensed midwives in Pittsburgh in 1933, each midwife registering annually with the Bureau of Child Welfare of the Department of Health. Provision is made by state law whereby the midwife must report every birth within 48 hours after delivery. Such cases reported in Pittsburgh are visited by a nurse from the Bureau of Child Welfare (263 visits in 1933) who makes a report of the condition of mother and infant, together with pertinent information on the handling of the case by the midwife. If the conditions found are not satisfactory, the nurse revisits as long as the condition warrants. The proportion attended by midwives in some areas of the county is higher than in Pittsburgh.

⁶¹ Figures for Pittsburgh indicate that the percentage is continually increasing: 18.3 percent in 1920; 48.8 percent in 1930; 59.7 percent in 1933 (5,561 out of 9,308 live births).

of age and above one year, respectively—is occasioned by the fact that mortality within the first year is, even under the best conditions, much higher than at a later period, due to causes that seem to have high specific application to the first twelve-month period. Death rates are reported separately for this age-period (they also constitute part of the total death rate), and calculated, not on a basis of population, but on a basis of births per year. Deaths are heaviest during the first month (the Pittsburgh figures for 1933 indicated 61 percent of the total of deaths under one year of age). Infant care is therefore in a sense almost a part of maternity care. The infant mortality in Pittsburgh is still high, an average of 71.2 per thousand births annually for 1929–33 as compared with 63.1 for the Registration Area of the United States Census.

Obviously, service to infants or very young children must be given chiefly by way of their mothers; it is done through “health conferences,” nursing supervision, education in problems of nutrition; the direct service to the child consists in immunization, physical examination, sometimes corrective treatment, and the special supply of milk. The latter includes provision of mother’s milk for infants and the general practice of supplying milk for insufficiently nourished children. These services Pittsburgh makes available to a reasonable degree.⁶² Health conferences are conducted under the Bureau of Child Welfare of the Department of Health, the Public Health Nursing Association, and the Pittsburgh and Allegheny Milk and Ice Association. Many of the out-patient departments of hospitals supervise well children; some operate well-baby clinics. The Bureau of Child Welfare conducts milk stations and provides medical advice as part of that service; a registry for mother’s milk is conducted. Pre-school physical examinations are held. Immunization is provided, though not on a consistently high level, for both school children and children of pre-school age. Of more than 10,000 children given diphtheria immunization by school medical inspectors in 1933, about half were under six years of age.⁶³

⁶² For details, see the Appraisal Report.

⁶³ During the winter of 1933 the Bureau of Child Welfare supervised a diphtheria immunization survey conducted as a Civil Works Administration project. Thirty nurses were employed to make house-to-house visits in the city in order to find out the number of pre-school children who had been immunized against diphtheria. A record was made of the pre-school children in each family, their ages, whether or not they had been immunized (for those who had been immunized, whether the treatment had been given by a private physician or by a health organization), together with any information regarding the ability of the family to pay for this service and any objections to it. The nurses secured this information for 40,044 children from six months to six years of age who were not attending school. Less than 20 percent of these children had been immunized either by a private physician or by one of the medical inspectors in the Bureau of Child Welfare. The Appraisal standard requires that 60 percent of the pre-school children be protected from diphtheria. The plan inaugurated by the Depart

For all of these services reports for the county area outside Pittsburgh show a relatively very low level of adequacy. There being no county health department, no county-wide school department, only insufficient state service, and little more than "overflow" services from Pittsburgh's agencies, the infant and child welfare of the county is in a very backward stage. The Public Health Nursing Association conducted three child conference centers in the county (Braddock and McKees Rocks) as against fourteen in Pittsburgh in 1934. Under state auspices nine centers are reported in the county in the following communities: Braddock, Homestead, East Pittsburgh, Library, Millvale, Rankin, Tarentum, Turtle Creek, and Coverdale. Some work is reported by local nursing associations or under women's clubs in Allison Park, Duquesne, Glassport, Glenfield, Leetsdale, McKeesport, Oakmont, Penn Township, Sewickley, Springdale, and Wilmerding. The quantitative distribution of these services, where they are shared by the county at all, is indicated by the following illustrative statistics:⁶⁴

	PITTSBURGH	COUNTY OUTSIDE PITTSBURGH
Infant		
Registration	6,980	970
Visits	39,647	5,196
Pre-school		
Registration	4,629	834
Visits	24,929	3,736

Exceptional undertakings such as the child-health inquiry for families receiving unemployment relief, sponsored by the Allegheny County Child Health Committee in November, 1933, and conducted in 1934, did give proportionate attention to the county area, but they can hardly be regarded as permanent resources. They did serve, however, to show the serious neglect of such important items as vaccination and immunization. Some of the data uncovered are listed on page 828.

PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING SERVICES

It is clear from the preceding pages that the public health nurse is involved in every phase of the health program that touches directly the individual patient, family, or beneficiary of preventive treatment. Whether in connection with the control of communicable disease, in the school health supervision, in maternity, infant or pre-school child care, or in

ment of Health during the fall of 1934, in coöperation with the County Medical Society (*Pittsburgh Medical Bulletin*, November 10, 1934) of supplying material without charge to private physicians for immunizing pre-school children and the payment to the physician of fifty cents for each child reported immunized should result in the protection of a much larger proportion of these very young children.

⁶⁴ For the division of labor in the Public Health Nursing Association between Pittsburgh and the county, see p. Table 63, p. 828, *infra*.

	CITY AND COUNTY COMBINED		COUNTY AREA ONLY	
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Total examined	7,366	100.0	3,867	100.0
Not vaccinated	5,293	71.9	3,085	79.8
Not immunized	6,233	84.6	3,559	92.0
Malnutrition	2,510	34.1	1,030	26.2
Behavior disorders	1,061	14.4	400	10.3
Dental caries	2,963	40.2	1,664	43.0
Faulty tonsils	3,671	49.8	2,031	52.5
Enlarged glands	3,761	51.1	1,808	46.8
Cardiac defects ⁶⁵	375	5.1	166	4.3
Lung defects ⁶⁵	171	2.3	107	2.8
Eye defects ⁶⁵	442	6.0	211	5.5
Ear defects ⁶⁵	255	3.5	139	3.6

some of the educational programs still to be mentioned, the public health nurse is an indispensable participant, often carrying practically the entire load of service with only nominal attention from medical practitioners. The development of a large part of the public health service can be

TABLE 63

NUMBER OF PUBLIC HEALTH NURSES IN PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY COUNTY

ORGANIZATION	NUMBER OF NURSES
All agencies (37 agencies)	217
Pittsburgh (3 agencies)	132
City Health Department	
Bureau of Child Welfare	29
Bureau of Infectious Diseases	15
Division of Transmissible Diseases (11)	
Division of Tuberculosis (3)	
Morals Court (1)	
Public Health Nursing Association	86
Tuberculosis League ^a	2
Allegheny County (exclusive of Pittsburgh, 34 agencies) ^b	85
State Health Department	4
Department of County Schools (16 districts)	16
Independent School Districts (9 districts)	11
Public Health Nursing Association	38
Tuberculosis League ^c	1
Local Community Nursing Services	4
Carnegie (1)	
Oakmont (1)	
Coraopolis (1)	
Sewickley (1)	
Metropolitan Life Insurance Company	10
John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company	1

^a Three nurses are employed for city and county. This is an arbitrary allocation of 2 to city and 1 to county.

^b Each school district is considered as a separate agency.

^c This is an arbitrary allocation.

⁶⁵ Objective symptoms.

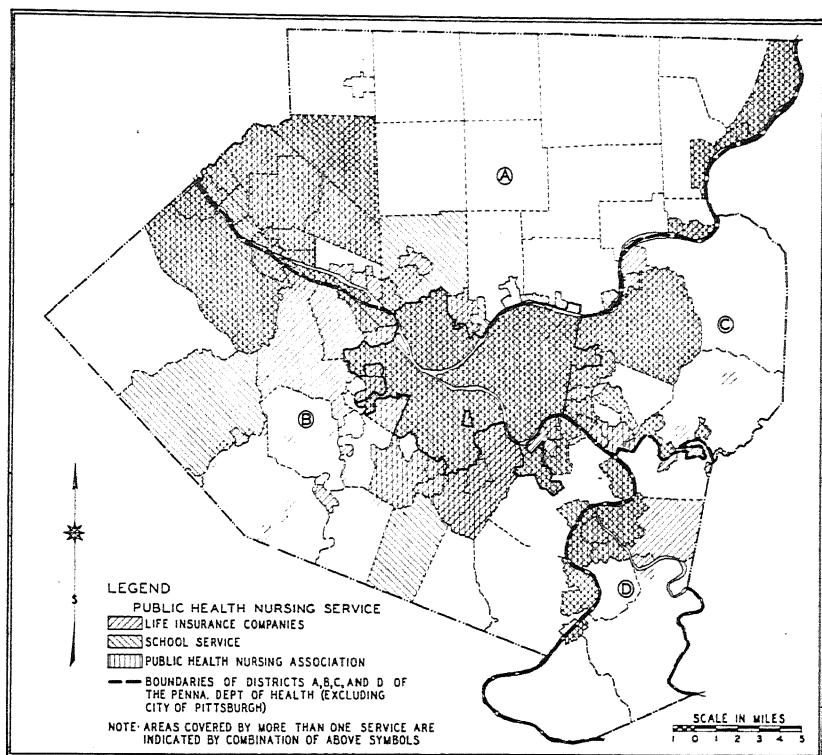


FIGURE 20

AREAS COVERED BY VARIOUS NURSING SERVICES, PUBLIC AND VOLUNTARY, IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY

thought of only as involving the expansion and effective organization of the nursing service. This service must parallel the organization of the specific medical activities and become part of it, while, for technical excellence it must be supervised and given leadership by its own professional personnel.

The shortcomings of the public health nursing service in Allegheny County may be summed up in a very simple statement: there are too few nurses and too many separate organizations administering their services. The general inequality between Pittsburgh and the rest of the county applies, of course, to public health nursing as it does to all of public health administration.

Table 63 summarizes the basic facts.

From these figures alone the inadequacy of nursing service is not, of course, clear. Based on the population as reported in the 1930 census, the

personnel as reported provides one nurse for 6,300 persons, taking the county as a whole; there is one nurse to about 5,000 in Pittsburgh, and one to 9,000 in the rest of the county. This proportion, however, is still an optimistic way of putting it, even compared with the ratio of 1:2000 as a rough standard, for a considerable section of the county is practically without any nursing service except for emergencies (when practicable). In other words, besides requiring two and one-half times the number of public health nurses now available for Pittsburgh and four and one-half times the number serving the county, territories practically unserved at present need to be supplied.

In the interest of the best nursing service, centralized organization and generalized service by the individual nurse geographically planned are regarded as representing the most satisfactory experience. In Pittsburgh all but two nurses (these under the Tuberculosis League) are responsible to two agencies, which is not so bad. In the county there are at least twenty-one administrative units, or if the several districts of the department of county schools are counted separately, there are thirty-six such units. Among the chief reasons why greater centralization is desirable is the fact that the observance of uniform standards is made possible that way and that the employment of supervisory personnel, essential for good service, is only possible in relatively large units.⁶⁶ Unfortunately, the existence of a large staff does not automatically insure the employment of appropriate supervisory staff. One of the first needs of the nursing service of the Pittsburgh Department of Health is, in fact, the organization of a separate bureau under the competent professional leadership of an experienced executive in that field.

So far as the crude facts of this sadly inadequate service are concerned, no amount of embellishment or explanation can make the situation look better than it is. A large part of the county is entirely neglected; much of it is only superficially supplied; Pittsburgh itself is insufficiently supplied. The chief answer is: more nurses. But merely adding nurses, even in sufficient numbers, will still leave several problems unsolved both in the present set-up and for future development. These may be listed, the important ones at any rate, as:

1. The problem of generalized vs. specialized nursing
2. The problem of supervision and control
3. The problem of finance
4. The problem of public vs. voluntary organization

⁶⁶ In the detailed report on the public health nursing service, copy of which has been transmitted to the responsible local persons, specific recommendations are offered on matters of organization, personnel practices, salaries, and so forth, which are here omitted.

These problems are indeed interrelated rather than separate, but that fact only serves to complicate things. Generalized nursing has been characteristic of the work of the public health nurse as it developed in connection with the bedside service on which the system of "visiting nursing" was founded. The possibilities of health education to patient and family have impressed themselves upon the movement to such an extent that public health nursing, even as represented by the main body of bedside practitioners doing "visiting nursing," has come to be regarded as an educational rather than a therapeutic or a remedial function. During recent years, however, the services of the public health nurse have been demanded by and have accompanied several health movements: medical school supervision, tuberculosis control, control of communicable diseases, maternity service, infant and pre-school hygiene, and so forth. Each of these services has been employing public health nurses. Their work, of necessity, involves home visiting. Problems in families tend toward complexity, and it came to pass that the same family would be visited by several nurses, representing several services, independently administered, overlapping, interfering, causing friction, excessive cost, and bewilderment to the patient. From this situation arose the theoretical compromise of continuing specialized services, but combining them, so far as possible, within the competence of the single nurse and, if possible, under the same agency. The difficulties in the way of this compromise lie both with the competence of the professional practitioner and with the problem of combining control.

At this point the factors involved are: the load on personnel and the uneven degree of training they represent; the willingness of separate bodies to merge or coördinate their work; the question of pooling financial resources; the basic question of the relation between public and voluntary agencies. These factors are further complicated by facts of a more or less accidental and local nature and by the general trend of conceiving the functions and duties of a department of health as a comprehensive and inclusive whole. Inasmuch as the situation differs considerably in Pittsburgh from that in the rest of the county, the two areas may be more profitably presented separately.

Pittsburgh has a health department. Health education, tuberculosis control, child hygiene, venereal disease control, quarantine and communicable disease control, and so forth, have become recognized as functions of the health department. This recognition has led to the creation of separate nursing staffs and bureaus, with resulting insufficient coördination of nursing within the department: the obvious remedy seems to be a bureau of nursing. School medical inspection and follow-up has come to be recognized as a function of the public school system, with the health

department necessarily continuing to have a stake in it, and so regarded by the laws defining the duties of state and local health departments. Conflict between health and school authorities may threaten, within the administrative if not the technical fields. Fortunately a satisfactory system of coördination has been worked out between these two departments, so that any serious conflict is being avoided.

Thus far we are dealing with tax-supported services, rather recent in historical development and associated primarily with the idea of control and for purposes of prevention. The major part of field nursing in Pittsburgh has been performed by the Public Health Nursing Association. Its standards, management, supervisory practices, and personnel are of the highest rank. Its work is based on bedside practice, but it extends far into the educational function. The Public Health Nursing Association is the heaviest potential sufferer in the field because of the conflict between bedside general nursing and specialized nursing. The field worker of that organization may find her task complicated by personnel from several divisions of the City Health Department, from the public school system, and from the Tuberculosis League. The Association seeks unification and centralization for the sake of efficiency. It seeks expansion for the sake of the thousands unserved for lack of financial resources. It does not, however, see any early possibility of obtaining the large sums necessary for complete coverage.

The Public Health Nursing Association is not only a nursing service but also a general public health organization and in some ways perhaps the most important one in the city. It is, therefore, interested in the utmost development of the health department, its special services, bureaus, clinics, tuberculosis control, and so forth, all of which involve the employment of public health nurses and increase the problem of overlapping in the field. To the extent, therefore, that the Public Health Nursing Association as a devoted promoter of a better and more comprehensive health department succeeds in helping the latter grow and develop, it is storing up for itself difficulties in coördination and supervision.

One answer to these difficulties might be the consolidation of all public health nursing services under one management, thus reducing the problem of coördination to one of interdepartmental adjustment instead of interagency coöperation or conflict. There are certain factors that would seem to favor this idea, while others lead to a contrary conclusion. The array of arguments varies somewhat according to whether consolidation is thought of as under the Public Health Nursing Association or under the health department. If under the former, high professional standards, an already wide-flung and well-knitted organization, active interest on the part of influential citizens, a relatively dependable income, a high

order of executive management, national affiliation, freedom from political influence, a history and consciousness of excellent performance and the confidence that comes from it, a large low-fee practice developed for persons of moderate means, and coöperative arrangements with insurance companies may be regarded as potent factors, while the public department has not yet shown the driving conviction, the insistence on high standards, freedom from political interference, technical competence, organizational skill, or capacity to command necessary appropriations. In favor of consolidation under the department of health may be cited the fact that public health nursing is inherently an educational function which brings it within the scope of the basic duties of the health department, that much of it is inseparably tied up with integral parts of what is recognized as the program of a health department, such as control of communicable diseases, infant hygiene, and so forth, that the ultimate resources from tax funds far exceed any possible maximum from voluntary contributions, that much of the work of the public health nurse, especially of the bedside kind, is the equivalent of medical relief, and is, therefore, in the opinion of a growing body of citizens, a public function.

Whatever merits these arguments may have, it does not seem that such extreme and complete consolidation is a near probability. Reasonable coöperation seems to have been worked out. The puzzling phase of the situation lies chiefly in three facts: (1) that in the course of recent development of public relief, in which medical service is recognized as being of high importance, it has been found that much more bedside care is needed than is now available from voluntary funds, while no bedside service under public auspices exists; (2) that funds in anything like adequate amounts for the purpose can come only from tax sources, and (3) that there is no agreement on the question as to whether such funds, if made available from public sources, should be expended through the agency of the Public Health Nursing Association, utilizing its excellent standards, machinery, community standing, and proven devotion to public health, or through the health department, when properly organized, on the theory that the expenditure of tax funds should be in public hands and under ultimate control of the voter and in keeping with the already organized medical relief activities such as the work of city physicians, hospital service in the municipal hospitals, clinic service, and so forth.⁶⁷ The next few years hold the key to this puzzle; we now have only present facts and opinions more or less firmly held.

⁶⁷ There is a division of opinion among public health specialists, social workers, and laymen as to the theoretical soundness of recommending one or another alternative; that is, to seek the appropriation of tax funds to be expended through the Public Health Nursing Association or to promote the development of bedside public health nursing as a part of a comprehensive public health nursing program under the Health Department.

For the county outside Pittsburgh the public health nursing situation is a no-man's-land. Expansion of services is imperative, and the Public Health Nursing Association seems the logical organization to take leadership, by reversing its present ratio of service between Pittsburgh and the county in favor of the latter and in recognition of the much greater facilities available to the city through its health department, public schools, clinics, and out-patient departments. Coördination of some sort is highly desirable: perhaps under some new nursing council to be created; under a county health department when established; under the Public Health Nursing Association, in the meantime, if it can regard that function as a temporary trust instead of a permanent pre-emption; under all these in combination with the General Health Council if it shows capacity for that type of leadership and if it can secure for that purpose the active coöperation of the Federation of Social Agencies. However it is done, it should be made part and parcel of the movement for the creation of an effective county health department with a competent and well-staffed bureau of public health nursing.

HEALTH EDUCATION

Every function of public health administration is accompanied by some form of educational process, especially when it involves the public health nurse, who is, at present, probably the most effective instrument for the dissemination of information on personal hygiene. Health education is also a special activity of interpretation and publicity that requires adequate attention, skill, funds, imagination, and persistence. Nutrition, control of heart disease, cancer control, mental hygiene, and conservation of eyesight and hearing cannot be effectively dealt with by educating persons already affected in some way and appearing, therefore, in some clinic, out-patient department, psychological, or child guidance service. Prevention must be carried to the general public by deliberate, highly organized, and expertly conducted educational programs and campaigns, as well as incidentally through clinical and nursing services.

There is still much unnecessary sickness because available knowledge is not more generally disseminated, understood, and applied. There is a striking lack of a coördinated, comprehensive health education program in Pittsburgh, but an even greater need exists in the rest of the county. In most of the local communities the task of the board of health is thought to embrace largely problems of garbage and refuse, other nuisances, and quarantine. Fumigation is still practiced in some communities, and schools are closed in cases of increasing though not alarming incidence of communicable diseases. Except for school work in the larger communities, as required by law, public health work receives very meager support from tax funds.

In Pittsburgh considerable educational work is now being done, and the chief problem is one of coördination and extension. Voluntary agencies play an important part in the health education program in Pittsburgh, as in other phases of public health work previously discussed. The Pittsburgh District Dairy Council, the Public Health Nursing Association, and the Tuberculosis League have developed educational activities. The members of the Allegheny County Medical Society give frequent addresses dealing with topics of preventive medicine of public interest. Some of the group work agencies, particularly the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., do considerable health education work, especially in personal hygiene. The Junior League conducts a well-planned course of instruction dealing with community health and social service activities for its provisional members.

The health education program of the City Department of Public Health consists principally of the distribution of instructive material for quarantine and disinfection in cases of communicable diseases, of press interviews and statements relative to current health education, and of a limited number of public addresses by staff members. There is no separately organized health education unit, and these activities are therefore performed by the various bureaus of the department incidentally to their general work.

The District Dairy Council employs a trained staff to promote a program of health education. Various techniques are used, including nutrition talks, illustrated health stories, cooking demonstrations, and health plays. During 1933 presentations were made to 1,160 groups in the interests of pre-school children. Nutrition talks and cooking demonstrations were given to 283 mothers. It is estimated that the total attendance of Pittsburgh school children at programs of the Dairy Council was nearly 253,000. Motion pictures have been used extensively for school programs. Many schools are now equipped with motion picture projectors, and most of the Dairy Council films are shown by the school teachers themselves. Considerable time is devoted to advising teachers, social workers, and others concerning dramatic productions portraying health subjects and in the preparation of health projects.

Members of the staff of the Public Health Nursing Association gave seventy public health lectures to senior student nurses in schools of nursing during 1933. Twelve talks were given to members of civic clubs and other men's and women's groups in the city. Radio talks are occasionally given by the staff members of the association. Health lectures and talks were given to 201 audiences by the Tuberculosis League during 1933, and motion pictures were shown thirty times. It is estimated that more than 78,000 people were reached by these programs.

Pamphlets are utilized in health education throughout the country. It is possible to secure literature dealing with practically every activity with a health significance. Health publications of the State Department of Health, the Federal bureaus, the National Dairy Council, the National Tuberculosis Association, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and the John Hancock Life Insurance Company are used in addition to those prepared and published by local agencies. During 1933 the Tuberculosis League distributed approximately 50,000 pamphlets, the Public Health Nursing Association some 62,000, while the Dairy Council distributed in the city approximately a half million posters, leaflets, and booklets. A booklet containing the rules and regulations governing the control of communicable diseases is distributed regularly by the field nurses of the Department of Health, and is supplied upon request to other individuals or groups for distribution. Some 10,000 of these are given away in a year.

During the period from April 1, 1930, to January, 1934, the Department of Health published a monthly bulletin entitled *Pittsburgh's Health*, containing short articles of a timely nature, together with outstanding statistics of the previous month. The publication of this bulletin has been discontinued, although the interest shown by professional and lay groups has often been stated and their disappointment at its discontinuance is an indication of the need of such a publication.

Certainly one of the most important channels of health instruction is the daily press. Reporters from the three daily newspapers call regularly at the Department of Health, and a daily report of the number of cases of infectious diseases occurring in the twenty-four hour period appears in the daily news. News items originating at the department are often published. The voluntary health agencies frequently utilize the press to keep the people informed of the most important health activities and tendencies. It is to be hoped that more publicity in the press will deal with such topics as diphtheria protection.

The Urban League sponsors the program for the local celebration of National Negro Health Week. Well-baby clinics are organized for the examination of pre-school children. During 1933 physical examinations were made of 156 children in these clinics. At least fifty health lectures and talks by physicians and dentists were given before various groups of individuals. One of the year-round activities of the Urban League during 1933 was sponsoring three clubs composed of young mothers who met twice a month to discuss the problems of child care.

The Dairy Council has a health booth during the summer months at Kennywood and Westview Parks. A nurse and dental hygienist are on duty to weigh and measure the children and to examine their teeth. Dur-

ing the summer of 1933, 15,362 children were weighed, measured, and advised as to diet, and 7,423 children had their teeth examined. This examination affords an excellent opportunity for educational health work since many of the children are accompanied by their parents. This service is entirely instructive, no treatment being given. Health pamphlets are distributed to persons visiting the health booths.

The Pittsburgh Chapter of the American Red Cross has developed health and safety activities of an educational and practical nature. Classes in home hygiene and care of the sick are conducted each year by graduate nurses who are members of the Red Cross Nursing Service and authorized by National Headquarters. First-aid classes are held in many industrial plants under the supervision of instructors authorized by the National Red Cross. First-aid and life-saving examinations are administered by the local chapter of the Red Cross. A considerable number of individuals are enrolled in these activities each year.

The lack of a comprehensive public health education program in the county is apparent. Many people are reached in Pittsburgh by pamphlets, lectures, and motion pictures, but there is a marked deficiency in both verbal and written instruction, particularly in connection with the venereal diseases, dental hygiene, mental hygiene, and sanitation. Health education activities in the county are not in general planned on the basis of studies of special needs and opportunities in different districts or among special age or racial groups.

The health instruction given in the schools, as discussed earlier in this chapter, is a valuable medium of spreading information regarding matters of community and personal hygiene. Although some health material appears in the daily newspapers, especially in McKeesport and Pittsburgh, this valuable channel of instruction could be more extensively and effectively utilized throughout the county.

The considerable amount of community health instruction work being done in Pittsburgh is not coördinated and is not based on any definite and unified program. The health department should be equipped with special personnel and resources to assume leadership in this fundamental activity. Undoubtedly, with a closer coördination of activities, much more could be accomplished than at present. The possibility of a public health education committee or council, which has proved of value in several other cities and counties, should be explored.

CHAPTER XX

LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES

Common leisure time occupations.—Problems arising from objectives of agencies providing leisure time facilities.—Some issues in community planning for leisure time activities.—Leisure time programs for the county: playgrounds, Boy and Girl Scouts, libraries, programs centering in community buildings.—Unmet needs.—Summary and conclusions.

THE MAN in the street—and that means everybody not professionally concerned—regards leisure as an opportunity for pleasurable pastime. It may indeed mean merely surcease from toil, merely rest and relaxation from arduous activity, or it may mean the occasion for satisfactions sought for their own sake. When leisure time has served the prime purpose of release from toil, it becomes available for other uses. Pleasurable pursuits are the chief goal of human activity. It may be possible, of course, to consider work as the most pleasurable pursuit of all, unless or until it is transformed into irksome labor. Leisure is regarded as contrasting with work, therefore, not so much because of an inherent conflict of the nature of activities involved, but rather because the latter implies obligation, inevitability, and routine. The contrast is accentuated by the fact that change of activity in itself is relaxing, and the introduction into one's leisure time of an occupation different from that of the work day insures relaxation and its pleasurable satisfactions. Pleasurable activity is as necessary for health, for friendly relations with one's fellows in and outside the family, as is food, sleep, and the satisfaction of other instincts.

COMMON LEISURE TIME OCCUPATIONS

What are the usual leisure time occupations most generally practiced within the habits of Western culture and civilization? It would require considerable temerity to attempt a complete enumeration and more to arrange them in a list according to priority of general acceptance. The ways of occupying leisure time recognized as the commonest and most desired are discussed below.

Doing nothing.—This is relaxation par excellence; it is carried on in a variety of ways—sitting indoors or out, “standing around,” rocking-chair work; it may be done alone or with others, depending on temperament,

mood, time and place, habits, and physical surroundings. It is a leisure time program of the greatest importance, even though requiring sometimes the simplest of facilities. These are frequently provided in most satisfactory manner and amount in patterns transmitted by the traditions of diverse ethnic and regional cultures.

Talking.—Next to doing nothing talking is the great leisure time activity and represents the most important transition from relaxation as a negative, almost physiological form of rest to a culturally creative leisure time activity; it contains the material for social contacts, the makings of community consciousness, the basis for political and philosophical thought. As gossip and story-telling, it is a major social corrective and principal source of literature; it is the conditioning factor for action and coöperative enterprise.

Social intercourse.—This emphasizes the opportunity for self-expression associated with status; it usually involves some more tangible activity in itself pleasurable, as formal setting and medium. Eating, drinking, and games are the most frequent media. This is the avenue for identifying oneself with others of the same economic, ethnic, or cultural interests.

Relaxing activities.—Dancing, music-making, games, athletics, sports are examples of this type of leisure time activity. The emphasis in these cases is on the activity itself, and the selectivity is partly a matter of age and sex, partly taste, partly energy, and very largely habit as conditioned by tradition and happenstance.

Labor of love.—Study, hobbies, self-advancement through vocational preparation—these are activities least unlike those of the work day but marked off by a different objective, that of pleasurable occupation, deferred benefits in status or earning capacity, devotion to one's regular vocation, or altruistic ends.

Creative occupation in the arts.—Drama, literature, music, the plastic arts come under this heading. Creation in this respect has a wider significance, including the contemplation of what is already created. Reading poetry or literature, looking at works of art, hearing music are in the same order with their creation—more so in some ways, for the creation of art may often be labor, not leisure.

Spectatorship.—This is the most inclusive form of leisure time activity, combining all other forms in use. It has been the cementing material that has from time immemorial drawn and held together leisure time activities in which groups and communities as a whole gave expression to their corporate existence and common origin or purposes. The drama, pagentry, poetry, music, the fine arts, and athletics have been made possible by it. The Olympics of ancient Greece, passion plays, the Bayreuth festivals are its crowning materialization.

If these are integral constituents of leisure time activities, then surely these contain infinite possibilities for access to the better life. Leisure depends upon employment and conditions of work; the place, occasion, and form depend upon active and generous sponsorship. Government, school, social agency, labor union, church, nationality organization, industrial plant, coöperative initiative, commercial enterprise, all may share that sponsorship.

The use of leisure time has become a problem to cope with rather than something merely to describe, partly because of the nature of urban conditions, which are now the prevalent setting of social life in industrial civilizations and partly because of the growing tendency toward which a variety of factors conspire, of substituting passive spectatorship for the more socially valuable forms of leisure time occupation. The inherent dangers are provided by two characteristics, one, the tendency to excess so easily associated with certain forms of leisure time occupation, particularly drinking, games, sex, and idleness; the other, the likelihood of commercial exploitation which in turn profits by stimulating excess. The two together often convert leisure time activity into vice, indulgence, and association with criminal groups. Urban conditions are in themselves sometimes inimical to constructive use of leisure time because, while they promote contiguity so necessary for social contact, they may more than cancel this advantage by the limited opportunity for group formation of amenable size, homogeneous composition, and parallel tastes and by the disruptive influence they exercise upon family life. The necessary physical conditions of providing space for group formation, suitable places for the basic forms of leisure time activity, such as leisurly dalliance, neighborly gossip, simple physical activity, and the more organized play and informal intercourse in smaller groups, are frequently absent in cities. The destructiveness of urban conditions in these respects becomes more marked in comparison with the natural habits of the groups that so largely make up the inhabitants of the congested urban neighborhoods of Allegheny County. The peasant folks of Europe are used to community life even in their farming operations, are conscious of group existence in village communities around the church, the tavern, the local festivities and pageants. The Negro is used to social life in small groups and around his churches in the rural life of the South. The infinite possibilities of European rural life find no natural counterpart in the congested areas of the city.

The problem of making possible the use of leisure time so that it is both inherently pleasurable and capable also of promoting culture is, therefore, a problem of artificial manipulation of urban conditions so that there may be obtained the greatest possible approximation to those pat-

terns of rural and village life of leisure to which the mass of the population transplanted to an industrial community is traditionally attached or of making available to the inhabitants of congested urban areas of low income those tested and ancient opportunities of city life that the middle and upper classes have been able to enjoy from time immemorial: that is, free spaces within the city, ample time, training in the arts of leisure, access to the satisfactions of country, park, and travel, and opportunity for pursuing the arts for which in Western civilization the city has been the greatest promoter, whether in sculpture, painting, drama, music, or architecture. The provision of leisure time activities with such divergent objectives under conditions of poverty, congestion, social prejudices, and distance, inadequate financial resources, and, perhaps most serious, the persistent attitude in communities of puritanical ancestry which tends to associate idleness, vice, sin, and ungodliness with leisure is one of the most difficult and challenging problems of the modern urban community. To what extent this problem is being solved in Allegheny County, with its additional handicaps of topography and industrial concentration, is briefly outlined here.

Within the scope of the present inquiry only organized efforts for providing leisure time activities are considered, and these principally to the extent that they represent some expression of community responsibility. For a complete evaluation of facilities from the standpoint of the consumer, that is, the person seeking leisure time satisfactions, one would have to include commercial provisions, a phase of the subject which perforce has been almost entirely omitted here.

Within the communally provided field of leisure time activities much confusion rules as to objectives, proper financial support, and appropriate sponsorship. It is impossible to arrive at a reasonable judgment of the adequacy of facilities or of their character without some clarification of the many issues that are entangled in their provision. First, there is a basic difference of objectives between the "consumer" and some, at least, of the providers of facilities. The consumer—to use an inaccurate but convenient term—or member of the community desires leisure time facilities for one or more of the following purposes, roughly in the order listed: pleasurable occupation; health; education and advancement. By all odds, pleasurable occupation comes first for the majority of persons. It varies with age and circumstances, education and self-advancement probably occupying a relatively more important position in the intermediate age group, while the young and old focus their interest on recreation and secondly on health.

The consumer varies, however, not only in age, but also in at least one other respect of paramount importance—economic status. A small frac-

tion of the community, the one in most favorable economic circumstances, may procure leisure time benefits by purchase and by virtue of the character of his residence. A larger group, the indeterminate middle class, has access to some leisure time facilities by these same avenues, but for a larger portion of his needs he depends upon public facilities or noncommercial community agencies. Public parks, public tennis courts, playgrounds and playfields, museums, galleries, libraries, and low-fee opportunities, such as "Y's", scouting, and so forth, are required to enable this middle group to obtain reasonable leisure time opportunities. The lowest economic group—and this represents probably three-quarters of the population—has access only to those facilities that are absolutely free or procurable at a minimum expenditure and that do not require substantial investment in paraphernalia. Public parks and playgrounds are important for them, as are museums and libraries; public tennis and golf courses are less important, cheap transportation facilities are necessary for access to parks, and activities that correspond to Y's and scouting are within their scope only when fees are not required or are only nominal. Disregarding, then, the highest economic group—though in no sense excluding them—three types of provision are necessary:

(1) the costly items usually attainable through public funds only (or munificent voluntary donations) such as public parks, botanical gardens, museums, libraries, stadia, and so forth; (2) nonprofit-making, relatively self-supporting, fee-charging activities such as Y's and Scout troops; and (3) free or near-free facilities such as community centers, settlement clubs, boys' clubs, camps, and so forth. Corresponding to these needs, leisure time facilities involve sponsorship by: (a) public bodies (city, county, state); (b) special interest groups (churches, Y's, Boy Scouts, fraternal organizations, nationality groups); and (c) philanthropic organizations (neighborhood houses, settlements, and so forth).

PROBLEMS ARISING FROM OBJECTIVES OF AGENCIES THAT PROVIDE LEISURE TIME FACILITIES

It would be relatively simple to coördinate the needs of the consumer and the resources of the provider of communal leisure time occupations, if only need and sponsorship were involved, if only the question of resources were a conditioning factor, and if the provision of pleasurable activity were the only goal to be achieved. Even the health objectives are imperceptibly enough harmonized with recreation through outdoor life, athletics, games. But "educational" objectives and their kindred orientations bring in a legion of interests not so naturally integrated with pleasurable recreation. For this inclusive "educational" objective, other interests beyond individual desire for self-advancement enter the field. There is, for example, the concern of groups interested in moral and denominational standards and conformity; educators who see in leisure time activities

possibilities for education beyond the capacities of the school system for young and old; those who see in group activity as such a technical educational instrument for social training and for corrective individualization; the exponents of civic education and neighborhood development; the sponsors of agencies with eclectic programs in which social services may be combined with the provision of recreational facilities and other objectives.

The moral and religious interest enters in several ways. On the one hand, excesses in various forms of recreation have been considered dangerous to moral and religious standards, and therefore some control of recreational activities has been deemed necessary for their preservation. This has brought into the field of leisure time the active participation of religious agencies. On the other hand, the esthetic and emotional associations with which leisure time activities are pregnant have been recognized through the ages as useful in the ritual of religions and as enhancing psychological loyalties to religious organizations. Music, dancing, pagantry, and the fine arts have been associated with sectarian activities throughout the ages, and in some of the more primitive cultures emotional and physical intoxication have been commonly combined with ritual devotion and attachment. In recent years church organizations have entered the field of recreation in increasing numbers, with two further objectives in mind: one, to help prevent delinquency by substituting approved forms of recreation for those that the young might find through other channels more dangerous to moral conformity; the other, to build up additional ties of association and contact between young people and the Church, in view of the slackening hold that churches of this generation seem to have upon their adherents compared with former years. Thus, knowing that these objectives carry a somewhat different motivation from that which urges individuals to seek recreation in their leisure time, a certain technical finesse has been necessary lest the impulse of one and objectives of the other come into conflict.

A similar difficulty arises in combining leisure time activity with deliberately educational purposes. Here, again, one cannot assume that impulse and objectives will naturally pursue the same direction. These educational purposes center in the development of social-mindedness, a sense of civic responsibility, habituation to democratic procedures, self-reliance, and self-dependence—in other words, things that pertain to habits and personality formation. They are the particular educational goals pursued beyond the school curriculum to which the leisure time program for youth has been harnessed. For this end, as for moral conformity and religious education, leisure time activities can be utilized only in so far as they do not oppose, but actually advance, recreational interests.

Recreation stimulated for these ends, opportunities provided for this purpose, can only be efficient as long as the ulterior motive is completely integrated and in harmony with the natural impulses for leisure time activities. It is this group of objectives that has given to much of the organized recreational work its "character-building" aspect and has led to the extensive use of that term to describe these programs.

The most distinguishing characteristic of the leisure time activities which has lent itself to this character-building program is the group activity involved. Clubs, athletic teams, Scout troops, literary societies, gymnasium classes, and all the scores of activities known to the leisure time field are conducted in groups of various sizes, homogeneous so far as possible, which combine in their activities expressions of social instinct and special interests in the particular activities; athletics, music, literature, enjoyment of outdoors, and so forth. Educational psychology has shown the possibilities of group activity as an instrument for the socialization, for enrichment, and when necessary, adjustment of the individual. This has been part of the foundation of progressive education. As attention has shifted, at least in theory, from affording recreational opportunities to using recreation as an educational process, the leisure time activities have been drawn into this educational objective and gradually group work technique has tended to become the principal preoccupation of many of its leaders.

The fact that certain agencies have included among their principal functions the provision of recreational opportunities, together with other sometimes unrelated goals and services, continues to be a further confusing circumstance in the organized field of leisure time. The settlement or neighborhood house attempts to study the ways of living in the neighborhood, to assist its inhabitants in seeking better living conditions, to bring different social castes into closer contact, to help build an "American" democracy through direct, informal contact. Settlement and neighborhood houses have included among their activities practically since their beginning, provision of leisure time facilities to young and old, as well as the functions just enumerated, so that today it is difficult to say what is their major function.¹ In the same way, also, the neighborhood agency has become the center for providing various social services to the disadvantaged group in the community, such as medical aid and related services, personal advice, opportunity for manual and vocational education, and so forth. Many of the neighborhood houses and some other agencies as well might, therefore, with equal justification, be called rec-

¹ A penetrating analysis of settlement functions has been made by Dr. Neva R. Dearnorff, Director of Research of the Welfare Council of New York, in which the diverse and uncertain orientations of the settlement movement of today are discussed; the manuscript is as yet unpublished, but some passages are quoted below.

reational agencies, character-building or group work agencies, or neighborhood service agencies. The beneficiaries of these sundry services might be the same persons or different persons; and the total registrants of such an agency might include a variety of persons of almost every age, seeking all manner of benefits. The common denominator is leisure time, the most general characteristic of its activities may be recreation; the educational and personal adjustment methods implied in the term "group work" may apply to a small or a large contingent of their clients.

Altogether different evaluations of the leisure time facilities available in a community may be made by different students, depending upon the interests or point-of-view which they may have—the search for pleasurable relaxation, the safeguarding of moral and religious standards, the preservation of church organizations, prevention of delinquency, civic training, character building, progressive education, group work training. No single point of view can possibly be adequate in view of the complex entanglements which the field actually presents. For purposes of the present study the value postulated as of uppermost importance is the provision of recreational facilities for the general community, particularly for those of the less-favored economic group, under auspices in which the primary desires of the "consumer" for healthy and pleasurable pastime are not subordinated to the special interest of the sponsor, whether religious, civic, educational, or corrective. Facilities, whether physical plant or program and personnel, must be the keynote; availability and adequacy the test. Pittsburgh and Allegheny County constitute the area of service, public and voluntary sponsors both provide the resources. Underlying the entire subject is the fact—universally recognized—that the amount and distribution of leisure time has increased, not alone as a result of the extensive unemployment, but also within the scheme of employment, by the reduction of the working day and the working week.

Roughly speaking, there are two types of organizations that provide organized leisure time facilities. The first of these comprises governmental agencies and those philanthropic organizations in which fees are either nonexistent or nominal. The second consists of those agencies whose services are enjoyed by fee-paying members and are largely maintained by these fees. The first group is composed of parks, playgrounds, school centers, public swimming pools, and so forth; facilities provided in neighborhood houses, by boys' clubs, to some extent by the Y.W.C.A., and by agencies which include a small amount of leisure time activities in their programs, such as the Urban League and the International Institute. In the second group belongs, in the main, the work of the Y.M.C.A., Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and a part of the program of the Y.W.C.A. The extent to which these provisions are available to the entire commu-

nity, particularly to those of the most limited economic means, as compared to the extent to which they are available to that middle portion of the population economically capable of defraying its cost, should be the principal test of the proper distribution of leisure time facilities of the community.

The conditions which determined the nature of the present inquiry in the leisure time field in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County have made it impossible to estimate the need or provision, respectively, of facilities as classified in these two major groups. The orientation and methods used in this part of the inquiry were changed substantially from those pursued in the other phases of the study. Throughout the total undertaking it had been the desire of the sponsoring committee to insure, so far as possible, not merely fact finding and program planning but also the acceptance of recommendations and effectuation of results. The emphasis on results as against factual findings and the construction of far-reaching plans became leading motifs in the leisure time phase of the inquiry, for several reasons; first, no basic diversity of opinions as to purposes and orientation seemed to have entered this field, compared, for example, with those of relief, case work, and medical care; in the second place, unlike other divisions of social work, there had grown up in Pittsburgh in the course of recent years an active, purposeful, well-organized association of agencies operating in this field under the leadership of the Federation of Social Agencies and constituting the Group Work Division of that agency. The friendly interest and enthusiasm not only of the professional workers in the field but also of a considerable number of lay persons constituting board membership and volunteer workers were at the service of the study. Above all, the professional interests of staff members of the Federation of Social Agencies who had been responsible for the remarkable development of the group-work coöperation and of the study staff carrying responsibility for this phase of the work seemed to promise the possibility of integrating the study period with organization, follow-up, and further study under the Group Work Division of the Federation beyond the time restriction imposed by the limitations of this study. Immediate results in the form of acceptable recommendations and the joint pursuit of inquiry by the study staff and the Group Work Division became the principal features of this section of the Social Study.

Committees of lay and employed persons from the agencies constituting the Group Work Division were appointed, and these in turn created a series of subcommittees to take responsibility for the various aspects of the subject. Among the assignments to the committees were, for example: what information on leisure time subject matter is available in the community; what criteria may be used in judging the quality of performance

of a group work agency; what are the values of group training to the individual; what facilities are there (one committee to survey public facilities, another commercial provisions, still another the voluntary offerings); what laws govern the field? Further subdivisions were formed for the separate collection of pertinent information from different types or groups of agencies in the field, and a steering committee was created within the existing machinery of the Group Work Division of the Federation. Such findings of these committees as could be organized and the data collected by the staff members of the study and of the Federation were then submitted for consideration to the various committees, and recommendations growing out of the findings were discussed by them prior to submission to the Citizens' Committee of this study.

As a natural result of the procedure appropriate to such a plan, the immediate interests of the group work agencies in the community rather than the fact-finding interest of the study as a whole determined the nature and method of this part of the inquiry. The membership of this group consisted largely of staff and lay persons in voluntary agencies and included a considerable portion of those agencies which serve the middle-class consumer of leisure time activities rather than the lower economic group. The findings of this coöperative enterprise were made available to the community in a series of "releases" each of which was discussed by the coöperating members of the local personnel with the study staff.²

These findings cover the principal technical interests of the voluntary agencies, including such subjects as the preparation of the staff, the distribution of leadership activity between lay and staff members, and finances. A very important part of the material used in this connection consisted of information entered on statistical cards for each of some 45,000 registrants served by these agencies and arranged by geographical distribution according to the various parts of the city. Analysis of the registrants was made also by sex, age, and certain other factors of technical importance. The agencies covered in the inquiry were divided into

² The subjects of the releases circulated in the community are as follows:

Personnel and personnel practices in voluntary leisure time agencies

Volume and kinds of service and facilities

The private agency clientele

Social and economic conditions in the service areas and their relation to private agency clientele

Salaries of professional staff in the private agencies

Financing of private agencies in the group work field

Community organization work and other special services of the private agencies

History and development of 37 private group work agencies

Condensed report and recommendations.

These reports, constituting approximately 350 typewritten pages, were circulated in mimeograph form among the coöperative membership of the group work division in the study.

five groups, and much of the information was classified by these groups. They were:

- (a) The "Y's"
- (b) Settlements
- (c) Boys' clubs
- (d) Scouts, and so forth
- (e) Urban League and International Institute

This information covered the city of Pittsburgh only, except for an occasional item here and there obtained from agencies that extended their services into the county. Inasmuch as these findings have been widely circulated in Pittsburgh and have, in the main, only local and technical significance, they need not be given in detail here. The outstanding findings will be summarized below. Information on leisure time activities outside the municipal limits of Pittsburgh could only in very small part be obtained through this coöperative enterprise because of the very small number of agencies operating in the county. Information on leisure time facilities outside Pittsburgh was obtained, so far as possible, as part of the county study reported on in an earlier chapter.³ These data have not been circulated as have the findings of the Pittsburgh study and are given as fully as practicable in the latter part of the present chapter.

SOME ISSUES IN COMMUNITY PLANNING FOR LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES

Before summarizing the principal findings of the coöperative inquiry on leisure time activities in Pittsburgh, it may be well to point out certain issues within this area of social work on which little light has been obtained in the course of the inquiry and on which no authoritative opinions enjoying universal acceptance have come from national leadership. Most of these issues focus on two central questions, or represent their various aspects and reflections: how do the programs of this group of agencies or of individual organizations carry out the basic purposes of leisure time service and how do the special or additional interests grafted upon the main stalk of these objectives advance, enrich, and extend them? The obstacle in the way of answering this question may lie, in the first place, in the difficulty of agreeing on which is the basic purpose and which the secondary one. Is recreation in its pleasurable and spontaneous aspects a primary good, or does it achieve its social acceptability by serving moral, religious, educational, or socializing purposes? We have assumed in this discussion that the pleasurable values of recreation are of the first importance and that most of the other benefits may either grow out of this primary function or be added to it so far as is feasible. It is on this assumption that the provision of recreational facilities acces-

³ See chap. ii, *supra*.

sible to the entire population is deemed to become a community objective and a proper program for social work agencies.

The first test, therefore, both of the adequacy of the community program and of the justification for the community's support of any group of agencies is supplied by the extent to which they carry out these purposes. The test supplied by some of the special objectives enumerated earlier must be a secondary one. Thus, the objective of the Y.W.C.A., as expressed in the following words, while primary for the organization itself, would be regarded as only auxiliary to the basic objective of the leisure time program as interpreted here:

To advance the physical, social, intellectual, moral and spiritual interests of young women. The ultimate purpose of all its efforts shall be to seek to bring young women to such a knowledge of Jesus Christ as Savior and Lord as shall mean for the individual young woman fullness of life and development of character, and shall make the organization as a whole an effective agency in the bringing in of the Kingdom of God among young women.⁴

To cite another example, "The aim of the settlement or neighborhood house," as expressed by one of its leaders, "is to bring about a new kind of community life."⁵

Specific statements of objectives by other types of agencies in this field emphasize the particular purposes of those agencies and either imply or include by descriptions of their activities the basic purpose of providing recreational opportunities. The desire to make these facilities available primarily to the economically disadvantaged population is also implied, though less frequently made explicit. If any central characteristic in the various specially sponsored agencies in the leisure time field justifies the assumption of a common interest underlying their work, that must lie, therefore, in the two purposes: to afford recreational facilities and to do so with a special concern for the less-favored section of the community.

How do the major groups of agencies practicing in this field qualify by this test? We have neither theoretical nor factual information to answer this question in a satisfactory way. In the Pittsburgh inquiry the coöperative agencies were classified into five groups as indicated earlier. For each of these groups some analysis of the individual agency programs and of their relationship to the fundamental purpose of agencies practicing leisure time activities must be attempted before their proper place in the community and their justified appeal for public support can be established. Such an analysis is yet to emerge from the discussions of the group work agencies. Certain general features are sufficiently clear, however, for a tentative statement.

⁴ As quoted in *The Social Worker in Group Work*, by Margaretta Williamson, Harper Brothers, 1929, p. 14.

⁵ As quoted from the "Settlement Primer," by Mary Simkhovitch, in *The Social Worker in Group Work*, p. 12.

The Young Men's Christian Associations and corresponding organizations under Jewish and Catholic sponsorship, constituting the first group, comply with the basic condition of them all of providing recreational facilities. They serve preferential groups defined by denominational affiliations, though not exclusive of other denominations. They also supply educational facilities for scholastic, vocational, and cultural training. They represent, in the main, access to these benefits for the more favored economic group in the community. They are to a limited extent only accessible to the lower economic strata.⁶ They tend to be very nearly self-supporting in that operations provide for the bulk of maintenance, while plant and equipment are derived principally from philanthropic contributions. Their location is determined by the concentration of those sections of the population that can afford the fees involved. To the extent to which they do not constitute facilities for the lower economic strata the denominational differences may be less important because they relate to an upper economic group. The fact that their services are available in an uneven degree to the principal denominations represented makes this unbalanced distribution, since it relates to the upper economic group, less serious than it might be were the general working population served. In Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, for example, the relative proportion of Catholics and Protestants in the general population does not correspond to the quantitative distribution of these facilities through denominational bodies. The bulk of the population which is in a lower economic division is served to a limited degree only by this group of agencies. Nevertheless, that portion of the maintenance of these bodies which is not covered by operating income is supplied by philanthropic contributions, either through the Community Fund or through independent efforts. In this respect they constitute part of the general community appeal, even though the benefits accrue to a relatively favored group of the community.

The second group of agencies as classified in this study consists of settlements and neighborhood houses. These are located almost exclusively in areas inhabited by persons with lower incomes. To what extent are they available to all such neighborhoods? How far short do they come of being available wherever the nature of the neighborhood justifies their establishment? The facts obtained do not give an answer to these questions except in a general way, to the effect that neither in the city and much less in the county are neighborhood houses available wherever they are needed. The services of these organizations, not only so far as the recreational activities are concerned, but also with respect to other

⁶ This is less true of the Y.W.C.A.'s, which have generally favored service to the working women in several of their important departments.

parts of their program, are available primarily to the disadvantaged group, and they should logically, therefore, be located in any area characterized by economic inferiority. This is true also of the boys' clubs, separately classified in the inquiry, but belonging, with respect to recreational facilities open to the poor, with the settlement or neighborhood house group. In this respect they satisfy both tests: that of providing recreational facilities and of favoring the poorer section of the population.

To what extent do the neighborhood houses also meet the special objectives which constitute theoretically the other parts of the settlement program? While there is no disagreement in theory on the inclusion of virtually free recreational facilities in the work of neighborhood houses, there is far from agreement as to the total objectives of these organizations. Neither their history nor their present activities nor yet the diverse special interests of the sponsors of settlements leads to an acceptable definition of their purposes. It is no reflection, therefore, upon the Pittsburgh agencies that they have not formulated such a statement. It is to be hoped, on the other hand, that in any further pursuit of the present inquiry by the Group Work Division the failure of the field as a whole to define settlement objectives will not restrain this community from attempting it. The lines along which purposes and actual programs of settlements might be defined so that their performances might be measured and standards adopted have been clearly laid down in an unpublished manuscript by Neva Deardorff, based upon an extensive study of settlement houses in New York City. She lists the questions relating to settlements and neighborhood houses as follows:

- I. Can settlements' purposes be defined?
 1. What kind of generic social work function does a settlement or neighborhood house perform? Are there any characteristic types of service expected of every settlement or neighborhood house?
 2. Is the conduct and cultivation of democratic group work a primary settlement function?
 3. Is study of the problem of the poor and interpretation of these problems to the larger community another indispensable function?
 4. Is active participation in the development of a neighborhood program of social and health service a settlement function that cannot be delegated?
 5. On what basis should other social and health services be established?
- II. Can settlements' methods be improved?
 1. How can they help to develop a service of neighborliness?
 2. Should settlements try to perform experiments in social work, education, health service, etc.?
 3. How can the results of demonstrations in the social arts be made useful to the community as a whole?
 4. How can a settlement or neighborhood house promote social legislation? How can these agencies collectively promote it?

5. How should settlements and neighborhood houses be supported?

III. Should settlement personnel have any professional preparation for their work? If so, what preparation?

As illustrating the possible purposes bearing on the first heading, the following are suggested:

- (1) To operate a general station for direct services to the people of a neighborhood; or,
- (2) To study the problems of the poor; or,
- (3) To engineer a rounded social welfare program for the neighborhood; or,
- (4) To be a laboratory for social and educational experimentation; or,
- (5) To serve as a channel through which the people in crowded sections may both learn of wider social movements and participate in them; or,
- (6) To serve a combination of all or some of these purposes; or,
- (7) To do something else.⁷

Those associated with the programs of settlements will recognize the cogency of these questions and particularly their emergence into the practical question: how should settlements and neighborhood houses be supported? If these organizations are to serve the economically disadvantaged, the cost of their support must be borne outside the membership of its beneficiaries. And here, again, social planning implies the discovery of those neighborhood areas most in need of this type of service and the organization of efforts to provide them either from public funds through existing official facilities or through voluntary effort.

In its main features the third group of agencies segregated by the study, consisting of Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and the like, share the problems of the Y's as constituting facilities available to the more favorably situated economic group and as deriving nevertheless part of its support from general appeal to the philanthropic community. The difference lies in part in the fact that the Y's represent a substantial capital investment and services largely inseparable from plants, while the Boy Scouts, as a type of recreational and character-building agency, consist principally of a program and ideas and may be practiced in connection with any existing agency either localized or without plant equipment. The boys' clubs differ from settlements chiefly in that they have not taken on many of the additional objectives which neighborhood houses have absorbed, such as social services, educational services for adults, and so forth.

The fifth group of agencies may be entirely disregarded in this analysis, for the leisure time activities carried on in them represent only accidentally part of the program of their sponsoring agencies. The recreational activities carried on by the Urban League and International Institute are neither essential parts of their fundamental program nor even necessarily desirable types of activity. In so far, however, as they do operate such

⁷ From Dr. Deardorff's unpublished manuscript on settlements and social planning in New York City.

services, they cater to the needs of the less-favored economic group and are in that respect more closely allied with the settlements and boys' clubs than with the Y's and the Scouts.

In one way or another the issues as presented above revolve around the question of community financing as related to the character of the "consumer" of the facilities. This is a deliberate emphasis, based on the assumption that ascertaining where the need occurs and who bears the social responsibility for meeting it is the first consideration in community planning. This would apply with additional force to the policies of financial support by the Community Fund. Whether the community shall subsidize the fee-paying organizations regardless of where their plants may be located; whether it should concentrate on the provision and support of recreational facilities for the poorer sections and therefore in the poorer neighborhoods; whether it should encourage those activities or the activities of those agencies which include in their essential programs the stimulation and propaganda for larger provision of public facilities such as playgrounds, play fields, parks, community centers, school athletic fields, and the like, ought to underlie the planning of group work agencies enjoying communal support.

With these general issues in mind as presenting a further opportunity for discussion and planned action on the part of the agencies concerned with leisure time activities in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, the findings of the inquiry may be seen in better perspective. For reasons referred to earlier, these findings related principally to voluntary leisure time agencies.⁸ Thirty-two of these agency units serving the city of Pittsburgh reported 43,663 registrants (of whom somewhat less than two-thirds were male, about half were between 10 and 17 years of age inclusive, and roughly one-fourth were above 25 years of age). These figures indicate that about one in fourteen persons in the city were receiving some form of service from these thirty-two agencies providing leisure time facilities. These ratios differed, however, in various parts of the city, ranging from less than one in fifty in the least-served to more than one in six in the most-served areas as roughly composed of groups of census tracts. This range does not necessarily coincide, however, with the degree of need for services, for there is ample indication that the better economic areas are more liberally supplied than those housing the poorer population, who are less capable of obtaining the purchasable forms of leisure time activities. The nineteen areas by which these statistics of client distribution in the city of Pittsburgh were subdivided, when classified by the distribution of Allegheny County Emergency Relief

⁸ The summary of findings is drawn from the various releases prepared by Wilber I. Newstetter, assisted by Roy Sorenson and Clara A. Kaiser, of the staff.

Board relief cases for a given time and compared with percentages of the population registered with agencies giving group work facilities show, for example: that the area with the highest rate of relief cases shows thirteenth in the order of leisure time registration; the area with least relief indicated is sixth in the order of ratio of registrants; the second in relief lags at tenth in leisure time use, and so forth. To what extent this unequal distribution of facilities is equalized by available publicly-supported activities was not ascertained. It is doubtful whether material could be obtained for arriving at such a judgment, in view of the incomplete system of registration employed by the public recreation facilities.

This ratio of one to fourteen of the city population registered in some voluntary agency as given above does not apply uniformly through all age groups. Those between ten and seventeen years of age receive the maximum benefits indicated by a ratio of one to five of the population of the corresponding age group, whereas only one in twenty is reached by children of five to nine years, inclusive. In so far as this less-favored group is served, it is the settlements and boys' clubs that provide the facilities. These are also the types of agency that are generally devoted to the service of the lower economic classes of the population.

Of the entire membership comprised in the 43,000-odd registered persons, more than half are recorded as paying full membership fees, about one-fifth as paying part fees, and approximately 30 percent as paying no fees. This indicates again that on the whole the voluntary agencies serve to a greater extent those in better economic circumstances. Detailed statistics which have been circulated among the agencies in the course of the study show the extent to which these persons are registered in the several types of group work agencies. The first group, that is, the Y's, represent, on the whole, the heaviest contingent. These agencies account for some 40 percent of all the clientele and for two-thirds of the enrollments in 1935.

The types of activity recorded are preponderantly those designated as "physical," that is, gymnastics, swimming, boxing, tumbling, tennis, and so forth. Somewhat more than half the activities are composed of other forms of recreation, club work, athletic team work, and religious instruction. This large number of persons of varying ages is served by some 6,525 leaders and supervisors, of whom 175, or 2.6 percent, may be regarded as professional workers. Of the nonprofessional group, more than 90 percent were volunteers. The inevitable conclusion from this simple arithmetical statement is that, unlike most of the other parts of the field of social work, leisure time activities are perforce so conducted that professional workers have practically no time to give personal leadership to clubs or classes. The professional contingent of this service

organization, as has already been indicated elsewhere,⁹ has a reasonably high educational standing but relatively little professional training even within its own specialty. Representing another phase of the same situation, the findings indicate that the ratio of clients to workers ranges from a low of 12 to 1 to a high of 203 to 1.

The financial support of the thirty-four voluntary agencies for which data were available in this study indicates an annual expenditure of somewhat more than a million dollars (\$1,068,531 for 1934) of which just short of 39 percent was obtained from operations, 33 percent from the Community Fund, 21 percent from voluntary contributions, and 7 percent from endowment or investment, the remainder coming from miscellaneous sources. The fees which constitute the major portion of operating income range from nothing to \$100 per annum. The per capita fee payment calculated for close to 57,000 members, for whom information was available on this point, shows in striking fashion the difference between agency service for the upper and lower economic strata. In the Y group the per capita fee for 1934 attained \$4.21; for the settlement group it was 68 cents; while boys' clubs, Urban League, and International Institute averaged as low as 39 cents. The same general fact emerges in several other classifications of operating costs.

Tax-supported leisure time activities outside the W.P.A. and similar Federal projects are provided through four public recreation units. They are: the Bureau of Recreation, the Bureau of Parks of the City of Pittsburgh, the Board of Education, and the County Department of Parks. The latter, while under county rather than city auspices, serves the city's needs as well as those of the rest of the county and may, therefore, properly be included among Pittsburgh facilities. The Bureau of Recreation supplies vacation schools, playgrounds, school centers, and swimming pools. The Board of Education participates principally by permitting use of its equipment and plants rather than by providing leadership and programs, except with respect to instruction provided for adult immigrants and native illiterates in special programs. The total available facilities in the form of playgrounds, athletic fields, and so forth, under public auspices were intensively studied and analyzed by the City Planning Commission of Pittsburgh with the assistance of the Federal works program. The results have not been published, but, so far as is known, they indicate a serious shortage in many of the important public facilities. Another study of leisure time facilities which included both public and voluntary provisions was made as part of the Federal works program under the auspices of the Federation of Social Agencies, but the results of this inquiry have not yet been published. Among public facilities should be included the

⁹ Cf. chap. xii, *supra*.

two library systems operating through central plants and through branch facilities.

LEISURE TIME PROGRAMS IN THE COUNTY¹⁰

The study of leisure time programs in the county outside Pittsburgh was, as indicated, largely independent of the study of group work programs in Pittsburgh, but was planned to supplement this investigation. The plan for the county survey also provided for local participation with a group of persons acting as steering committee.¹¹ Recreation committees of Community Councils and individuals in a few of the places without councils filled out community recreation schedules as part of the inquiry.

The librarians of the county chose their own committee to assemble information on library service. With the help of the county schools office, individual blanks on leisure time activities were filled out by the eighth and twelfth-grade children in the public schools of places selected as representative of the various types of community in the county. Further information was secured through schedules furnished to recreation and character-building agencies and through visits and interviews by Social Study staff members. Because of incompleteness and variation, the data secured lend themselves to description and illustration better than to statistical summarization.

Some of the information secured has been included in the descriptions of different types of community.¹² It remains for these pages to summarize the character, extent, and limitations of the most general recreational programs and to offer suggestions for improvement in service. The earlier chapter showed that leisure time provisions in county communities represent a mosaic of smaller and larger parts under different auspices. Programs were started chiefly as the result of local community initiative and private gifts and have, until recently, depended almost altogether on the same sources for support.

Playgrounds.—Playgrounds for children have been the most generally favored recreational provision in the county communities. The idea of the modern playground is a relatively recent one, so that in the older towns some of the school yards are too small for playground activities.

¹⁰ The following material is part of the report on county communities by Elizabeth T. Alling, of the staff. The major portion of the report was utilized for chap. ii, *supra*.

¹¹ The committee on County Recreation consisted of:

Dora M. Einert, chairman, Carnegie Institute of Technology
Joseph A. Brunton, executive, East Boroughs Boy Scout Council
C. W. Peters, assistant superintendent of county schools
C. A. McInerney, secretary of the county Community Councils
Rev. F. O. Christopher, Brackenridge
Mrs. Arnold Repogle, Wilkinsburg, member County Girl Scout Board.

¹² Chap. ii, *supra*.

A reply from the borough of Braddock to a playground survey made in 1927 and 1928¹³ stated that there were no parks or playgrounds except the small school yards, adding: "the playgrounds are in North Braddock." This is still true, despite the fact that the 1930 census showed that there were 4,500 children between the ages of five and fourteen in Braddock Borough. Rankin, Homestead, and other congested communities present much the same picture. As interest in athletics for junior and senior high schools increased, school athletic fields were added in most communities. Other playground space has been provided by some municipalities, industries, and occasionally under other unofficial auspices. The 1928 survey showed that park property was owned by two cities and sixteen boroughs of the county. School playgrounds were more numerous. Nine school playgrounds were recorded in the three cities within the county area, eighty-two in forty-six of the boroughs, and ten in five of the fifty-three townships. School athletic fields were found in the three cities, twenty-four boroughs, and eight townships. In the county as a whole this survey reported an additional twenty-four playgrounds, which were privately owned by industries and recreational organizations.

A checkup on these 1928 findings of facilities made by the volunteer committees which assisted the present inquiry in the county showed that a few places had been added, chiefly new school athletic fields, but with little resulting change so far as total available space is concerned. There have been additions in space in those townships which have built consolidated schools (for which the state law now requires three acres of playground space), and additions by way of large park areas in McKeesport and extensive county parks to be described later. Federal work projects have also made possible much needed grading on a number of school playgrounds.

Although the provision of more open space for play is an advantage not to be minimized, upon actual inspection most playgrounds are disappointing. The majority of them mean relatively little for a playground program because they lack equipment and direction. The onset of the depression at a time when much original equipment had reached the replacement stage (emphasized by some accidents and threats of law suits) is partly responsible for the absence of equipment and program in some places. In other places civic groups that had initiated some of the summer playground programs were victims of the depression. The activities persisted, however, in Wilkinsburg and Oakmont, and a new civic group has been added in Swissvale.

Municipal participation is usually confined to care of parks and to the

¹³ By the director of the Pittsburgh Bureau of Recreation, for the Metropolitan Plan Commission.

provision of life guards at the municipal swimming pools, of which there are some half dozen in the county. An occasional municipality participates in the summer playground program as well. The city of McKeesport has gone farther, even in proportion to size, than any other county municipality. Its playgrounds were staffed during the summer of 1935 by a supervisor and a corps of seventy-five playground instructors (though these unfortunately were not selected from qualified lists). In Sharpsburg the borough council made an appropriation of \$1,500 for the same year. With the exception of McKeesport, municipalities which contributed to summer programs usually depended for direction on some existing community agency. In Wilksburg, Swissvale, and Munhall the physical director of the local schools has directed the summer program; Sewickley and Bellevue have turned to the local Y.M.C.A. Mt. Lebanon and Dormont have recently developed extensive summer recreation programs (on a low pay basis) at their municipal parks, sponsored by the municipalities and schools, in which the staffs of the Pittsburgh Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. participate.

The decline in industrial sponsorship of playgrounds during the depression has not meant a total withdrawal of the corporations from this service. In several places it was found that corporations were carrying some particular responsibility, feasible under the circumstances, such as the repairing and storing of summer equipment.

Beginning with the spring and summer of 1934, marked stimulation of playground programs came from the Federal emergency projects. The secretary of the County Community Councils served as the first liaison officer between county headquarters of these projects and communities in the county. During the summer of 1934 a skilled supervisor on the staff of the Federation of Social Agencies helped the project personnel and community volunteers to set up summer programs in fifty-eight play areas located in twenty-six different communities. In spite of the difficulties due to changes of plan, delay, and an untried staff, characteristic of emergency programs, these projects have made valuable contributions. They have, perhaps more generally than any other recreation program, reached the people who need them most.

The popularity of amateur athletic sports is a conspicuous characteristic of Allegheny County leisure time activities. This chiefly accounts for the forty-nine privately owned athletic fields and numerous vacant lots reported in the 1928 survey. Industries and churches sometimes sponsor teams and leagues. Agents of sporting goods houses with equipment to sell stimulate others. Still others have been started independently by groups of older boys and men. Such teams are the only organized outdoor recreation programs in many of the smaller communities.

One of the important outdoor play facilities which has possibilities of great usefulness if made accessible by good and cheap transportation is represented by the two county parks of about two thousand acres each, together exceeding the total acreage of all the municipal parks and playgrounds in Allegheny County. They are situated in the rural areas of the northern and southern parts of the county, respectively. Both are equipped for picnics; South Park has also extensive facilities for golf, polo, horse-back-riding, and other games; it has a fair ground, nature museum, and Boy and Girl Scout lodges. The parks are operated through a Bureau of Parks in the Department of Parks and Aviation which provides a recreation director. Activities emphasize athletic sports and amateur athletic events, with teams from various leagues and parts of the county competing. The 1936 report estimated the total daily attendance at both county parks during June of that year at 250,000.

There are buses to South Park from Pittsburgh, Clairton, and Brentwood, with special low fares during the summer on the Pittsburgh bus. For most county residents, however, enjoyment of the county parks is limited to those having private transportation facilities. That the parks are in the nature of a luxury is suggested by a census of the elementary school children of Braddock Township and the children of Morgan High School in South Fayette Townships which showed the following record of its use:

	BRADDOCK TOWNSHIP SCHOOL	MORGAN SCHOOL
Children who have never gone to South Park	296	175
Children who have gone once	41	90
Children who have gone twice	14	45
Children who have gone more than twice	20	102

There have been plans also for parks in the eastern and western portions of the county, but these have been postponed because of the financial situation.

Playground activities are, with few exceptions, usually limited to summer programs. School playground programs, theoretically year-round activities, are but incidental to the school programs for recesses and noons, except in those junior and senior high schools which have physical directors. The only outstanding planned programs for after-school play are those in Bellevue and Wilksburg.

Boy and Girl Scouts.—In contrast to playground provisions, "scouting" consists of a program rather than of places. Since the inauguration of the county-wide Boy Scout organization in 1917, Scout organizations for both boys and girls have had noteworthy development in the county. These programs are in fact the only social programs in which county service over-balances city service. Membership as reported by the Boy Scout and Girl

Scout executives is less than half as great in Pittsburgh as in the county outside.¹⁴ The size of the county program is partly due to the facts that the county needs were especially recognized when the programs started and that service was planned for the larger area. The beginnings of both county programs had the impetus of war-time fervor and funds. The problem of girls around the training camps, many of whom were found to be from places in the county which lacked recreation provisions, is reported to have aroused concern among those interested in the war-time Council of National Defense. At the close of the war the local unit of this organization turned over to a new Girl Scout organization the remaining funds of its former committee on health and recreation. Later, county-wide financing through the Community Fund¹⁵ for both Boy and Girl Scouts has prevented the cuts in staff and service which the depression would otherwise doubtless have necessitated.

In addition to the outside financial help, the Scout programs have had the advantage of a district organization which has developed local leadership and support on fairly adequate territorial basis. The Girl Scouts have five district committees which are represented in a county-wide central council. There is a staff member in charge of each district and a general county executive.

The Boy Scout program is more decentralized. There are three local councils—in East Boroughs, the Homestead area, and McKeesport (including the Monongahela valley communities south of it). Each of these councils has its own executive. The remaining part of Allegheny County, together with sections of Westmoreland and Beaver counties that are within the Pittsburgh metropolitan area, is organized as the Allegheny County Council.¹⁶

While the Scout programs reach more communities than any other leisure time provision, they are still largely lacking in mining communities and, as might be expected, are less numerous in rural than in urban areas. The various facilities of the communities, especially churches, provide the necessary meeting places, but difficulty is reported in securing the volunteer leaders on which the program chiefly depends. There is good coöperation among the various Boy Scout councils in leadership-training programs, which are assets of both Boy and Girl Scout programs. The

¹⁴ As reported, 2,891 against 6,286, for Boy Scouts; 1,702 against 3,769 for Girl Scouts.

¹⁵ This does not apply to the McKeesport Boy Scout council, which has remained independent of the Fund.

¹⁶ There has been some discussion of consolidating the organization into one council for the county, but since service in the smaller councils was found to be somewhat more intensive and more uniformly spread over the various constituent communities, there seems no reason for urging consolidation at present. These territorial units are, moreover, large enough to occupy the full time of a qualified executive.

popularity of the Scout movement in the county is an indication of the pressing need for leisure time programs. The Homestead Council, which has developed the most intensive service of any, claims that it serves one boy in each three and a half boys of Scout age. Such a record would probably be too high to allow for difference in individual interests if other programs were available. An alternative program for the agricultural sections of the county is that of the 4-H Clubs, under the supervision of the county agricultural extension agents. This program, which combines educational and recreational features, does not have an extensive development in Allegheny County;¹⁷ social workers showed little acquaintance with it.

Libraries.—The most wide-spread and substantial year-round leisure time provision for persons of all ages in the county area is represented by libraries. Library service in Allegheny County has had two outstanding advantages. One is the generous policy of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh in its free service to persons who work in or go to school in Pittsburgh; the other arises from the original gifts by Carnegie of both buildings and endowment in Braddock, Homestead, Duquesne, and Carnegie. The charters of the Braddock, Homestead, and Duquesne libraries impose few restrictions on service to surrounding communities.¹⁸ The assistance and the influence of the older libraries has been important to the surrounding communities. Branches were formed in some of the neighboring communities during the early years of these libraries. Later, Wilkinsburg and Swissvale took over responsibility for former branches of the Braddock library. When a branch at Turtle Creek was about to close, the local school assumed responsibility for it as a combined school and public library. The Clairton library had a corresponding development from a former branch of the Duquesne library.

Table 64, which was made possible through the coöperation of the various librarians of the county,¹⁹ shows the sources of other libraries and their present support. The committee which helped make this survey

¹⁷ 1935 reports of extension agents listed the following clubs in Allegheny County:

Junior Food and Health Clubs	3 clubs with 34 members
Junior Meals Clubs	2 clubs with 24 members
Junior Baking Clubs	1 club with 11 members
Junior 4-H Garment Club	7 clubs with 102 members
4-H School Outfit Club	2 clubs with 19 members
4-H Feeding Club	1 club with 10 members

¹⁸ Service at the Duquesne library is, according to its charter, free to anyone, anywhere.

¹⁹ Especially through a committee comprising C. E. Wright, Duquesne, chairman; F. S. Stevens, Homestead; Caroline Lauman, Sewickley; Araminta McLane, McKeesport; Mary B. Harris, Carnegie; Mrs. Harold Hazeltine, Emsworth; and Mr. Munn, Pittsburgh. Mildred S. Fletcher, Pittsburgh, also helped in the assembly of this material.

TABLE 64

LIBRARY SERVICE IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY OUTSIDE PITTSBURGH^a

LIBRARY	DATE ESTABLISHED	SUPPORT	CIRCULATION				HOURS OF SERVICE PER WEEK	NUMBER OF BOOKS	NUMBER OF BOOKS ADDED IN 1934	CURRENT PERIODICALS	FULL-TIME STAFF	PROFESSIONAL STAFF	INCOME		
			1929	1932	1934								1929	1932	1934
Braddock	1890	Endowment	146,500	125,390	132,898	69	61,790	2,564	100	100	6	1	\$19,000 ^b	\$19,000 ^b	\$19,000 ^q
Homestead	1898	Endowment	113,000	89,000	75,000	72	35,600	1,233	75	75	5	1	9,700	9,700	9,700
Carnegie	1899	Endowment	76,332	100,547	77,598	72	18,700	1,049	65	65	4	2	9,556	10,061	8,553
Duquesne	1904	Endowment	75,405	94,015	97,859	75	31,894	864	60	60	3	2	15,500	15,374	15,903 ^b
Sewickley	1873	Taxes	50,085	56,492	61,643	72	23,997	1,201	80	80	3	3	8,525	8,800	7,619
Wilkinsburg	1899 ^c	Taxes	142,682	225,011	181,510	48	28,173	1,251	103	103	4	..	12,474	13,927	7,545
Oakmont	1901	Taxes	38,117	46,468	35,244	59	12,678	468	47	47	2	1	6,713	6,260	4,623
McKeesport	1902	Taxes	85,479	129,032	114,193	66	33,419	1,940	133	133	3	1	13,931	11,809	10,032
Edgewood	1918	Taxes	30,146	41,977	37,258	66	14,681	719	48	48	2	3	4,520	4,520	4,520
Swissvale	1918	Taxes	60,411	93,189	89,520	72	12,108	778	44	44	4	1	...	6,504	6,708
Clairton	1920	Taxes	46,319	71,275	61,035	42	6,157	730	25	25	1	1	4,800	3,000	3,500
Tarentum	1924	Taxes	61,058	88,644	79,952	48	7,000	436	8	8	2	2	...	...	2,701
Forest Hills	1925	Taxes	10,210	24,423	24,921	..	5,275	567	19	19	1	1	100	900	516
Bellevue	1927	Taxes	20,146	34,791	26,032	30	7,000	555	15	15	1	..	...	...	...
Mt. Lebanon	1932	Taxes		30,000	27,000	36	9,500	500	20	20	1	1	...	...	...
Emsworth	1932	Contributions		...	8,602	5	2,189	244	..	..	..	..	...	...	162
Ingomar	1926	Contributions		...	5,269	7	2,945	550	..	..	..	..	...	...	150

^a Does not include three other libraries for which no detailed figures are available: North Bessemer, established in 1909 and supported by the Bessemer and Lake Erie Railroad, is open 14 hours a week and had a circulation of 28,030 in 1929; Glenshaw and Laurel Gardens, each supported by contributions.

^b Includes club.

^c Branch in 1899; separate, 1923.

found twenty-one community libraries outside Pittsburgh.²⁰ They may be divided roughly into three groups. About one-third are well-established institutions with professional leadership on the staff and with fairly large book collections compared to the rest of the libraries. Their support is made possible by endowment, regular tax support, or a combination of these. At the other extreme are three small libraries representing the civic spirit of a woman's club or some other organization. They are handicapped by having no regular source of support, by depending chiefly on books that are donated, by having little professional guidance, and by very limited hours of service. Between these groups are the libraries which receive partial support from public funds, sometimes borough appropriations, sometimes school funds. Most of this group have inadequate quarters and are struggling from year to year on inadequate budgets. Many of them, however, represent a transitional stage from entirely voluntary support to public support. School libraries of various sizes provide books and, in a few places, trained librarians for children of school age. Munhall and Bellevue, as well as Clairton and Turtle Creek, have school librarians.

Libraries are an example of community programs for which resources have not kept pace with demand, especially during the depression. In the three endowed libraries which include the somewhat unusual feature of athletic clubs, club fees, rentals, and so forth, amount in prosperous times to nearly as much as the endowment. These sources of income were greatly diminished during recent years because of the inability of individuals to pay and also because of the reduction in charges. The State Planning Board in its preliminary report states that "libraries in Pennsylvania must be assured of an income of not less than one dollar a year per inhabitant." Only the Sewickley library fully met this standard in 1934; Edgewood nearly meets it. Almost all the librarians reporting on the questionnaires describe the local services as inadequate and indicate need for more income. Almost all report need for more books. Many were pressed for space (one was sharing the tax collector's office) and short of staff.

Some librarians expressed the desire for more community support, more active boards, closer identification with clubs and mills, and more contacts with schools. As one librarian in a privately supported library phrased it: "If the people of a community support their library as they do their schools, they feel that it is indeed their own and are impelled to make more use of their institution."

²⁰ Three of these are in small neighborhoods of townships. In addition, there are collections of books, some donated, others loaned by the State Library, in four or five Presbyterian missions.

The rather unusual number of libraries in Allegheny County and the lack of restrictions on outside service in some of them do not mean that the county is well served. There are wide areas of the county without local service, some of them sizable communities. Service to neighboring communities from libraries, with the exception of those in Homestead, Braddock, and Duquesne, is usually on the basis of a dollar per year per person. The Pittsburgh library makes this charge to county residents who do not work or attend school in Pittsburgh. Both the distance involved and the charge make library service prohibitive to a large proportion of the county residents. Libraries, like parks, need to be accessible to homes. No need was mentioned more often to the study staff in county communities than that of library service, unless it was the need, which libraries would partly meet, of some program for young people from sixteen to twenty years of age.

There are three possibilities for further extension of library service: (1) additional locally initiated programs; (2) contracts with existing libraries to supply it; and (3) coöperation on larger area basis. The state law permits contracts with an outside library on the part of a municipality for any or all of the following services: book selection, purchase, cataloguing, interlibrary loans, reference service, and complete service. The Pittsburgh Library and perhaps other libraries would be in a position to provide such services. The law also permits two or more municipalities to join in establishing a library and provides for county libraries supported by a county tax. Under the county plan any community with a local library could choose whether or not to go into the county system. Six Pennsylvania counties now operate under this law. The State and County Federation of Women's Clubs has made county libraries one of its current projects.

Programs centering in community buildings.—A unique provision of the endowed Carnegie libraries enables these institutions to sponsor programs that make them resemble community houses rather than just libraries. The Braddock library started as a combined club and library for a little coöperative buying club formed among the workmen of the Edgar Thomson mill. Perhaps this start set the pattern for the other three, all of which include gymnasiums and auditoriums; Braddock, Homestead, and Duquesne have swimming pools. Unlike the library service, however, these facilities are not free. The gymnasium activities, swimming, bowling, billiards, table games, and tennis in Duquesne are available on a membership basis with small additional charges. Rooms in the buildings are available, as are the auditoriums, for community functions and groups.²¹

²¹ No rent is charged to Boy Scouts and to the Red Cross, in Duquesne. Homestead also developed some outdoor activities and Duquesne offered shower baths at a small charge during the depression.

Except in Carnegie, where the club had no paid staff during the period of this study, the librarian is director or "superintendent" of the club, with paid and volunteer assistants. Total membership in the four clubs was reported as about 2,500. During normal times the clubs not only are self-supporting but also contribute toward the library costs. The library building at North Bessemer serves also as community building for the small communities in its vicinity, with the librarian as director of activities.

In several localities in the county, recreation buildings have been provided under religious auspices. Y.M.C.A.'s are the oldest and most numerous of these. They usually mark communities where there was a combination of strong Protestant influence, more than average citizen wealth, and philanthropic motivation. Sewickley, Bellevue, Coraopolis, Sharpsburg, McKeesport, Tarentum, Wilmerding, and Pitcairn have such associations. Industries provided the plants and programs in the latter two places without, however, altering the essential character of their sponsorship. The industrial Y.M.C.A. in the mining community of Curtisville, now closed, was described earlier.²² There are small Y.W.C.A.'s in McKeesport, Wilkinsburg, Turtle Creek, Carnegie, and Wilmerding. The latter was combined with the men's association in 1928 as "The Wilmerding Christian Association."

Only general characteristics of the county programs of these Y's can be summarized here. Their most common activities are clubs and classes, the latter most often under physical directors. Occasionally, there were found forums and dramatic and choral groups. There is a noticeable tendency in these county Y's to depart somewhat from the specialized programs usual to the agencies in cities and to become to a greater extent centers for community-wide programs. The Wilmerding association, for example, has the only moving pictures in town. More often than in Pittsburgh, outdoor activities are included—tennis and other sports and summer playground programs for children. Another example of this divergence in programs is the rather general provision by Y.M.C.A.'s of activities for girls—illogical under their name but understandable where there is no Y.W.C.A. Some of the Y.M.C.A.'s have a girls' department or auxiliary and a part- or full-time staff member. The Y.W.C.A. in McKeesport likewise serves both sexes through its International Institute and some recreation activities for mixed groups of young people. The Wilmerding associations took the most decisive step in this direction by merging programs, while retaining separate Y.M. and Y.W. boards.

Most of the Y.M.C.A.'s and the McKeesport Y.W.C.A. have shown a commendable readiness to share their program with surrounding communities. Where this tendency has led farthest, the associations have been

²² Chap. ii, *supra*.

factors in the larger community developments mentioned in Part I of this study. The North Boroughs and the Allegheny Valley Y.M.C.A.'s are now organized on such a plan. These and the Wilmerding association were carrying program activities in at least one additional building in a less privileged neighborhood or community.

In cooperation with the Pittsburgh Y.M.C.A. there has also been an unofficial districting of the county with tentative service areas for the various Y.M.C.A.'s outlined, as indicated in the map, Fig. 21. A "City-County Branch" of the Pittsburgh association was created to develop a program in the large and irregular area not included by these districts.²³

The districting plan works more completely in some areas than in others. The Allegheny Valley Y.M.C.A. reports high school clubs "from Springdale to Freeport." The Wilmerding association furnished the following report on individuals served who live in the various surrounding communities, some outside its district:

Wilmerding	913	Irwin	4
Turtle Creek	267	Wilksburg	27
Wall	197	Edgewood	2
Pitcairn	159	Trafford	81
East McKeesport	313	East Pittsburgh	77
		Braddock	64

At the other extreme, the Coraopolis Y.M.C.A. reported 720 registrants in Coraopolis and only 14 outside. It is obvious that extension of program presupposes resources in plant, budget, and staff, in addition to a larger community vision. The age of a number of the county associations means that the buildings have reached a state of some disrepair. Especially during the depression they have also been handicapped by insufficient staff, a few having been reduced to two full-time members. The City-County Branch, moreover, has but one secretary, who, in addition to his duties in this connection, is responsible for other functions in the Pittsburgh Y.M.C.A. and is loaned annually for work on the Community Fund Campaign.

The Y.W.C.A.'s are poorer than the Y.M.C.A.'s in resources—Wilmerding is the only one which had a plant built especially for this kind of program. Most of their buildings and their small staffs impose restrictions on programs which might be developed. The Wilksburg and Carnegie associations maintain small dormitories and community cafeterias in addition to accommodating community groups, especially meetings of women's organizations. With only one secretary, who is responsible for these house programs, there can be little other activity. McKeesport had two secretaries, the Wilmerding association two women staff members,

²³ The program in these parts of the county consists largely of Hi-Y clubs, with two active clubs for older ages.

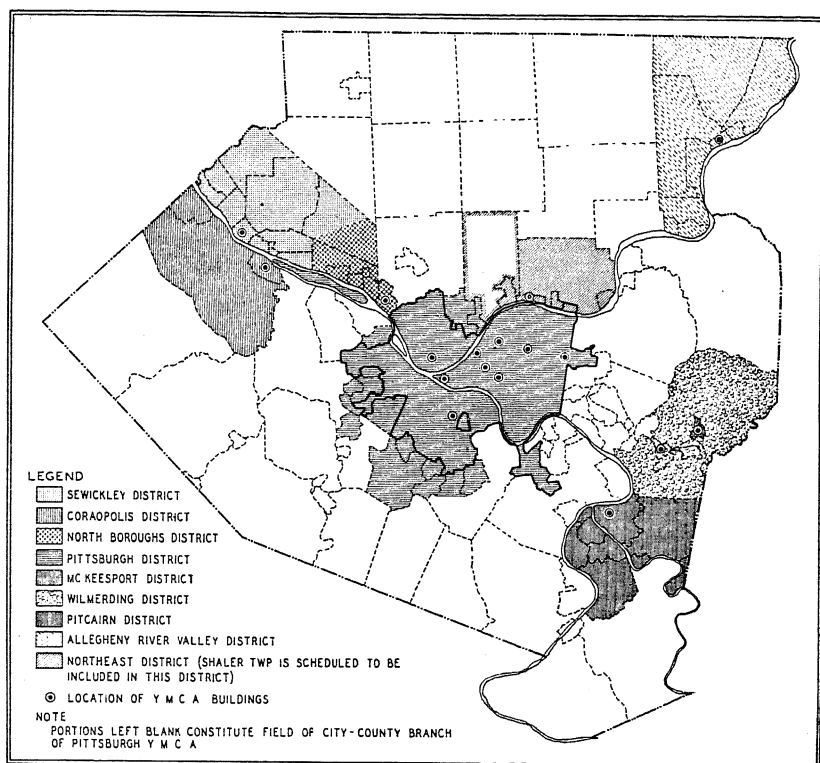


FIGURE 21

Y.M.C.A. SERVICE DISTRICTS IN PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY COUNTY

and the Turtle Creek Y.W. was without a full-time secretary. The Community Fund has in the past few years somewhat stabilized the budgets of the four county Y.M.C.A.'s and the one Y.W.C.A. which have been admitted to its membership.

The Pittsburgh Y.W.C.A. offers "a fellowship relation" to county Y.W.C.A.'s but does not have official connection with them or a policy of assuming responsibility for county programs of its own. It had, however, several somewhat uncoordinated county activities—assistance to two or three industrial clubs, a program of Girl Reserve clubs in schools in eighteen communities, as well as 130 "cases" and two or three group projects carried by its International Institute in the county outside Pittsburgh.

It is, of course, entirely proper for an agency which has not committed itself to serving the county area to limit its responsibility to Pittsburgh. From the point of view of the county Y.W.C.A.'s, however, which need a

closer connection with the Pittsburgh leadership resources, and of county communities in general, this policy means a regrettable loss, especially because the National Board of the Y.W.C.A. does not maintain close connection or prescribe conditions for local associations. There is opportunity for the Pittsburgh Y.W.C.A. to make a contribution to the development of programs for girls under Y.M.C.A. auspices. There is also an unusual need in Allegheny County communities for the emphasis which the Y.W.C.A. places on the development of service to women, since women in many communities do not enjoy even that form of association which employment gives to those engaged in industrial occupations in other districts.

Most of the communities with local Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s are no longer so predominantly Catholic as they have been in the past. It is an added illustration of the adaptation of the work of these agencies to community needs that they have included Catholics in their program groups. However, the opposition of Catholic churches to participation by Catholics, still strong in places, shows that the Protestant auspices of Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. remain something of a handicap for this more general service. This is one of the general limitations upon Y's, coördinate in some ways with the fact that they are not equally available to the less-favored economic strata. The need of a program more specifically planned for a large foreign and mostly Catholic group was mentioned by the Y.M.C.A. leaders in some of these communities. In a few places a lyceum program was found in connection with a Catholic church. In rare instances a Protestant church was also equipped for an active recreational program. Usually, however, local churches are the reflection of too great division of community resources to make either provision of a plant or the employment of full-time staff possible.²⁴

The need for community centers and recreational opportunities was recognized by Carnegie in the communities where he endowed libraries and by local donors or groups where Y.M.C.A.'s, Y.W.C.A.'s, and two or three Knights of Columbus halls were erected. In a few places which were without these resources such facilities were provided by an outside church group. The Interchurch Survey of Rankin, in 1920, recommended a community center to the Allegheny County Baptist Association, which thereupon replaced a small mission church in that borough by a modern plant and started a program which has since justified the recommenda-

²⁴ The 1934 Survey of the Pittsburgh Council of Churches showed 744 in the county area outside Pittsburgh, distributed as follows among the various faiths:

Protestant	556
Roman Catholic	116
Eastern Orthodox	33
Jewish	24
Miscellaneous	15

tion and has won increasing confidence, even from the Catholic priests who were at first antagonistic. The Methodist Episcopal Church Union made a somewhat similar provision—though far more inadequate as to plant—in the neighborhood between Munhall and Whitaker. In both of these programs and that of the Leetsdale Welfare House, the religious interests are little emphasized—much less so than in the series of small Presbyterian missions discussed elsewhere in the report.

Other communities recognize the need for community centers and deplore their financial inability to provide them, even though frequently industries controlling plants within their boundaries seem to have sufficient resources to provide buildings, or better still, to emulate certain mining companies which have matched voluntary citizen contributions for community plants and other projects.

UNMET NEEDS

The predominant leisure time programs available to the county communities surrounding Pittsburgh have been described in the foregoing pages. There are, however, extensive areas in the county not reached by adequate programs. More than half its population lives in communities without public library service except from Pittsburgh or from local school libraries. Boy and Girl Scouts, constituting the most widely spread program, had no members or less than five members in 31 of the 123 political subdivisions included in this study. The secretary of the City-County Branch of the Pittsburgh Y.M.C.A. gives the population of the area not included even in projected service areas of local Y.M.C.A.'s as 350,000; Y.W.C.A.'s, as indicated above, reach a relatively small proportion of the county's population, as do the other professionally planned community programs. When the communities without these provisions are the wealthier residential suburbs, as is sometimes the case, the only cause for concern is for the minority groups in those localities who are unable to provide programs for themselves. But, of course, the sparsity of leisure time facilities is more characteristic and more serious by far in those areas where the less-favored economic group lives.

The smaller communities, with a predominantly laboring population, are the most handicapped in providing recreation programs beyond school play. The plight of these communities can be told most concretely by two illustrations. The first is a description summarized from the community survey for which the locally chosen committee comprised a minister, the burgess, a Scout master, the principal of schools, a grocer, and a housewife. The borough has a population of approximately 2,400 and is situated near McKeesport.

Its facilities are enumerated as follows:

Outdoor places:

School playground 60 x 200 ft.; in bad condition; not used in summer; no equipment; no supervision

Vacant lots

Indoor places:

One small recreation room in a local church

Commercial recreation places:

Skating rink

Nearby commercial park used also by the school in the spring for two weeks practice in running and ball throwing

Poolroom

Most common types of recreation in community:

Swimming, roller skating, playing athletic games, dancing, cards

Recreation organizations:

Boy and Girl Scouts

Agencies with some recreation activities:

Schools—intergroup play, county interscholastic track and field meet

Epworth League

Sunday school classes

Recreation which draws people from other communities:

Football at commercial park

Recreation for which residents of this community go elsewhere:

To McKeesport for movies, theaters and bowling

To Greenoch, Boston, McKeesport, and Pittsburgh for mushball and baseball

Fishing

Conditions showing need for better recreation:

Large number of homes which do not provide space and opportunity for play

Many young people on the streets or gathering in poolrooms, restaurants and congregating in corner groups with nothing to do

Complaints of property destruction, stealing and other forms of juvenile delinquency

Requests for further opportunities

Group most in need of further provisions:

Those 5 to 25 years of age

Needs:

Both outdoor and indoor places since we have neither

There is no source of finance other than meager individual contributions

Citizenry needs to be educated to the need for recreation centers and activities

The second of these boroughs borders Pittsburgh. It has a population of 4,000, in part the residents of a mining community which it includes. Some of the following information is quoted from an unpublished survey of adult education and recreation programs made as a Federal project in 1934. Other facts were obtained by interviews in the community and from the registration figures furnished by group work agencies.

There are two ball fields and a small picnic park, but there is no planned outdoor program in this community. The borough has no high school. The 1934 survey was most interested in indoor facilities. It reported only one room in the school building which will accommodate adults and this has

a capacity of forty-eight. A board member spoke of the necessity of giving school plays two or three times to accommodate the audience. The same board member says that it is not practicable to use the school building for community events unless there is some way to guarantee costs and protection of equipment. One of the five churches has a basement for social activities.

The adaptation of an unused building belonging to a railroad has been considered for a community program, but the rental asked is reported to be prohibitive. Added to the recreation places above were a commercial pool room and sixteen licensed liquor-selling places. The survey reported a civic band but no other recreation program for adults. There are Boy and Girl Scout troops with a total membership of eighteen and eleven respectively. Although this borough is in the service district mapped out for a Pittsburgh Y.M.C.A., only six residents are among its registrants; three other Pittsburgh Y.M.C.A.'s register only four additional persons in this area. Other Pittsburgh group work agencies reported registrants from this community as follows: Catholic Boy Welfare Bureau, 1; Y.W.C.A., 7; Y.M. and Y.W.H.A., 1.

In contrast to these—from the standpoint of constructive recreational opportunities—neglected types of communities, the experiment in Carnegie is a noteworthy example of possibilities for the future. It is not presented here as a pattern for leisure time programs in other communities. It has the merit of having been planned to fit the particular local resources and needs of one community—Carnegie—at a particular time. It was developed in the midst of the depression. Its general principle of planned sharing of community resources with natural interest groups is applicable to other Allegheny County communities. Although the plan originated with a few older men, much of the responsibility is being carried by young men. As an avocation, the program involved mitigated the depression effects for many who participated in it, and the experience and leadership developed augurs well for the town's future. Two preliminary circumstances should be mentioned: Carnegie had a paralyzing business collapse before the industrial depression; the discontinuance of the Athletic Club program at the Carnegie library, never as strong there as in the other endowed libraries, was one of the results; its small staff was discontinued, and the gymnasium was closed. The preamble of the constitution of the Carnegie Athletic Association as planned said:

In order to organize the youth of Carnegie so that wholesome leadership can be provided for their recreation and other youth problems; to provide recreation for the unemployed during the morale-shattering depression; to have permanent facilities for recreation grow out of the current interest and needs; to keep athletics and recreational activities in our community free from all personal

domination, political influence, and commercial exploitation; to prevent all racketeering methods of financing athletics; and to build up general goodwill in the community we hereby dedicate this Constitution, April 26, 1932.

The Carnegie Athletic Association, thus established, is a coördinating agency. Any group of boys or men who wish to participate in its activities may register at the cost of \$1.00. Each group becomes a "branch club" of the Carnegie Athletic Association and is entitled to select any member eighteen years of age or older to represent the group on the executive committee of the association. Clubs with members under twenty-one years must have an advisory committee of adult Carnegie Athletic Association members. Clubs with members under sixteen must have at least three approved Carnegie Athletic Association leaders who will agree to be present "either individually or as a group to take personal charge of all meetings, gymnasium periods, or other activities of the club."

Members of branch clubs, "when vouched for by their club officials are considered members of the Carnegie Athletic Association and entitled to all the privileges of membership except gymnasium privileges which are available only to holders of individual memberships in the Carnegie Athletic Association showing some contribution toward the improvement and maintenance of such facilities." Membership dues vary according to age and range from twenty-five cents a year for ages ten and eleven to \$2.00 for men over twenty-three. Branch clubs may reserve gymnasium periods during the season or any other facilities available to club members without extra charge. The Association also provides age-group periods in the gymnasium in which members may participate individually instead of in a club group. These age-group activities are for individual members not already associated with a group. The program has included use of outdoor facilities as well. The Federal recreation projects were coördinated with it. Because younger boys were not eligible in the latter groups, the Pittsburgh Y.M.C.A., on application of the Carnegie Athletic Association, furnished leadership for a program for this age group. A few groups from an adjoining small community, disadvantaged as far as programs go, have been accepted by the association. The leaders realize both the difficulties and the further possibilities ahead. There has been little of the spurious activity sometimes associated with new programs; promotion has been quiet, and both safeguards and future extensions have been planned.

It is most desirable in the county, as it is in Pittsburgh, to strengthen those programs which show the most possibility of giving service to the underprivileged groups or communities. District organization in some parts of the county provides a possibility of sharing local opportunities with less fortunate neighbors. The East Boroughs Boy Scout Council, for instance, includes residential communities like Wilkinsburg, Edgewood,

Churchill, and Forest Hills and also some manufacturing towns, small boroughs, and townships. By contrast, municipal programs, such as playgrounds and libraries, usually encounter territorial limits which lessen the chances of extending opportunities beyond corporate boundaries. There are a few exceptions to this rule, the Sewickley library, for instance, which lends collections of books to surrounding rural schools. The actual merging of municipalities would help solve this as it would other municipal problems, and it may be that nothing short of that will provide adequate public programs in some municipalities.

The Community Fund among the voluntary organizations and the county government among those supported by taxes offer the most general channels for wider sharing of resources. The county as a whole has sufficient resources. Its assessed valuation in 1933 exceeded that of thirty-two states.²⁵ A county department of parks and recreation which would coöperate with municipalities in developing programs was indeed provided in the charter proposed for a Metropolitan Government. Such a county department, through a recreation director sensitive to program possibilities, might be able to integrate these park facilities with programs in local communities in a way which would stimulate the development of handicrafts, dramatics, and choral activities. The proposal for a county library, however, as made earlier in this chapter, does not need to wait for a metropolitan charter. Possibly no other expenditure of public money, except that for roads and schools, would reach so many people, and probably no other would contribute so much to the cultural and recreational good of the county as liberal and accessible library service.

The Community Fund is the most inclusive channel for coördinating voluntary resources. Local sponsors of a number of programs, unable to carry on through the depression, turned to the Community Fund for assistance. In saving their programs from collapse the Fund also rendered them another indirect service: the necessity of measuring up to certain standards of management and performance as prescribed by the Fund, while it prevented a few local agencies from sharing in its support and seemed to some an unjustified encroachment on local autonomy, is certain to make for ultimate values that more than outweigh the immediate hardships. The most important step in the strengthening of programs and therefore, perhaps, the most appropriate responsibility of a central organization, is the provision of adequate staff. Nearly all county leisure time activities are understaffed. There are too many programs in Allegheny County left to one person. Some of these are expected to cover the entire county. Their sponsors apparently forget that this county is vastly more populous than most counties and contains an unusually large number of communities.

²⁵ Statement by Nicholas Stabile, statistician for the County Commissioners.

Central agencies can help not only by increasing the number of the personnel but also by raising the qualitative standard of the staff where this is necessary. Insistence on changes sometimes comes more acceptably from a group without the close personal connections that exist in small communities, and it is a legitimate condition for participation in the Fund. But there are also other ways to improve personnel. Professional association and stimulation is most needed and hardest to obtain in isolated agencies. The Group Work Division of the Federation of Social Agencies offers this association at least theoretically to the county agencies as well as to those in Pittsburgh; actually, however, only those agencies near Pittsburgh and the county Y.M.C.A.'s which were branches of Pittsburgh's Y.M.C.A. belonged to that division at the time of this study. The latter were represented indirectly through the Pittsburgh Association. The relationship needs to be a two-way one: more effort on the part of the Group Work Division to be helpful to the county agency staff, and more professional effort on the part of the latter toward participation. The Group Work Division is aware of the inadequacies of its county contribution. Like other relatively new programs, it has not yet had resources to make this extension. The secretary of the county Community Councils has close contacts and wide acquaintance with these county programs which should be built into the future programs of this division.

The Federation has some opportunity and one start to its credit in meeting another ever-present personnel need—that of in-service training of the type which is at present supplied in the Boy Scout field and under the county Sabbath School Association. By offering a second section of the recreation institute in the summer of 1935 the Federation provided valuable stimulation and instruction for a considerable number of county workers, chiefly on government projects, who had applied for, but had not secured, admission to the original section of the institute. The Group Work Department of Carnegie Institute of Technology offers another resource now used by a few county recreation workers near Pittsburgh. Extension courses, such as are already provided by a few other departments, would be a boon in a center like McKeesport. The Community Fund and the Federation of Social Agencies are in the most strategic positions to interpret needs on a county-wide basis, to take initiative in planning, and to bring into contact with one another the group of scattered individuals who are most directly concerned.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Taking the entire field of leisure time activities in its largest sense, what are the principal objectives to which its development should be directed?

First in importance seems to be the need for a general increase in the

facilities available. There are not enough of anything: parks, playgrounds, settlements, boys' clubs, Y's. All plans should be based on this underlying fact, which is true of both Pittsburgh and the county.

Secondly, in pressing for extension of opportunities the responsible leaders of the field should be guided by the relative seriousness of the need for more leisure time opportunities in some areas than in others, and one group and another, rather than by devotion to some particular agency or type of agency. Roughly speaking, the most neglected and under-supplied members of the community are:

- (a) The industrial communities in the county outside Pittsburgh
- (b) The poorer neighborhoods in both Pittsburgh and Allegheny County and therefore those with predominantly foreign-born, Negro, unskilled, or industrially stranded groups
- (c) In any neighborhood, whether as a whole predominantly poor or relatively prosperous, those parts of the population which are in less-favored economic circumstances, and who, therefore, have no access to facilities that require substantial outlays for their enjoyment

The recognition of these prior needs should naturally lead to giving preference in the extension of leisure time facilities to those types of service and of agency that are most likely to reach the largest possible group of the community, those least favored economically and least adequately provided for by existing agencies. These would be:

Public playgrounds, playfields, school playgrounds, swimming pools, and similar supervised, tax-supported facilities, developed in orderly fashion on a county-wide plan under a county Department of Recreation and in co-operation with school systems

Neighborhood houses, boys' clubs, church and community houses, in which no fees or but nominal fees are charged and in which no prohibitive expense for uniforms, regalia and incidentals is involved

Coöperative community enterprises like the one described in the text as being developed in the borough of Carnegie

These postulates would lead to the inclusion on a far more generous scale than ever before, of budgets of neighborhood houses and boys' clubs in the Community Fund program, even though such increases may mean a relative retardation in the support of those leisure time agencies in which substantial income is derived from operations. There might even follow the acceptance of a certain amount of leadership by the Federation and the Fund in stimulating the creation of new agencies in neighborhoods and in county communities having greatest need for them, with the clear recognition that they involve the assumption of new burdens upon the philanthropic interest of the community. Upon the existing agencies, public and voluntary, the situation in Allegheny County seems to impose the obligation to add to their service program another important service,

that of the promotion of these plans of extension. It seems reasonable that a part of the funds appropriated to the procurement of recreational opportunities be dedicated to the task of propaganda and public education in the interest of the larger purpose of future extension of services. It would also follow from such a program and as a condition for its realization that the many special sponsors of group activities whose objectives are religious, educational, and "character building" sacrifice some part of their special interests for the more liberal provision of recreational facilities for the poor unconditioned by other objectives.

While these general objectives seem of paramount importance in a long view of leisure time service, it does not follow that technical interests need thereby be neglected. It is reasonable and desirable that pressure for improved quality of service be maintained as before and even increased. It is important, for example, that: (a) more and better trained professional workers be made available; (b) year-round programs be striven for in parks, playgrounds, etc.; (c) certain age groups, such as those between 5 and 9, be given a more generous proportion of service; (d) the special interests of ethnic and racial groups be given consideration; (e) the advances of group-work technique be made available for the work of leisure time groups for the enrichment and improvement of the results; and (f) the mutual benefits of case work and group work be made available to each of these special technical branches of social work.

CHAPTER XXI

EPILOGUE

ONE AND one-half years have elapsed since the completion of the field work from which the data for this volume have been secured. Three years have elapsed since the launching of the study. During these three years the possibility of "achieving practical results" has been steadily kept in mind. Direct results, as well as the evaluation of needs and the formulation of permanent plans, were within the scope of the study.

What has been achieved in these three years? What is reasonable to expect? From the outlook of the cynical pessimist, who sees all surveys as mere dust gatherers on forgotten shelves, to that of the placid optimist, to whom, as to the Lord, a thousand years are but a day, the rate of expectation and degree of disappointment may cover a wide range. The experienced observer of civic and communal life will not expect rapid changes nor a great number of them. He will gauge the reasonable expectations in the light of two separate sets of factors: those that are inherent in any far-reaching evaluation and the fundamental changes that may be suggested by them; and those that arise from the characteristics of a particular community and its capacity for change, for self-criticism, for coöperation, for decision.

Certain retarding factors inherent in such a study should be given full recognition before pessimistic judgment is passed on the community's capacity to profit from the enterprise. First, facts and observations must be obtained by the staff. These data must be compared, their significance pondered and discussed, and some staff judgment arrived at; findings must be formulated; plans and recommendations crystallized.

The next step is promulgation, seeking to carry the process through to achievement. Granted that the staff is reasonably certain of its interpretation, that among possible recommendations those agreed upon are the best or the most nearly feasible, there are groups, interests, and wills which must understand what has been discovered; if changes are proposed, they must know why they are advisable and why they should be adopted. The groups which confronted the staff in its attempt to secure immediate action comprised in this instance at least the following:

1. The Citizens' Committee on the Social Study, which had the right to approve or disapprove particular recommendations, the manner of their promul-

gation, their release to the agencies or to the public—though not the ultimate publication or the nature of published recommendations, which were reserved as a right of the director of the study.

2. The agency specifically affected by plans proposed or changes suggested. Within the agency several factors are involved: board, executive, staff—and, in a sense, client.

3. The financial backers of social work: public bodies, state, county, and local, with their political affiliations and implied public policy; wealthy contributors, individual and corporate, and other contributors; the Community Fund as a financing agency.

4. Public opinion in all its varieties and attitudes: the Church; the dominant minority; the inarticulate majority; the militant opposition minority; lay and professional opinion; civic pride and civic conscience; the actual and potential client.

Theoretically, all promulgation should, in the military phrase, proceed “through channels”; from staff to Citizens’ Committee, from Committee to agency, and from agency to the public. In this process the staff members would serve as interpreters, reporters, expert advisors, guides in compromise and modification, reservoirs of evidence. Yet, as we shall see, this orderly procedure through channels was not always practicable, and may actually have been sterile or self-defeating; for time is always a factor, and often there is a right moment that may determine the effectiveness of action (as, for example, appearing before appropriation hearings).

A deep-seated series of paradoxes complicates the logical process from fact to conclusion and thence to recommendation and acceptance. Facts do not always lead to one conclusion alone; recommendations are compounded of opinion, as well as of facts, and opinions may differ; expertness of opinion is conditioned not only by the specialist’s previous experience but also by the acceptability of his recommendations to the interested party. Facts and conclusions may be distasteful, disturbing, in conflict with fundamental attitudes, and their expression—a primary obligation of the survey—may endanger any acceptance or action, and action is the ultimate purpose of this study. The “Truth shall set you free” applies to the individual when his own conscience is his judge; it does not necessarily follow when his fellow man is in the judgment seat. The practical incompatibility of findings, promulgation, and acceptance is too frequent a phenomenon to make the sequence assured.

In the light of these considerations and of the necessary delay that all action involving large and settled bodies must encounter, what may, nevertheless, be regarded as progress along the paths proposed by the study? What are the particular characteristics or facts in the community that would seem to favor or to retard changes as proposed by the study staff?

The first important fact relates to the Citizens’ Committee. The mem-

bers of that body are representative not only of the community at large but also, though informally, of important organizations: the Federation of Social Agencies and the Community Fund. While approval by this sponsoring body does not insure the immediate realization of proposed plans, disapproval by the committee would certainly interpose an almost unsurmountable obstacle in the path of their execution. With one exception, which related to the follow-up organization of the committee itself, every recommendation submitted by the staff of this study was accepted and approved by the committee, and practicable steps were devised by it for promulgating them and carrying them into effect. This fact is important beyond possible exaggeration. It means that a body of men and women—all but three representing lay opinion, industrial, financial, and social leaders of the community, some with long and varied experience on boards of agencies, some with public service of long standing in city or county, representatives of the principal religious faiths, and all loyal to the good name of the community—saw in the proposals of this study opportunities for effecting valuable changes and progress for Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. If, then, substantial opposition, direct or passive, should be encountered, it would be difficult to believe that it could be attributed to subversive ideas, to over-professional notions, or to incompatibility of the proposals with the basic phases of the community's life and ways.

The second medium for carrying out recommendations of the study consists of the agencies and institutions through which the social work of the community is practiced, their managing boards, and the executives who guide their policies. Many of the proposed plans affect these agencies, suggest changes of policy, modification of program, new orientations, elimination of one function and assumption of another; in some cases, indeed, mergers of agencies and even the discontinuance of some have been recommended. How ready have agencies been to respond to proposals of this character when submitted by staff and approved by leading citizens that constitute the sponsoring citizens' committee?

Pittsburgh social workers have never been noted for their coöperative habits and unanimity of action. Agency competition—sometimes embracing boards, at other times only executives or scattering board members—has been frequent. Many exemplars of such competitive attitudes might be mentioned, but those that have been most conspicuously retarding constructive coöperation and progress in the community's social work include: rivalry between the two schools of social work, between the Community Fund and the Federation of Social Agencies, between the Children's Aid Society and the Children's Service Bureau, between the Family Society (originally the coördinative body) and the Federation of

Social Agencies. We shall see below some of the points at which the resistance of agencies to the recommendations of the study staff and sponsoring committee has become pronounced.

How the financial supporters of social work and public opinion which is interwoven with it will respond to the appeal represented in the study recommendations depends in large part on the way in which their significance reaches them and on the extent to which the agencies and the sponsoring committee of the study may be able to adjust and integrate their viewpoints. Up to this time contributors and taxpayers have had no opportunity for a clear choice on the merits and acceptability of the proposals.

Acceptance of recommendations by the agencies affected, and decisive steps for putting them into effect may be reported for the following distinct items:

(7) The new plan of budgeting in association with social planning for agencies in the Community Fund was tentatively put into effect in the spring of 1935. The new committee is composed of representatives in equal numbers from the Community Fund and the Federation of Social Agencies, gives year-round service instead of the previous pre-campaign budgeting and is assisted in its labors by the budget specialist on the staff of the Federation. The full working out of the purposes underlying this proposal will take several years, during which the maximum effort on the part of the personnel of both the Fund and Federation will be required to make this task as successful as it can be. The beginnings, however, have been made.

(2) The proposed consolidation of case work agencies within the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies was accepted and put into effect shortly after the termination of the field study. A new organization, entitled the Jewish Social Service Bureau, succeeds the following previously separate organizations: The Jewish Family Welfare Association, The Jewish Big Brothers Association, The Girls' Bureau, The Pittsburgh Bureau for Jewish Children, and Service to the Foreign-born. The inclusion of the last-mentioned agency represents the extension of the principle proposed by the study beyond its specific recommendations and indicates a determination by the Jewish communal body to go beyond the letter into the spirit of the recommendations.

(3) Basic improvements in the quality and point of view of the work of the Juvenile Court preceded the organization of the Social Study. It was possible, however, to assist the progress of the court substantially through the continuous advice provided by members of the staff and rendered possible by the interest and coöperation of the incumbent judge. The particular recommendations on fundamental reorganization of the administrative structure and programs of the court were not involved in this coöperative relationship, but represent a later stage of the study.

(4) The Conference of Catholic Charities had already, previous to the inauguration of the study, undertaken to some degree amalgamation of family and child welfare, which placed it in line with modern developments in that field. Such recommendations as were made in the further development and qualitative improvement of this amalgamation have taken place in consequence of advice given

by the study staff during the field-work period, and a greater integration of these services has been effected.

(5) In the hospital field, the idea of group insurance, recommended by this study, met a sympathetic response by many of the interested hospital executives who had previously seen the possibility of increasing financial stability through this system. Largely as a result of this readiness, the program has been put into effect within the last year, and Pittsburgh's private hospitals have now joined the growing list of medical institutions in American communities which take advantage of this plan of auxiliary hospital financing.

(6) The Hospital Conference, which had existed prior to the study, with membership limited to executives and a strictly circumscribed program, has in pursuance of recommendations of the study been transformed into the Hospital Council of Allegheny County with a more inclusive membership along lines suggested by the study and with a more comprehensive program in keeping with the recommendations.

(7) Some progress has been made in expanding the concept and improving the content of social interpretation. Actual achievements in this direction were unfortunately retarded by the untimely death of one of the leading spirits of the group, but the first steps toward a larger conception of publicity and toward a suitable organization for that purpose may be recorded.

(8) In keeping with recommendations on Public Health Administration, the Nurses' Council has been organized within the Federation of Social Agencies, and a somewhat greater integration of policies and activities has taken place between the General Health Council and the Federation of Social Agencies, of which the former has become a member.

(9) Despite some early hesitation, decided steps have been taken in recent months to carry through the spirit of the recommendations with respect to the organizations serving new Americans. There is possibility of merging the programs of the American Citizenship League and the International Institute of Pittsburgh, and a revision of the program of the International Institute in the light of the findings of the study is reported as being under way.

(10) Committee appointments which may be regarded as steps toward the realization of objectives assigned to them may be mentioned as follows: Committee on City Community Councils and Training Committee of the Federation of Social Agencies; Capital Account Committee of the Community Fund.

These represent, roughly speaking, the visible results of the study recommendations up to this time. They do not include a certain indefinable amount of change that has taken place as a result of personal contacts, consultations, and incidental advice to agencies given by the study staff, but not in the form of formal recommendations. In view of the brief time that has elapsed since the completion of the study, it would be unfair to charge the community with disregarding the proposals of the study merely because changes suggested have not been put into action. Not only the specific retarding influences mentioned above should be taken into consideration but also the inevitable fact that under the best circumstances it takes time to carry through important changes. This is particularly true of proposals that require legislative action on the part of public bodies.

Thus, the fact that a county department of public assistance, a hospital department, a county health department, and a county recreation department have not been created cannot be regarded as a rejection of proposals for creating them.¹ They have, in fact, received practically universal acceptance. Perhaps, if after another five or ten years progress toward the realization of these recommendations has not been made, either the public authorities or the interest and initiative of private citizens may be charged with failure to produce results. Even then, however, any such judgment would be valid only in view of the general acceptance of these basic recommendations as important fundamental proposals.

With respect to a few of the recommendations, less responsibility may be placed upon time and tide and more upon the resistive interests of entrenched agencies. No progress can be reported, for example, on coöperation between the two professional schools in arriving at an integrated and coördinated program. Nor does it seem that effective efforts have been made by the Social Work Division of the University of Pittsburgh to carry through the recommendations of the study, despite the fact that no theoretical objections have been raised by that organization with the Citizens' Committee. It may be too early to judge whether the reconsideration of programs and the management of Community Councils might have progressed farther. Some of the suggestions in relation to this very important social program had, however, been made and accepted during the course of the field inquiry, and without undue optimism more advance might have been expected. This is true also of the organization of a family and child welfare division in the Federation of Social Agencies.

To some members of the community it seems that the least excusable delay has occurred in connection with the proposal for the creation of a new case work agency which would replace the Children's Aid Society, the Children's Service Bureau, and the Family Society and would replan their work as to both content and geographic service. This, indeed, has been a proposal of far-reaching importance, though of less ultimate significance than that of the establishment of certain public departments, particularly a county health department and a department of public assistance. It looms large because in a sense it tests the capacity of the lay and professional leadership of the community to subordinate vested agency interests to the good of the community and of the potential clientele which would ultimately profit from this proposal. The objections may seem even less tenable in view of the fact that within the Catholic denominational work the ideas underlying this proposal had been in

¹ As this goes to press the passage of legislation creating a public assistance board for Allegheny County is reported—making further progress in the direction favored by the study recommendations.

operation for some time and that within the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies a large-scale merger of agencies was undertaken to carry these recommendations into effect. It would be unjust, however, to sit in judgment on these agencies alone for resisting that particular recommendation without bearing in mind that similar resistance, some of which has been mentioned, has been shown by other bodies.

These are the principal points in a progress report on some of the more important recommendations of the study. Other events that have affected the life of the community have occurred during this period and will undoubtedly affect, sooner or later, the entire social work panorama of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. Within the field of better government there are activities that directly and significantly affect social work and reflect the new bent of public interest in fundamental measures for the public welfare. The Goodrich Commission, appointed by the governor to submit a sound permanent system of relief administration for the state of Pennsylvania, has made its report and proved that the best experience of voluntary social work which was represented on the personnel of its staff and the new recognition of government responsibility for the economic welfare of its less favored members can together devise suitable machinery for conserving traditional values, while recognizing realities of the day. The chief characteristics of the commission's proposals are: the clear-cut acceptance of state responsibility for standards, administration, and fiscal efficiency; the coordination of administrative centralization with local responsibility and public approval of pensions and insurance systems; interdependence of trained personnel and lay leadership. If the recommendations of that commission should be carried into effect, the chances of realizing the advantages of the plans recommended for Allegheny County will be increased beyond any expectation.

Civic interest continues to bring together government and private citizens in the work of bodies such as the Efficiency Commission, the City Planning Commission, the various groups interested in some form of metropolitan consolidation, and committees working in cooperation with Federal housing authorities, the Public Works Administration, and the Federal works program. The possibilities of direct benefit to the field of social work from these civic and governmental movements may depend in large part on the extent to which the sponsors and executives of social agencies, especially those under voluntary management, can align themselves with the objectives and activities of these public groups.

The possibility of far-reaching effects upon the social attitudes which underlie social work is represented by occurrences in the field of labor relations in Allegheny County in recent months. The recognition of collective bargaining as a necessary part of industrial organization, the

particular alignment of organized labor in the steel and coal industries with the C.I.O., that is, the more radical wing of organized labor, and the established constitutionality of the functions of the National Labor Relations Board may have an incommensurable effect upon public opinion and upon the division of power between dominant interests and mass opinion. There may be substantial influence upon the earnings of the laboring population which, combined with a generally changing attitude on government and politics, may draw into the management of voluntary and public social agencies a larger citizen interest inclusive of labor and of the professions as well as of industry and finance.

Whether the cleavages among the different sections of the people of this community (which are so distinctive and which account for so much of the anxiety of the present day) will shrink; whether employer and employee, Anglo-Saxon American and Central European peasant, Negro and white, adherent of this church and that, Republican and Democrat, majority party member and Socialist or Communist will, within this generation, see in each other differences of opinion rather than hostile interests may well be doubted. It is, however, not beyond hope that through an enlightened school system, a press which has been increasingly liberal and fair, and, possibly, through a more realistic and courageous social work leadership the new generation will record sufficient progress so that Pittsburgh and Allegheny County may be as proud of the achievements of the next quarter century as the present generation has cause to be of the tremendous strides toward a better life which the people of that community have made in the quarter century just past.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

EXPERIENCE SUMMARIES OF MEMBERS
OF THE STAFF

Elizabeth T. Alling

Social service assistant in Psychological Laboratory, Cincinnati public schools
Positions previously held

1919-22, assistant director, Rural Service, American Red Cross, National Headquarters

1922-28, Commonwealth Fund demonstration visiting teacher work

1928-29, instructor, University of North Carolina

1930-34, visiting teacher, Cincinnati schools, Cincinnati, Ohio

1931-32, instructor, Michigan State Normal College, summer sessions

Academic and professional training

University of Wisconsin, A.B.

Columbia University, M.A.

New York School of Social Work, graduate study in social work

Member of American Association of Social Workers

Herschel Alt

General manager, St. Louis Provident Association and the St. Louis Children's Aid Society

Positions previously held

1923-25, director, Tucson Community Fund, and staff member, Family Welfare Society, Tucson, Arizona

1925-28, director of case work for boys and legal supervisor, Juvenile Protective Association, Los Angeles, California

1928-30, director, Social Service Department, Louisville and Jefferson County Children's Home, Kentucky

1930 to date, St. Louis Children's Aid Society

1933-35, assistant director, Citizens' Committee on Relief and Employment, St. Louis

Academic and professional training

University of Toronto, A.B.

Ontario Law School, LL.B.

University of Toronto, graduate study in economics and philosophy

University of Chicago, Ohio State University, and New York School of

Social Work, graduate study in social work

Social work teaching

1926, University of California

1930, University of Louisville

1933-34, Washington University, St. Louis

Member of the Board of the Child Welfare League of America

Member of the Rocky Mountain Regional Committee, F.W.A.A.
Formerly chairman, Missouri Child Welfare Committee
Formerly chairman, Public Welfare Committee, Missouri Conference of Social Work
Member of American Association of Social Workers

Edith M. Baker

Medical social consultant, Crippled Children's Division, Children's Bureau, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Positions previously held

1914-23, Social Service Department, Massachusetts General Hospital

1923-36, director of Social Service Department, Washington University Clinics and Allied Hospitals, St. Louis, Missouri

Academic and professional training

Simmons College, School of Social Work, Boston, Massachusetts

Publications

Articles published in *Hospital Social Service*, *The Family*, and *The American Journal of Social Hygiene*; papers presented before National Conference of Social Work, American Hospital Association, State Conferences of Social Work, American Association of Social Workers, American Association of Medical Social Workers, American Public Welfare Association, and International Society for Crippled Children

Member of the American Association of Social Workers

Elizabeth L. Brezee

Statistician, Orthopedic Division, New York State Department of Health

Positions previously held

Statistician with the Committee on Dispensary Development of the United Hospital Fund in New York City

Statistician with the Child Health Demonstration of the Commonwealth Fund in Fargo, North Dakota

Case-finding survey of tuberculosis in Fargo, North Dakota

Organized study among families of patients of Gaylord Farm Sanatorium, Wallingford, Connecticut

Vital statistician with the St. Louis Department of Health

Director of the United States Public Health Service Health Survey in Schenectady, New York

Director of the United States Public Health Service Communicable Disease Survey in Pittsburgh

Academic and professional training

Vassar College, B.A.

Cornell University, Medical College, graduate work

Dorothy R. Bucklin

Staff member, Social Security Board

Positions previously held

Statistician, Detroit Council of Social Agencies

Assistant state director of relief, Louisiana

Research assistant, New York School of Social Work

Assistant relief analyst, Division of Social Research, F.E.R.A.

Academic and professional training

University of Wisconsin, A.B.

Simmons College, M.S.

Publications

Articles published in *The Family*

Member of the American Association of Social Workers

Margaret F. Byington

Faculty member, New York School of Social Work

Positions previously held

1902-6, district secretary, Associated Charities, Boston

1907-9, Pittsburgh Survey staff member

1909-13, Charity Organization Department, Russell Sage Foundation

1913-15, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, Department of Service and Relief

1915-17, associate director, American Association for Organizing Family Social Work

1917-20, director of field service, American Red Cross

1921-28, secretary, Council of Social Agencies and Community Chest, Hartford, Connecticut

Academic and professional training

Wellesley College, A.B.

Columbia University, M.A.

Publications

Homestead: the Households of a Mill Town, "The Pittsburgh Survey" Charities Publication Committee, 1910; *What Social Workers Should Know about Their Own Community* (pamphlet), Russell Sage Foundation; *The Confidential Exchange* (pamphlet), Russell Sage Foundation

Member of the American Association of Social Workers

Jane F. Culbert

Director of training, Vocational Service for Juniors, New York City

Positions previously held

1904-10, teacher in preparatory schools

1906-11, Union Settlement, New York City

1910-16, visiting teacher, Public Education Association, New York City

1916-21, executive of visiting teacher staff

1921-31, executive secretary, National Committee on Visiting Teaching

1922-32, part-time instructor at the New York School of Social Work

1932-33, supervisor of home and work relief, Dutchess County, New York, T.E.R.A.

1934-35, assistant supervisor, Federal Study of Unemployment Relief in New York City

Academic and professional training

Vassar College, A.B.

Columbia University—graduate work

New York School of Social Work—graduate work

Publications

The Visiting Teacher at Work, Commonwealth Fund; *The Visiting Teacher*, Commonwealth Fund; "The Visiting Teacher" in *The College Woman and the Social Sciences*, Vassar College

Member of the American Association of Social Workers

Dora M. Einert

Assistant professor of group work, Department of Social Work, Carnegie Institute of Technology

Positions previously held

1919-21, Y.W.C.A., Patterson, New Jersey

1921-23, Y.W.C.A., Cleveland, Ohio

1923-25, director of activities, Grace Chapel, New York

1925-26, director of activities, Labor Temple, New York

1926-27, director, Community Girls Work, White Plains, N. Y.

1934, director, Allegheny County Recreation Project (summer)

Academic and professional training

Columbia University, B.S.

Grete Falk

Director, Department of Research and Publicity, Council of Social Agencies, Washington, D. C.; local supervisor, Registration of Social Statistics, U. S. Children's Bureau

Positions previously held

1927-33, executive secretary, Federation of Non-Sectarian Social Agencies, Cologne, Germany; consultant for adult education and day camps for underprivileged mothers, Prussian Ministry of Welfare

1933-34, assistant to executive, Committee for Refugees, Society of Friends, London, England

1934, research assistant and editor, Federation of Social Agencies, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Nov., 1935-April, 1936, supervisor of training and editing, Health Survey, Pittsburgh, U. S. Public Health Service

Academic and professional training

Universities of Marburg, Cologne, Giessen; courses in economics, sociology, social administration, social research, and law; Dr. rer. pol., Giessen University, Germany

Publications

Die Hirsch—Dunckerschen Gewerkschaften . . .

Marc J. Feldstein

Senior statistician, W.P.A. Area Statistical and Research Office; lecturer in social measurement, Western Reserve University

Positions previously held

1929-33, statistician, Wawokiye Camp Research Project of the School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University

1934, statistician, Survey of Occupational Characteristics of Persons on Relief, F.E.R.A.

1934, statistician, Bureau of Social Research, Federation of Social Agencies, Pittsburgh

Academic and professional training

Western Reserve University, A.B.

Publications

Wawokiye Camp, Research Project in Group Work, in collaboration with Wilber I. Newstetter, 1930; *Determination of Genetic Constants of Relative Growth*, 1933; *A New Technique for Machine Computation of Coefficients of Correlation*, 1934

Mildred Stahl Fletcher

Editor, *Directory of Social Agencies of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, 1937*

Positions previously held

1926-30, member of the staff, Washington University Library, St. Louis

1930-35, reference librarian, Washington University Library, St. Louis

1935, associated with the editing of the *Bibliography of Social Studies in the Pittsburgh Area*

Academic and professional training

Smith College, M.A.; Fellow at the Brookings Institution

Publications

Articles in *Smith College Studies in History*, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, and *Social Forces*

Gordon Hamilton

Member of the faculty of the New York School of Social Work

Positions previously held

1917-20, American Red Cross, Colorado Springs, Mountain Division and Atlantic Division

1920-23, case worker and research secretary, New York Charity Organization Society

1925-28, associate director, Social Service, Presbyterian Hospital, New York City

1928-32, adviser in research, Presbyterian Hospital

1935 to date, director of social service, Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, New York

Academic and professional training

Bryn Mawr College, A.B.

Columbia University, M.A.

Publications

Social Case Recording, Columbia University Press; pamphlets: *Methods of Family Social Work*, *A Medical Social Terminology*, *More Community Aspects of Feeble-Mindedness*; and, in collaboration with Walter W. Pettit, *Report of a Study of the Philadelphia County Relief Bureau*

Member of the American Association of Social Workers

Alma C. Haupt

Director of Nursing Bureau, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company

Positions previously held

1924, director of Minneapolis Visiting Nurse Association

1924-27, associate director, Commonwealth Fund Program, Austria

1927-29, associate director Rural Hospital Program of Commonwealth Fund, New York City

1929-35, associate director, National Organization for Public Health Nursing

Academic and professional training

University of Minnesota, A.B.

University of Minnesota, R.N.

Johns Hopkins Hospital School of Nursing, graduate study

Publications

Articles for *Public Health Nursing*, *American Journal of Nursing*, and *The American Journal of Public Health*

Ira V. Hiscock

Professor, Department of Public Health, Yale University

Positions previously held

1914-17, Connecticut State Department of Health

1917-18, American Red Cross Sanitary Service, South Carolina

1918-19, Sanitary Corps, United States Army

1919-20, Department of Health, Columbia, South Carolina

Academic and professional training

Yale University, M.A., D.P.H.

Wesleyan University, B.A., M.A.

Publications

Public Health in Hawaii; Tuberculosis Control in Cleveland; District Health Administration; Community Health Organization; The Appraisal of Public Health Activities in Pittsburgh (in collaboration with the late Marion H. Ewalt) and other publications

Other activities

Lecturer in public health administration, occasional summer and fall sessions: Columbia University, University of California, University of Southern California

President, New Haven Community Chest, Connecticut Conference of Social Work, New Haven Branch of Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene; ex-president, New Haven Council of Social Agencies; vice-president, New Haven Family Society; commissioner, New Haven Board of Health; president-elect, Connecticut Public Health Association; director of Public Health Education Institute; Fellow of American Public Health Association; director of health surveys in Los Angeles County, Santa Barbara County and San Francisco, California; Hawaii; Cleveland; Washington; Hartford; and so forth

Frances K. Hoynes

Special investigator, assigned by arrangement with the Right Reverend Monsignor John O'Grady, National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, D. C.

Grace Louise Hubbard

Supervisor, Child Placing Department, State Charities Aid Association

Positions previously held

1916-18, case worker, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities

1918-22, district secretary, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities

1922, acting clinic executive, Cornell Clinic

1923, 1926, psychiatric case worker with war veterans, American Red Cross

1924-25, field secretary, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

1925, secretary, New York Branch, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Academic and professional education

Columbia University, Barnard College, A.B.

Columbia University, graduate work

New York University Law School

New York School of Social Work, graduate work

Member of American Association of Social Workers

Mary E. Hurlbutt

Member of the faculty of the New York School of Social Work

Positions previously held

1914-15, case worker, New York Charity Organization Society

1915-16, assistant in case work, New York School of Social Work

1916-17, agent, Massachusetts Society for Prevention of Cruelty of Children

1917-18, instructor of history and sociology, Bradford Academy

1919, Y.W.C.A., Survey Unit and Training School in Czechoslovakia

1920, Department of Work with Foreign Born Women in American Y.W.C.A.

1921-24, migration secretary, Department of Work with Foreign Born Women in America, Y.W.C.A.

1924-26, International Migration Service, director, American Branch

1926-30, international director, International Migration Service

Academic and professional training

Vassar College, A.B.

Columbia University, M.A.

New York School of Social Work, diploma

Member of American Association of Social Workers

Clara Anne Kaiser

Member of the faculty of the New York School of Social Work

Positions previously held

1920-21, director of training, Smith and Kaufman Silk Mills, New York City

1921-23, industrial secretary, Y.W.C.A., Rochester, N. Y.

1923-26, metropolitan industrial secretary, Y.W.C.A., Brooklyn

1926-27, metropolitan industrial secretary, Y.W.C.A., Chicago

1927-34, assistant professor, School of Applied Sciences, Western Reserve University

Academic and professional training

University of Rochester, A.B.

New York School of Social Work, diploma

Columbia University, graduate work

Ohio State University, Ph.D.

Publications

Group Records of Four Clubs, Western Reserve University; editor of *Objectives of Group Work*, Association Press

Member of the American Association of Social Workers

Philip Klein

Member of the faculty of the New York School of Social Work

Positions previously held

1913-18, assistant secretary, Prison Association of New York

1919-20, director, Rural Service and Training Department, Southern Division, American Red Cross

1921, associate director, Field Service, National Headquarters, American Red Cross, in charge of community studies

1921-23, Russell Sage Foundation, Unemployment Study

1921, lecturer, Johns Hopkins University

1923-27, executive secretary, American Association of Social Workers

Academic and professional training

College of the City of New York, A.B.

New York School of Social Work, diploma
Columbia University, Ph.D.

Publications

Prison Methods in New York; Social Laws and Institutions of North Carolina; The Burden of Unemployment; Social Case Work (in collaboration with Mary Antoinette Cannon); *Some Basic Statistics in Social Work* (with the collaboration of Ruth Voris); chapter on Mary E. Richmond's *Social Diagnosis in Methods in Social Science*, by Stuart A. Rice; articles in the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* on: Social Work, Social Case Work, Delinquent Children, Money Raising Campaigns, and other articles; articles in technical periodicals

Member of the American Association of Social Workers

Hertha Kraus

Associate professor of social economy, Bryn Mawr College

Positions previously held

1917-19, research assistant on social projects, University of Frankfort
1920-23, field director of child feeding and health programs for children, American Friends Service Committee, Germany
1923-33, director, Public Welfare Department, Cologne, Germany
1933-34, consultant on community activities and housing, Family Welfare Association of America
1934, research worker, Russell Sage Foundation
1934, consultant, Division of Subsistence Homesteads, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.
1934, research worker, T.E.R.A., Committee on Planning, New York State
1934-36, professor of social work, Margaret Morrison Carnegie College, Carnegie Institute of Technology

Academic and professional training

University of Frankfort, Ph.D.

Publications

Work Relief in Germany; Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1934; *Aiding the Unemployed* (a survey of methods and trends in twenty-four foreign countries), New York, T.E.R.A., 1935; articles in *The Family*, *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, and *Pennsylvania Social Work*

Burdette G. Lewis

Staff consultant, American Public Welfare Association

Positions previously held

Statistician of the First Hughes Public Service Commission of New York
Member Committee Installing Budget System of New York City, Twenty Year Plan for New York City Schools, Socialization New York City; Dual Subway System, City Plan and Port Authority System
Deputy commissioner, later commissioner, of correction, New York City
Commissioner, Public Welfare Department, New Jersey; head of several corporations in the J-C Penney group

Academic and professional training

Nebraska State University, University of Wisconsin, Cornell University

Publications

The Offender and His Relations to Law and Society; numerous magazine articles

Manfred Lilliefors

General secretary, Protestant Family Welfare, Inc., Albany, New York

Positions previously held

1925-30, executive secretary, Social Welfare League, Reading, Pennsylvania

1930-33, Family Welfare Society, Bridgeport, Connecticut

1933-34, staff member, Family Welfare Association of America

1934, director, Bureau of Homeless and Transient, New York City

1935, assistant professor, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Academic and professional training

University of Nebraska, A.B., M.A.

Publications

Articles published in *The Family*

Member of American Association of Social Workers

Leonard W. Mayo

Assistant director, Welfare Council of New York City

Positions previously held

1922-23, assistant superintendent, Opportunity Farm for Dependent Boys,
New Gloucester, Maine

1923, director of parole for State School, Maryland

1924-29, welfare director, director of after-care, and director of training
program for institution workers, Children's Village, Dobbs Ferry

1930-33, assistant director, Children's Village

1929-35, member of faculty, New York School of Social Work

1935-36, director of training and director of Division of Personnel, New
York City Emergency Relief Bureau

Academic and professional training

Colby College, A.B.

New York University, graduate work

New York School of Social Work, graduate work

Publications

Articles published in *The Survey*, *Junior Red Cross Magazine*, and other social
work publications

Secretary, Board of Directors, Child Welfare League of America

Member of American Association of Social Workers

Wilber I. Newstetter

Director of courses in group work, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western
Reserve University

Positions previously held

Professor of group work, School of Applied Sciences, Western Reserve University

Director, Woodland Center

Director, University Neighborhood Centers

Camps director

Academic and professional training

University of Pennsylvania, A.B.

Western Reserve University, M.A.

Publications

Wawokiye Camp, a Research Project in Group Work, 1930; articles published in
National Conference of Social Work Proceedings, 1935, and in *American Socio-
logical Review*

Vice-president, National Federation of Settlements
 Executive Committee, National Conference of Social Work
 Executive Committee, Association of Schools of Social Work
 Member of American Association of Social Workers

Celeste M. Post

Positions previously held

1917-18, case worker, Houston Social Service Bureau
 1918-19, district supervisor, Chicago Chapter, American Red Cross
 1922-28, case supervisor, Baltimore Jewish Social Service Bureau
 1930-31, psychiatric social worker, Philadelphia Mental Hygiene Clinic and
 Community Health Center
 1933, case supervisor, Colorado State Relief Committee
 1934, associate state director, Wyoming Transient Relief Service

Academic and professional training

University of Chicago, Ph.B.
 Chicago S.S.S.A., graduate work
 New York School of Social Work, graduate work

Social studies with

1922, Baltimore Jewish Social Service Bureau
 1929, New York School of Social Work
 1930, Denver Tuberculosis Society
 1931, Family Welfare Association of America

Member of American Association of Social Workers

A. H. Prasse

Assistant to manager of branches, Crane Company, Chicago, Illinois

Positions previously held

Director, Prasse Lumber Company, Cleveland, Ohio
 Director, Lakewood Packard Company, Lakewood, Ohio
 General parts service manager, White Motor Company, Cleveland

Academic and professional training

Oberlin College, A.B.
 Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, M.B.A.

Mary Swain Routzahn

Director, Department of Social Work Interpretation, Russell Sage Foundation

Positions previously held

1908-11, assistant director, Juvenile Protective Association, Chicago
 1911-12, executive secretary, Children's Council, Washington, D. C.
 1912-35, Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation

Academic and professional training

University of Wisconsin, A.B.
 University of Chicago, graduate work

Publications

Publicity for Social Work (with Evart G. Routzahn); *How to Interpret Social Work* (with Helen Cody Baker); other books and pamphlets

Secretary, Social Work Publicity Council

Instructor, New York School of Social Work

Member of American Association of Social Workers

Roy Sorenson

Assistant general secretary, National Council, Y.M.C.A.

Positions previously held

1922-27, boys' work secretary, Milwaukee Y.M.C.A.

1927-36, secretary for program service, National Council Y.M.C.A.

1928-35, Member of faculty, George Williams College

Academic and professional training

University of Wisconsin, B.A.

Social studies

Conducted community studies under auspices of National community chests and councils and local community chests and councils in Flint, Michigan; Erie, Pennsylvania; Hartford, Connecticut; Boston, Massachusetts; Seattle, Washington; and Providence, Rhode Island

Gertrude E. Sturges

Consultant on Medical Relief, Public Welfare Association

Positions previously held

Assistant director, Cleveland Hospital and Health Survey

Collaborator, Philadelphia Hospital and Health Survey

Study of Harlem Hospital, New York

Study of Out-patient Services in Detroit

Hospital Survey for New York

Executive secretary, National Committee on Maternal Health

Executive secretary, Association of Tuberculosis Clinics, New York City

Research assistant, Committee on Costs of Medical Care

Research assistant, Public Health Relations Committee of New York Academy of Medicine

Medical liaison officer, Temporary Emergency Relief Administration of New York State

Academic and professional training

A.B., M.D.

Ethel M. Verry

Executive secretary, Chicago Orphan Asylum

Positions previously held

1921-22, visitor, Associated Charities of Minneapolis

1924-25, supervisor of foster children, New England Home for Little Wanderers, Boston

1926-28, case worker, Chicago Orphan Asylum

1928-31, superintendent, Chicago Orphan Asylum

Academic and professional training

State University of Iowa, A.B., M.A.

University of Chicago, Graduate School of Social Service

Social work teaching

1927, University of Chicago, instructor in child welfare

Assistant Professor of Child Welfare, University of Chicago, Graduate School of Social Service

Member of the Board of the Child Welfare League of America

Member of the American Association of Social Workers

Suzanne Wunder

Positions previously held

Investigating civic and industrial problems for U. S. Ordnance Department, Bureau of Labor Statistics, and Women's Municipal League of Boston

Personnel and production manager, clothing factories and retail stores for Joseph & Feiss Company, Cleveland, and Lord and Taylor, New York City

Interpretative publicity in fields of education, child health, and social welfare for Tambllyn & Brown, American Child Health Association, and The Children's Aid Society of New York; daily news and feature stories in newspapers, local and national, and articles in magazines and trade journals

Dean S. Yarbrough

Research supervisor, Emergency Relief Bureau, New York City

Positions previously held

1926-29, industrial and research secretary, Brooklyn Urban League

1929-30, director of social research, Atlanta School of Social Work

1930-34, executive secretary, Urban League, Warren, Ohio

1934, research assistant, National Urban League

1934-36, personnel assistant and assistant on racial problems, Emergency Relief Bureau, New York City

1936 to date, director for New York City, Survey of the Training and Employment of White Collar and Skilled Negro Workers

Academic and professional training

Miles Memorial College, A.B.

International Y.M.C.A., M.H.

University of Pittsburgh, M.A., Ph.D.

Publications

Racial Adjustment in Small Communities; articles published in *Opportunity—Journal of Negro Life* and in *Better Times*

APPENDIX B

SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL RECOMMENDATIONS SUBMITTED BY THE SOCIAL STUDY

In the approximate order of their presentation to the Citizens' Committee

Detailed recommendations are contained in the numerous special reports that have been placed in the hands of the Citizens' Committee and of various agencies, especially the Federation of Social Agencies, the Community Fund, the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, the Conference of Catholic Charities, and so forth. The essential phases of the recommendations, as well as occasional selected details, have been incorporated in the text and may be most profitably examined in the various chapters and divisions of the volume dealing with the several subjects of the inquiry. This summary is intended merely as a guide to the most important of the recommendations. The extent to which these have been carried out is indicated in Chapter XXI. Many lesser recommendations, not specified here, but to be found in the detailed reports, have also been carried out; and a number of community actions stimulated by the study or closely related to its interests have taken place as a result of local initiative. Those also are omitted from the present summary.

RECOMMENDATIONS BEARING ON THE ORGANIZED CARE OF THE SICK (CHAPTER XVIII)

- I. To improve planning and coördination of hospital service, the Hospital Conference should be reorganized, its membership basis expanded, its functions extended, and its activities increased.
- II. To adapt hospital facilities to the existing and probable future needs:
 - No increase to be made in the near future in the number of beds for acute cases in voluntary hospitals; no increase at any time without joint consideration of need and finances by a responsible body
 - Increase in provision of beds for acute cases in public hospitals by expansion of public hospital plants, and adoption of temporary system of per diem contract for free acute patients in voluntary hospitals
 - Further facilities for children with mental diseases, for free care of tuberculous patients, contagious cases, the chronic ill, and convalescents
 - Admission of Negroes to all hospitals and sanatoria on equal basis with white persons
 - Study of situation with respect to possible redistribution of facilities among acute and chronic (including tuberculous) patients and convalescents

III. To improve the financing of voluntary hospitals:

- Coördinated control of expansion of voluntary hospitals as indicated, especially to correlate maintenance with capital account expenditures
- Introduction of group hospitalization insurance
- Defraying expenses from tax funds of free patient care in public and in voluntary hospitals and of both in- and out-patient services

IV. To improve the public control of free patient care and provide adequate facilities for such care:

- Indigent mental cases should be cared for at state (not local public) expense
- Create a County Department of Hospitals and a County Department of Health
- Transfer all hospitals from present city and county authorities to new Department of Hospitals, except control of contagious disease hospitals by Health Department
- All state subsidy to voluntary hospitals to be converted into grants-in-aid payable through the County Department of Hospitals and allocation of state or county funds for care of free patients in voluntary hospitals on per diem basis to be through and under control of said County Hospital Department

V. To improve situation of medical and nursing profession:

- Pay physicians for out-patient services
- Give Negro physicians and nurses opportunity for training in hospitals (especially in tax-supported institutions, by appointment to the staff of the latter); permit Negro physicians to treat their private patients in hospitals by membership on organized or courtesy staff; and appoint qualified Negro physicians to positions on out-patient services
- Give opportunity for inclusion of more physicians on hospital staffs, especially by giving the out-patient staff similar opportunities to those of the in-patient staff

VI. To improve out-patient services:

- Expand clinic facilities in the county outside Pittsburgh, after appropriate study in which the Hospital Conference should participate, by establishing new clinics (for example, in the Allegheny Valley Hospital) and by establishing county branches of existing out-patient departments of Pittsburgh hospitals
- Pay for out-patient services to indigent persons from tax funds as is done in the case of in-patient services
- Create committee for or charge some existing local group with carrying on studies of current practices in out-patient departments, introducing uniform policies, and developing a forum for discussion of out-patient problems
- Develop a system of diagnostic services for physicians' private patients in cases in which full cost is prohibitive in view of patients' financial resources
- Reorganize admission procedures by: introducing appointment system for patients; establishing uniform standards for financial eligibility; and entrusting determination of financial eligibility to persons with appropriate experience in social work

VII. To improve and systematize medical out-door relief:

- Combine the separate county and city systems in all phases of medical service to persons of limited economic means
- Place the county and city physicians serving indigent patients under administration of a salaried physician, assisted by an advisory committee representing the various medical professions, in accordance with definite rules and regulations to be established
- Establish standards relating to these physicians, covering salaries, qualifications, age limits, terms of service, reporting
- In so far as physicians' services in the home may be supplied under a system which accords to the patient the choice of physician, this service also to be under same administration as above, regulations to be established with the aid of the advisory committee in the matter of fees, establishment of an eligible list of physicians, geographical organization, removal of physicians from list, and so forth
- Give all medical services to ambulatory patients in clinics, when available, otherwise by private physicians on the above plans—clinic physicians and dentists to be compensated
- Reëxamine the existing system for providing medicines, medical supplies, and prosthetic appliances so as to insure adequate provision for the existing needs
- Coördinate all services under voluntary agencies with the State, Federal and local public services

VIII. In the interest of coördination, supervision, and research:

- Expand and reorganize the functions of the Hospital Conference as indicated, develop common areas of service with General Health Council, Federation of Social Agencies, proposed public departments of hospitals and of health, and the Bureau of Social Research of the Federation of Social Agencies
- Extend the inspection and licensing power and duties of the State Department of Public Welfare to all hospitals, maternity homes, institutions for chronic patients and convalescents, clinics and out-patient departments, whether conducted under public, philanthropic, or profit-making auspices

RECOMMENDATIONS BEARING ON PUBLIC HEALTH ADMINISTRATION AND PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING (CHAPTER XIX)

I. Relative to services associated with proposed County Health Department:

- Establish County Health Department as essential public health agency
- Upon establishment of this department, discontinue local lay health officer system, allow minimum budget (as of 1935 standard) of one dollar per capita, convert present state funds allocated for local health service to grants-in-aid to county
- Under county department of health provide:
 - Full-time director of maternity, infant, and child hygiene*, with responsibility for development of prenatal services in remote areas by private physicians on fee-system
 - Bureau of inspection*, to include general sanitation, food and milk supervision, control of food handlers, barbers, and so forth, and health education on these subjects

THE PRINCIPAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Bureau of Public Health Nursing, adequately staffed
Tuberculosis Bureau, with duties as indicated in full report
Coordinated medical, dental, and nursing program for schools in county similar to the system now in operation in Pittsburgh and involving the appointment of a county supervisor of health instruction
Operation and improvement of services in the county as specifically indicated for the city of Pittsburgh below

Administer collection and disposal of garbage and refuse under engineering and public works services, the cost of this operation not to be defrayed from public health administration budget

II. Relative to general public health matters not necessarily associated with a County Health Department, though likely to be advanced by it:

Create suitable machinery by establishment of bureaus or divisions (at present for Pittsburgh, later for the county) for

Control and treatment of tuberculosis

Control and treatment of venereal diseases

Complete laboratory services in Pittsburgh and the county

Adequate vital statistics, with proper allocation of births and deaths, local registrars with suitable qualifications and in offices located in suitable public buildings

Modernize control of communicable diseases, especially relative to typhoid, smallpox, and diphtheria, and provide for hospital facilities for communicable diseases under departmental management

Intensify efforts to extend sewage system and disposal, reduce number of unsewered streets and homes, develop more sewage treatment plants

Increase health education and services, especially by more well-baby clinics in the county and more pre-school clinic services; establish a complete program of systematic health education as part of the services on health administration budget

Add substantially to public health nursing services in the county, even before establishing the County Health Department and its Bureau of Public Health Nursing

Coordinate services of Health Department, General Health Council, Federation of Social Agencies, and Bureau of Social Research of the Federation as indicated in full reports

For the advancement of citizen support and interest in public health:

Appoint a subcommittee of the Citizens' Committee for the promotion of public health recommendations

Call meetings to include officials and legislators of county and city at appropriate times for consideration of public health recommendations

Study through a subcommittee the local and state annual budgets relating to public health and appear before authorities and the public as may be necessary for securing adequate budget for health administration

III. Relative to public health nursing:

Concentrate on measures for attaining the three principal immediate objectives: (1) to increase total amount of service, (2) to improve administration and supervision, and (3) to coordinate present services and their extension

In the Pittsburgh Department of Health at the present time:

Establish a Bureau of Public Health Nursing (later in county department), staffed and organized as recommended in full report

Appoint a supervisor of nursing in the present Bureau of Infectious Diseases

Discontinue employment of untrained personnel

Absorb supervision of all cases registered in tuberculosis clinics, even prior to establishment of a Tuberculosis Bureau

In the Public Health Nursing Association:

Increase both absolute and relative amount of services outside Pittsburgh as compared with city area so as to equalize the relation of service to need

Strengthen and support the development of adequate public health nursing programs under public authorities and promote organization of county health department. Carry on those services which it recognizes as properly public activities (e.g., disease control, health education, infant welfare, school medical examination) only until such time as these may be taken over by the proper authorities when these are adequately staffed and supervised

Increase its fee services and extend its contract service with insurance companies

In the general field:

Coördinate public health nursing, especially important in the absence of a county health department (within the city of Pittsburgh this has been reasonably well achieved; it is necessary, however, to establish a Public Health Nursing Committee affiliated with the Federation of Social Agencies along lines suggested in the full report to promote immediate steps for further coördination of services especially in the county)

RECOMMENDATIONS BEARING ON COÖRDINATION, SOCIAL PLANNING, AND SUPPORT OF SOCIAL WORK (CHAPTERS X-XI)

I. In the interest of integrating financing and social planning:

Reorganize the budgeting system and budget committee of the Community Fund as recommended, with lay representation and staff service from the Federation of Social Agencies.

Include financing and service of public agencies as part of the considerations affecting the financing of voluntary agencies and as part of the larger program of comprehensive planning of local social work and health services. To this end:

Have the Federation and Fund study and take action on municipal and county appropriations within the field of social work and health services

Study the changing conditions in financial support of social work as between public and voluntary funds and modify programs and support of voluntary agencies accordingly

II. In the interest of the Community Fund as a financing agency (Chapter X):

Revise method of securing continuous information for Budget Committee of Fund on changes made by agencies in use of funds as compared with budget allotments

Expand auditing and cost account facilities of the Fund and introduce measures for better information on use of capital funds by agencies and on condition of agency plants

Reorganize structure and by-laws to make Fund more representative of community interests

Review fund-raising technique to discover weaknesses

Take cognizance of recommendations in other phases of the study that directly or indirectly affect the operations or personnel of the Fund (e.g., relative to social interpretation)

Reorganize Budget Committee as indicated

III. To increase the coördinative and planning functions of the Federation of Social Agencies (Chapter XI):

Reorganize the Child Welfare Division into a Family and Child Welfare Division

Develop coördinative services in the field of health and medical care; continue to offer the services of its Bureau of Social Research in studies that may be sponsored by the General Health Council, Hospital Conference, and so forth

Carry out its share pertaining to reorganized Budget Committee of the Community Fund, and reinforce this function by consistent study of public budgets and appropriate action upon them by its central administration, divisions, and committees as circumstances may require

Reorganize its structure and by-laws to provide more adequate public and community representation

Examine the possible functions of its Bureau of Social Research, in relation to the uncharted field of research in social and living conditions, as suggested in the text.

Create new committees or arrange for representation on committees as recommended in various parts of the report, including, for example,

Committee on Professional Training

Committee on Legislation

Committee on Community Councils

Reorganize its activities with relation to interpretation, publicity, and the work of the community councils as indicated in the text

IV. Relative to the Community Councils:

Appoint a special committee on Community Councils representative of Fund and Federation to study and observe the function of councils and:

Report on the status of councils

Assist in formulating policies

Receive and interpret reports from the staff

For a stated period no new councils or reorganization to be encouraged, this period to be given to study and evaluation

Continue work with existing councils with present staff plus possibly a supervisor, on present budget, some of the councils to be represented on special committee if they so wish

At the end of stated period, committee and staff to prepare separate reports on:

Whether to continue any or all councils or the idea as a whole

If continued, under what auspices, on what budget, and according to what plan, policies, and direction they are to exist

V. Relative to the interpretation of social work to the public and the principles of publicity

Reorient the entire conception of publicity so it may serve as a means of achieving greater public understanding in the first place, with money-raising purpose in the foreground only in connection with definite campaigns

Enrich the content and form of publicity by:

More varied use of resources—radio, class publications, feature articles, and so forth

Focusing on subjects instead of agencies

Including public social work equally with voluntary activities in the scope of social work interpretation

Specifically:

Provide in the Community Fund expert advice to agency personnel independent of campaign and not interrupted by it

Establish common lists and other service items in Fund for use of member agencies

Reorient the use of some of the fact-gathering machinery of the Federation of Social Agencies and the editorial policies of the Federator in conformity with this conception and assign a worker to this task by some suitable arrangement with the Fund as indicated in the full report

Introduce publicity service in public departments on similar principles and with special personnel as required

Reorganize the Social Work Publicity Council as suggested in the complete report

RECOMMENDATIONS DEALING WITH PROFESSIONAL TRAINING FOR SOCIAL WORK
(CHAPTER XII)

I. Improvements that depend on social agencies:

Recognize in theory and practice that social work requires trained personnel for adequate performance; such a conviction is the foundation for insuring adequate training

To this end:

Agencies should adopt the policy of employing only trained workers
For workers already employed, systematic training on the job and supplementary training in professional schools should be made available in ways outlined in the report

In programs of supplementary training, worker-students should be given a sufficiently low burden of work so that their scholastic work may not suffer

Agencies should seek to participate in the training program of the professional schools by offering field work opportunities and personnel competent to supervise

II. To improve the training programs of the existing professional schools in Pittsburgh:

At the University of Pittsburgh:

Create an independent Department of Social Work in the Graduate School, with its own director, separating the present "Division of Social Work" from the Department of Sociology

THE PRINCIPAL RECOMMENDATIONS

- Increase the faculty by the addition of qualified social work teachers
- Reduce the teaching load of the faculty and the variety of courses given by individual instructors
- Add to the field supervisory facilities
- Increase the number of types of field work offered to students and carry out plans adopted but undeveloped in medical social work
- Introduce certain new courses, e.g., ethnic factors in social work, emphasizing the cultures of foreign-born groups
- At Carnegie Institute (Margaret Morrison Carnegie College)
 - Render the new graduate curriculum as substantial as has been the undergraduate work
 - Require the fifth or graduate year before certifying students as "graduates"
 - Add men to faculty
 - Decrease teaching burden of instructors and reduce variety of subjects given by individual instructor
 - Expand field work area types
 - Add certain new courses, e.g., courses in nutrition and home economics adapted to graduate students
- For both schools considered as a training unit:
 - Develop an informal program of affiliation enabling students to take advantage of the distinctive features of each—develop curriculum and faculty at each school with this objective in view and avoid unnecessary overlapping—equalize so far as possible fees for social work courses to this end
 - Work out the common problems in field work opportunities, supervision, compensated and non-compensated students, fellowships, and so forth, jointly with local agencies, through a committee appointed by the Federation of Social Agencies sitting with representatives of each school and including persons who would represent the interests of the social agencies and Community Fund.

RECOMMENDATIONS ON RELIEF AND SOCIAL CASE WORK AS THEY RELATE TO VOLUNTARY AGENCIES (CHAPTERS XIII-XVII)

I. On the provision of relief:

- Recognize that relief must become, and to all intents and purposes is now, a public function and accordingly:
- Revise the functions of voluntary agencies so as to discontinue as soon as practicable the function of relief-giving, as it affects their programs and budgets
- In so far as relief may be required in connection with social case work, allocate relief budgets to all agencies that may require them
- Concentrate relief activities in the near future on special classes and problems not yet adequately covered by public bodies such as, for example, non-residents, the aged, and the transient

II. On case work or personal adjustment services:

- Recognize that adjustment of personal difficulties except as associated with special problems such as relief, delinquency, neglected childhood, behavior problems in schools, and mental disease has not yet been accepted by government as a public function; in so far as volun-

tary groups wish to provide such services, case work agencies are the appropriate instruments; furthermore:

In the light of modern practice the distinction between children's and family case work is mostly artificial; case work services are required in connection with numerous activities carried on by specialized agencies such as hospitals, courts, schools; there is limited justification for specialization along denominational lines; geographic distribution of services has tended to be unequal; institutional inmates are often deprived of needed individualization; problems such as those of the aged and homeless have been neglected; for various other reasons dealt with in the full report:

Establish a general nonsectarian case work agency for Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. The functions of the Family Society, Children's Service Bureau and the Children's Aid Society should be transferred to this organization. These three agencies would then cease to function and would transfer their physical property and personnel, with the exception of executives and board members, to the new agency

When the proposed agency has been established, the Association for the Improvement of the Poor should discontinue its family department but should continue its case work in connection with its program of service to unattached persons as well as other functions to which reference will be made elsewhere. Similarly the family departments of the Lutheran Inner Mission and of the Salvation Army should also be discontinued, and a further analysis be made of the Home Service Department of the Red Cross with a view to transferring part of its services that are of a general family service nature to the new agency

The program of the general agency would include almost all of the case work services in the home which are now the responsibility of private agencies but would not include intramural case work, such as, for example, that within children's institutions, hospitals, and settlements or the work of the Jewish and Catholic case work agencies. It would assume responsibility for additional services not now provided and would lead to the curtailment of some existing services which may safely be dropped or transferred to public agencies

Reorganize geographic distribution of services (Chapter XVI)

Transfer the functions of the Jewish Family Welfare Association, Jewish Big Brothers' Association, Girls' Bureau, and the Bureau for Jewish Children to one general case work agency to be conceived of in a manner similar to the proposed nonsectarian case work agency. It would be responsible for carrying on the case work service to families or individuals of any age and children in need of foster home care and for achieving as close an interrelationship as possible without actual union, between the services of the general agency and those of the J. M. Gusky Hebrew Orphanage

The recommendations made with regard to the Conference of Catholic Charities are not as basic as those for the nonsectarian and Jewish agencies because this organization already combines administration of residual relief, general counseling and child placing in one agency. Modification of the relationship of the family department and children's department of the Catholic Charities and the Catholic institutions is recommended.

THE PRINCIPAL RECOMMENDATIONS

The family department, in addition to its present function, should assume responsibility for all services to children in their own homes, including the investigations of all applications for foster home or institutional care. Because of the limited equipment of the Catholic Boy Welfare Bureau for the rendering of intensive case work service, this service should be transferred to the family department of the Conference of Catholic Charities. A more intensive service should be provided in this field than is available at present in either agency. The Catholic Boy Welfare Bureau might continue its referral service at Morals Court and a program of guidance which provides recreation for the boy in his own community

The children's department of the Conference of Catholic Charities should be responsible only for foster care. It should provide a complete case work service for children in Catholic institutions now associated with the Conference and for case work consultation with social workers employed in institutions not now associated with it. The Conference of Catholic Charities should share the responsibility for the development of a Catholic children's program with a Catholic Child Welfare Council comprised of representatives from the ten Catholic children's institutions and the Conference itself, which is recommended elsewhere in the report

Develop the case work services relating to admission and discharge of children from institutions, and to the family situations to which the children must be readjusted (Chapters XV and XVII)

Release to the Juvenile Court certain personal adjustment problems now handled by voluntary agencies (Chapter XVII)

Review and readjust foster care as between institutional and home care (Chapter XVII)

Increase facilities for psychiatric and mental hygiene treatment

III. On related matters:

Reorganize programs of voluntary agencies interested in the past in relief and case work services and provide in increasing degree for:

Research into living conditions

Support and strengthening of relief and case work services of public agencies

Development of neglected tasks, such as care of the aged (Chapter XIV)

Experimental methods

Educational and legislative propaganda for basic social improvement

RECOMMENDATIONS BEARING ON RELIEF AND CASE WORK AS THEY RELATE TO PUBLIC AGENCIES (CHAPTERS XIII-XVII)

I. For the administration of relief:

Create a County Department of Public Assistance with complete responsibility for all matters of relief, indoor and outdoor (Chapter XV)

Administer all categorical relief through appropriate divisions within this department and transfer to it the Mothers' Assistance Fund, Blind Pensions, and Old Age Assistance

Unify all services for Pittsburgh and the rest of the county

Transfer to this new department from the Juvenile Court responsibility for the care of dependent and neglected children (Chapter XVII)
Develop a complete program of home and institutional treatment for adults and children as outlined in full report (Chapter XV)
Transfer to this department Gumbert and Thorn Hill institutions
Transfer from the present authorities to County Hospital Department all institutions in Mayview and Woodville that are properly hospitals whether for chronic or acute cases

II. For the administration of case work services:

Develop and gradually reorganize the case work services in the Pittsburgh public school system and stimulate the introduction of similar services in the rest of the county, as outlined in Chapter XVI
Develop along lines already inaugurated and in accordance with additional recommendations submitted in the detailed report, the case work services in the Juvenile Court and in connection with Gumbert and Thorn Hill institutions (the full text of recommendations in Chapter XVII is important in this connection)
Organize competent medical social work in Mayview and Woodville institutions
Upon the establishment of the County Department of Assistance develop the extensive case work services that will be necessary in the administration of that department
Study and take necessary steps for legislative remedy of legal and institutional shortcomings in the treatment of illegitimate children and their parents and in the handling of abandonment and adoption (Chapter XVII)

RECOMMENDATIONS BEARING ON THE PROBLEMS OF NEW AMERICANS
(CHAPTERS VI, XI)

I. Of a general nature:

The social problems created by the presence of first and second generation immigrants constituting more than half of the total population of Allegheny County are mainly those of ethnic, cultural and economic assimilation rather than the type requiring specific social services. Mutual distrust and lack of understanding between old and new Americans add to the economic and social disadvantages under which the immigrant group labors. Remedy lies, therefore, chiefly in long-range educational programs and less in specific measures, while time and tide exercise real control. Therefore:
Advance mutual understanding and minimize destructive prejudices by:
Opening opportunities to new Americans in the professions and in social contacts
Including immigrant cultures in the school curricula and working toward sympathetic educational personnel
Training social workers in the cultural characteristics of immigrant ethnic groups, especially by sound inclusion of such material in curricula of professional training schools
Rendering the International Institutes agencies for stimulation and interpretation more than for specific case work or group work service
Reorganize the programs of the International Institutes of Pittsburgh

and McKeesport in the light of these concepts and establish a medium for coöperative work among agencies taking specific responsibility for work with the foreign-born through a committee affiliated with the Federation of Social Agencies

Carry out recommendations with respect to the American Citizenship League as proposed by the Federation of Social Agencies.

RECOMMENDATIONS DEALING WITH LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES (CHAPTER XX)

Taking the entire field of leisure time activities in its largest perspective, its development should be directed to the following principal objectives:

First in importance seems to be the need for a general increase in the facilities available. There is not enough of anything: park, playground, settlement, boys' club, "Y"

All plans should be based on this underlying fact, which is true of both Pittsburgh and the county

Secondly, in pressing for extension of opportunities, the responsible leaders of the field should be guided by the relative seriousness of the need for more leisure time opportunities as between one area and another and one group and another, rather than by devotion to some particular agency or type of agency. Roughly speaking, the most neglected or undersupplied members of the community are:

The industrial communities in the county outside Pittsburgh

The poorer neighborhoods in both Pittsburgh and Allegheny County and therefore those with predominantly foreign-born, Negro, unskilled, or industrially stranded groups

In any neighborhood, whether as a whole predominantly poor or relatively prosperous, those parts of the population which are in less favored economic circumstances and who, therefore, have no access to facilities that require substantial outlays for their enjoyment

The recognition of these prior needs should naturally lead to giving preference in the extension of leisure time facilities to those types of service and agency that are most likely to reach the largest possible group of the community, those least favored economically and least adequately provided for by existing agencies. These would be:

Public playgrounds, playfields, school playgrounds, swimming pools, and similar supervised, tax-supported facilities, developed in orderly fashion on a county-wide plan under a county department of recreation, and in coöperation with school systems

Neighborhood houses, boys' clubs, church and community houses in which no fees or but nominal fees are charged and in which no prohibitive expense for uniforms, regalia, and incidentals is involved

Coöperative community enterprises like the one described in the text as being developed in the borough of Carnegie

It is reasonable and desirable that pressure for improved quality of service be maintained as before, and even increased. It is important, for example, that:

More and better-trained professional workers be made available

Year-round programs for parks, playgrounds, and so forth be put into effect

Certain age groups, such as children between five and nine, be given a more generous proportion of the service

The special interests of ethnic and racial groups be given consideration

The advances of group work technique be made available for the work of leisure time groups so that the results of their work may be enriched and improved

The mutual benefits of case work and group work be made available to each of these special technical branches of social work

APPENDIX C

THE Y.W.C.A. INCIDENT

Supplement to Chapter VII

An incident that occurred in the Pittsburgh Y.W.C.A., in 1935, epitomizes the significance of social attitudes and of overt public opinion for the work of social agencies. A brief résumé of the facts and implications of the occurrence, based on careful inquiry by a member of the study staff, is, therefore, appropriate. Among social workers of Pittsburgh and a sizable body of other informed persons a strong impression had been created that the failure to renew the contract of the industrial secretary of the Central Branch of the Y.W.C.A. was due to the fear on the part of its board that the retention of this employee would result in the withdrawal of substantial financial support from the organization. The menace appeared to come in two forms: actual intimation on the part of at least one very generous contributor that continued support was conditioned upon dismissal of the employee in question and publicity through the *Sun-Telegraph*, a Hearst publication, likely to discourage contributions from the conservative public in general.

The work of the Pittsburgh Y.W.C.A. has been conducted along lines in harmony with the national organization, whose purposes are, among others, to help women pursue a Christian way of life, and whose specific programs include activities of a liberal hue in education, group life, and discussion. Much of the conservative support of Y.W.C.A.'s comes because of the religious setting and objective; the liberal activities are a reflection of the social philosophy of the leaders of the movement and of a large body of its employees. In the actual conduct of the work of the Y.W.C.A. these two interests may come to represent conservative and liberal sponsorship, respectively. The experience of the organization in the past (both in Pittsburgh and elsewhere) has justified the fear that conflict might arise between the two elements backing its work if precipitative issues should arise. Thus, in 1931 the Employers' Association of Pittsburgh sent out letters to its members stating that in view of the Y.W.C.A. campaign for funds, "attention should be drawn to the fact that without adequate investigation [the Y.W.C.A.] has adopted an 'industrial program' which is in line with some of the recent radical and ill-advised efforts of religious and quasi-religious bodies to 'regulate industry.' " Reference is to the endorsement by the national body during the preceding year of the principles in the *Social Ideals of the Churches*, including industrial democracy, collective bargaining, government labor exchanges, and experiments in cooperative ownership. Competent local testimony indicates that the letter had its effect. More recently, as was learned on unimpeachable authority, contributions had been lost because Professor Turner (later dismissed by the University of Pittsburgh for the nonconservative nature of his classroom work, resulting in the "blacklisting" of the University by the American Association of University Professors) had appeared—though he did not speak—at a meeting of the Pennsylvania Security League held in a Y.W.C.A. building. In the course of

the present incident, also, the Y.W.C.A. is reported to have received notice of the withdrawal of considerable support from at least one business man and threat of withdrawal from several others if the employee in question were not dismissed.

The controversy which brought the subject to the fore revolved around two factors: (1) the use of Y.W.C.A. buildings for meetings at which radical social economic programs were to be discussed and (2) activities of the industrial secretary favorable to such radical theories. On the first point insufficient formulation of official policies, administrative complications, changes in executive personnel, and some overlapping jurisdictions served to add confusion to the underlying uncertainty of the extent to which the liberal reputation of the Y.W.C.A. and the militantly conservative nature of dominant public opinion could continue to be peaceful bedfellows. On the second point—the pros and cons of the activities of the industrial secretary—issues became even more complex: technical competence of the worker, tact and skill in community relations, adjustment between the degree of liberalism of employing agency and personal conviction, the intensity of respective loyalties, and the perennial difficulty in the juggler's task of balancing education of the public with support by the public. Add to these the constant pressure from conservative patrons, the relentless propaganda by radical persons, "boring from within," and dramatizing issues, the unscrupulous methods of newspapers bent on their own propaganda (in this case anti-red, intensively promoted by the Hearst publication), and the divided loyalties of board members themselves, and the result is a tangle of facts, intentions, and sequences impossible to unravel. In the end, loyalty to the agency as such finds itself embattled against loyalty to its program and objectives, which are, in themselves, in conflict; what price, then, prosperity of the agency? From the welter of facts, our resultant observation is that dominant public opinion, with the help of the purse strings and under the whip of newspaper drives, scored a victory over freedom of agency policy and liberal objectives. Whether this constitutes the wisdom of maturity or the defeat of convictions is a matter for personal judgment.

The facts of the case, important as they were for the moment, have little permanent significance. A Youth Congress was held in Pittsburgh on March 16 and 17, 1935, at the Central Branch of the Y.W.C.A., arrangements having been made through proper channels for the use of the building. The industrial secretary was asked to serve on the preparatory committee. On March 14, two men "representing the public" presented themselves to the administration, seeking to prevent the congress as part of a campaign against "reds." The *Sun-Telegraph*, on March 15, after unsuccessful attempts to effect cancellation of the meetings, began its publicity bombardment under headlines such as "Y.W.C.A. Facing Row over Bid to Reds," "Young Students Hear Red Views Preached at Rally in Y.W.C.A." Meanwhile, the *Pittsburgh Press* gave professional reportorial service to the congress and editorial approval to the Y.W.C.A. for permitting the use of its building and berated the Board of Education for its contrary policy. From this point the complications directed themselves, as already indicated, to the tenure of office of the industrial secretary—under guise of renewal of contract—and around the question of a permanent policy for the use of buildings. The body of local social work and liberal opinion holds that when the secretary's contract was not renewed it was because "money" spoke. Whether it is more important to carry on a large program of work by obtaining adequate financial support or to risk substantial shrinkage rather than to compromise or to submit to dominant opinion when that is not shared by the active leaders of the agency is a question that many social agencies have to answer; and the record of some of them is not nearly so good as that of the Y.W.C.A.

APPENDIX D

LISTS AND TABLES

1. DISTRIBUTION OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY EMERGENCY RELIEF BOARD CASES BY BOROUGH AND TOWNSHIPS, ALLEGHENY COUNTY (INCLUDING PITTSBURGH), AND RATE PER 1,000 POPULATION, MARCH 4, 1935

COMMUNITY	POPULATION	NUMBER OF CASES (DIRECT AND WORK)	RATE PER 1,000
Pittsburgh (total)	669,817	50,419	75.3
<i>Boroughs</i>			
Aspinwall	4,263	62	14.8
Avalon	5,940	159	26.8
Bellevue	10,252	305	29.8
Ben Avon	2,472	50	20.2
Ben Avon Heights	265	0	...
Blawnox	2,186	180	82.3
Brackenridge	6,250	195	31.2
Braddock	19,329	1,576	81.5
Bradford Woods	370	10	27.0
Brentwood	5,381	169	31.4
Bridgeville	3,939	142	36.0
Carnegie	12,497	675	54.0
Castle Shannon	3,810	120	31.5
Chalfont	1,192	76	63.8
Cheswick	1,053	52	49.4
Coraopolis	10,724	601	56.0
Crafton	7,004	169	24.1
Dormont	13,190	158	12.0
Dravosburg	2,391	182	76.1
East McKeesport	2,922	180	61.6
East Pittsburgh	6,214	623	100.3
Edgewood	4,821	60	12.4
Edgeworth	1,679	16	9.5
Elizabeth	2,939	219	74.5
Emsworth	2,709	54	19.9
Etna	7,493	499	66.6
Forest Hills	4,549	124	27.3
Glassport	8,390	438	52.2
Glenfield	950	63	66.3
Greentree	1,457	14	9.6
Haysville	192	18	93.7
Heidelberg	2,130	195	91.5
Homestead	20,141	1,614	80.1
Ingram	3,866	98	25.3
Leetsdale	2,774	155	55.9
Liberty	906	33	36.4

1. DISTRIBUTION OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY EMERGENCY RELIEF BOARD CASES BY
BOROUGHES AND TOWNSHIPS, ALLEGHENY COUNTY (INCLUDING PITTSBURGH), AND
RATE PER 1,000 POPULATION, MARCH 4, 1935—*Continued*

COMMUNITY	POPULATION	NUMBER OF CASES (DIRECT AND WORK)	RATE PER 1,000
<i>Boroughs</i>			
McDonald	3,281	47	14.3
McKees Rocks	18,116	1,517	83.7
Millvale	8,166	540	66.1
Mt. Oliver	7,071	385	54.4
Munhall	12,995	276	21.2
North Braddock	16,782	1,024	61.0
Oakdale	1,703	100	58.7
Oakmont	6,027	266	44.1
Osborne	506	0	...
Pitcairn	6,317	429	68.0
Port Vue	3,510	719	204.8
Rankin	7,956	729	91.6
Rosslyn Farms	334	2	6.0
Sewickley	5,599	218	39.0
Sharpsburg	8,642	704	81.5
Springdale	4,781	220	46.0
Swissvale	16,029	752	46.9
Tarentum	9,551	376	39.4
Thornburg	327	1	3.1
Trafford	4,187	1	.2
Turtle Creek	10,690	774	72.4
Verona	4,376	373	85.2
Versailles	2,473	124	50.1
Wall	2,236	153	68.4
West Elizabeth	1,074	177	164.8
West Homestead	3,552	245	69.0
West View	6,028	181	30.0
Whitaker	2,072	115	55.5
Wilkinsburg	29,639	1,393	47.0
Wilmerding	6,291	292	46.4
Total boroughs	396,951	20,817	52.4
<i>Townships</i>			
Baldwin	6,371	353	55.4
Bethel	5,482	219	39.9
Braddock	1,794	1	.6
Collier	6,091	141	23.1
Crescent	1,107	51	46.0
East Deer	3,928	164	41.8
Elizabeth	7,479	302	40.4
Fawn	912	3	3.3
Findley	2,775	156	56.2
Forward	3,626	222	61.2
Franklin	1,031	15	14.5
Hampton	3,333	228	68.4
Harmar	2,703	66	24.4
Harrison	12,387	394	31.8
Indiana	3,131	54	17.2

1. DISTRIBUTION OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY EMERGENCY RELIEF BOARD CASES BY
BOROUGHES AND TOWNSHIPS, ALLEGHENY COUNTY (INCLUDING PITTSBURGH), AND
RATE PER 1,000 POPULATION, MARCH 4, 1935—*Continued*

COMMUNITY	POPULATION	NUMBER OF CASES (DIRECT AND WORK)	RATE PER 1,000
<i>Townships</i>			
Jefferson	4,138	260	62.8
Kennedy	1,311	16	12.2
Kilbuck	1,651	4	2.4
Leet	1,272	41	32.2
Lincoln	678	13	19.2
McCandless	2,653	5	1.9
Marshall	1,265	45	35.6
Mifflin	8,167	218	26.7
Moon	2,900	1	.3
Mt. Lebanon	13,403	106	7.9
Neville	1,532	71	46.3
North Fayette	3,510	67	19.1
North Versailles	5,668	140	24.7
O'Hara	5,127	89	17.4
Patton	4,687	70	14.9
Penn	13,337	663	49.7
Pine	937	97	103.5
Plum	6,339	141	22.2
Reserve	3,108	92	29.6
Richland	1,805	155	85.9
Robinson	3,970	130	32.7
Ross	8,581	153	17.8
Scott	6,203	235	37.9
Sewickley	314	19	60.5
Sewickley Heights	982	4	4.1
Shaler	9,573	155	16.2
Snowden	4,396	276	62.8
South Fayette	9,147	188	20.6
South Versailles	336	38	113.1
Springdale	1,565	11	7.0
Stowe	13,368	412	30.8
Upper St. Clair	1,947	46	23.6
Versailles	3,955	62	15.7
West Deer	6,461	124	19.2
Wilkins	4,127	40	9.7
Total townships	221,475	6,556	29.6
<i>Cities (third class)</i>			
Clairton	15,291	1,133	74.1
McKeesport	54,632	3,172	58.1
Duquesne	21,396	1,428	66.7

2. AGENCIES INCLUDED IN THE FINANCIAL ANALYSES OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURES

PUBLIC AGENCIES INCLUDED IN THE FINANCIAL STUDY

Relief

Family, noninstitutional

Unemployment relief funds, Federal, state, and local

Mothers' Assistance Fund, blind and old age pensions
Directors of the Poor—outdoor relief and medical relief
Pittsburgh Department of Public Welfare—medical relief, outdoor relief

Children

Noninstitutional—County Department of Maintenance of Juveniles (apportioned)
Institutional—County Juvenile Court Detention Home (apportioned)

Aged, institutional

Allegheny County Home and Hospitals (almshouse unit)
Pittsburgh City Home and Hospital (almshouse and coal mine)

Protection, children

Thorn Hill School (county)
Gumbert School for Girls (county)
County Juvenile Court Detention Home (apportioned)
County Department of Maintenance of Juveniles (apportioned)

Recreation

Allegheny County parks
Pittsburgh playgrounds and Recreation School Association
Pittsburgh Division of Recreation
Pittsburgh Women's and Children's Activity
Pittsburgh Men's and Boys' Activity
Pittsburgh Carnegie libraries
Pittsburgh Carnegie Museum
Pittsburgh Stephen C. Foster Home
Pittsburgh Art Commission
Western Pennsylvania Historical Society
Pittsburgh parks
Pittsburgh conservatories
Pittsburgh zoo
Pittsburgh public baths
Pittsburgh swimming pools
Northside Athletic Field
Schenley Golf Ground

Health

State personnel and supplies for Allegheny County
Allegheny County for vital statistics
Pittsburgh Department of Health (primary health services only)
Pittsburgh Department of Public Welfare—Bureau of Mental Health
Clairton Board of Health and school system
Duquesne Board of Health and school system
McKeesport Board of Health and school system
Forty-seven first-class townships and borough boards of health
Thirty-seven third-class school districts
Three fourth-class school districts
Estimate for nonreporting county jurisdictions

Hospitals

Municipal (isolation)
Leech Farm
Pittsburgh City Home and Hospitals
Isolation unit
Tuberculosis unit
General unit
Mental unit
Allegheny County Home and Hospitals
Tuberculosis unit
General unit

Mental unit
 Miscellaneous
 Pittsburgh Bureau of Handicapped

COMMUNITY FUND AGENCIES INCLUDED IN THE FINANCIAL STUDY

Relief

	<i>Budget year entered Fund</i>
Institutional	
Children	
J. M. Gusky Hebrew Orphanage and Home of Western Pennsylvania	1932
Holy Family Institute	1929
Home for Colored Children	1930
Pittsburgh Home for Babies	1929
Raphael Temporary Home	1933
St. Anthony's Orphanage	1929
Aged	
Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Women	1929
Home for Aged Negroes	1931
Jewish Home for the Aged	1932
Others	
Pittsburgh House of Shelter	1932
Noninstitutional	
Family	
Allegheny County Emergency Association	1932
American Red Cross, Pittsburgh Chapter	1929
Conference of Catholic Charities—Family Division	1932
Family Society of Allegheny County	1929
Hebrew Free Burial Association	1932
Jewish Family Welfare Association	1932
Travelers' Aid Society	1930
Mothers' Pension League (ceased existence, 1931)	1929
Family Welfare of McKeesport (ceased existence, 1933)	1931
Children	
Children's Aid Society of Allegheny County	1929
Conference of Catholic Charities (Children's Division)	1932
Pittsburgh Bureau for Jewish Children	1932
Children's Service Bureau (apportioned)	1929
Child Protection—Institutional	
Girls' Service Club	1929
Child Protection—Noninstitutional	
Catholic Boy Welfare Bureau	1931
Girls Bureau—Council of Jewish Women	1932
Jewish Big Brother Club	1932
Counsel Service Society (apportioned)	1929
Child Guidance Clinic	1934
Recreation	
Boys Club of Pittsburgh	1929
Brashear Settlement	1929
Irene Kaufmann Settlement	1932
Munhall Neighborhood House	1931
Soho Community Center	1929
Woods Run Settlement	1929
Rankin Christian Center	1930
Boy Scouts of America	
East Boroughs Council of Allegheny County	1932
Allegheny County Council West	1931
Homestead Council	1933

	<i>Budget year entered Fund</i>
Girl Scouts of Allegheny County	1931
Emma Farm Association	1932
Epworth Woods Camp	1932
Pleasant Hill Farm Association	1929
McKeesport Y.W.C.A.	1934
Y.M.C.A. of Pittsburgh and branches	1932
Coördinating, Common Services, and social action agencies	
Federation of Jewish Philanthropies	1932
Federation of Social Agencies of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County	1929
Pittsburgh Housing Association	1929
Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania	1929
Community Fund	
McKeesport Information Center	1934
Tarentum Information Center	1934
Health Services	
Public Health Nursing Association	1929
Montefiore Hospital	1932
Pittsburgh Skin and Cancer Foundation	1929
Sewickley Fresh Air Home	1929
Harmarville Convalescent Home	1929
Roselia Foundling Asylum and Maternity Hospital	1931
Zoar Home for Mothers, Babies and Convalescents	1932
Ladies Aid Society of Montefiore Hospital	1932
Social Service Department, University of Pittsburgh Maternity Dispensary	1931
Pittsburgh and Allegheny Milk and Ice Fund	1929
Registry for Mothers' Milk	1932
Miscellaneous services	
American Citizenship League	1929
Legal Aid Society	1929
Service for Foreign Born	1932
United Business Service	1932
Urban League	1929
Goodwill Industries	1931
Pittsburgh Workshop for the Blind	1930

AGENCIES NOT IN THE COMMUNITY FUND

Relief, institutional

Children

- Allegheny Temporary Home for Children
- Baptist Orphanage and Home (apportioned)
- Coleman Industrial Home for Colored Boys
- Davis Home and Day Nursery
- Elizabeth A. Bradley Children's Home
- Curtis Home for Girls
- German Protestant Orphan Asylum
- Holmes Hall for Boys
- Jewish Home for Babies and Children
- Louise Home for Babies
- Orphans' Home and Farm School
- Orphans' Home of the United Presbyterian Women's Association of North America
- Pittsburgh and Allegheny Home for the Friendless
- Queen Esther Home
- Robert Boyd Ward Home for Children

St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum
 St. Paul's Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum of Pittsburgh
 St. Peter's Evangelical Lutheran Orphan's Home
 St. Rita's L.C.B.A. Home for Infants
 St. John's Lutheran Home (apportioned)
 Home of the Good Shepherd

Aged

Baptist Orphanage and Home (apportioned)
 Evangelical Home for the Aged
 German Protestant Home for the Aged
 Hannah M. Martin Home for Protestant Women Teachers of Allegheny County
 Home for Aged Protestants
 Ladies of the G.A.R. Home
 Methodist Episcopal Hospital and Home for the Aged
 Presbyterian Association for Care of Aged and Orphans
 Reformed Presbyterian Home for Aged People
 St. John's Lutheran Home (apportioned)

All others

Helping Hand (only government aid included)
 Friendly Inn Society
 Lutheran Inner Mission Society—Cotta Hall
 McKeesport Helping Hand Association
 Parting of the Ways Home, Inc.
 New Future Home

Relief, noninstitutional

Family

Lutheran Inner Mission Society—Family and Children divisions
 Lutheran Inner Mission Society—Institutional Administration Division
 Society of St. Vincent de Paul—Pittsburgh, Particular Chapter
 Pittsburgh Association for the Improvement of the Poor—Family Division
 Salvation Army—Temporary Home for Women
 Sacred Heart Church
 Volunteers of America—Family and Relief Division

Children

Children's Home Society of Pennsylvania, Inc.
 Western Pennsylvania Humane Society

Non-family

Central Application Bureau for Homeless Men

Recreation

Kingsley Association, Inc.
 Manchester Educational Center
 Methodist Episcopal Church Union of Pittsburgh, Inc.
 Pittsburgh Lyceum
 Salvation Army, Inc., gymnasium and pool
 Y.M.H.A. and Y.W.H.A.
 Sewickley Y.M.C.A.
 Carnegie Y.M.C.A.
 Turtle Creek Y.W.C.A.
 Y.W.C.A. of Pittsburgh
 Allegheny Valley Y.M.C.A.
 Lillian Fresh Air Home
 Lutheran Inner Mission—summer camp
 Y.W.C.A. Camp Carondowanna
 Pittsburgh Association for Improvement of the Poor—camp
 Salvation Army—camp
 Volunteers of America—camp

Health

Industrial Home for Crippled Children
 Florence Crittenden Home
 Salvation Army Emergency Home

Hospitals

Allegheny General Hospital
 Allegheny Valley Hospital
 Belvedere General Hospital
 Braddock General Hospital
 Children's Hospital
 Columbia Hospital
 Elizabeth Steel Magee Hospital
 Eye and Ear Hospital
 Homeopathic Hospital
 Homestead Hospital
 McKeesport Hospital
 Mercy Hospital
 Ohio Valley General Hospital
 Passavant Hospital
 Pittsburgh Hospital Association
 Presbyterian Hospital
 South Side Hospital
 Suburban General Hospital
 St. Francis Hospital
 St. John's General Hospital
 St. Joseph's Hospital
 St. Margaret's Memorial Hospital
 Tuberculosis League Hospital
 Valley Hospital
 Western Pennsylvania Hospital

Miscellaneous

Y.W.C.A. International Institute
 Pittsburgh League for the Hard of Hearing
 De Paul Institute
 Lutheran Inner Mission—Industrial Branch
 Salvation Army—Industrial Branch
 Association for Improvement of the Poor—Industrial Branch
 McKeesport Day Nursery
 Soho Day Nursery
 St. Ann's Day Nursery and Temporary Home for Women
 Volunteers of America—Nursery

3. INSTITUTIONS INCLUDED IN THE STUDY OF THE ORGANIZED CARE OF THE SICK

The names of the institutions which were studied, listed in the order of their bed capacity on October 30, 1934

<i>Name of hospital</i>	<i>Number of beds (Including bassinets)</i>
Total hospitals (35)	12,244
Voluntary (26)	6,237
Belvedere General	42
Ohio Valley General *	70
Allegheny Valley *	105
Eye and Ear	114
Homestead *	118

<i>Name of hospital</i>	<i>Number of beds (Including bassinets)</i>
Suburban General *	118
Valley *	135
Braddock General *	137
St. Joseph's	140
Passavant	141
Tuberculosis League	150
St. Margaret's Memorial	152
Presbyterian	163
Children's	200
St. John's General	202
Columbia *	204
Pittsburgh Hospital Association	223
South Side	225
Montefiore	227
McKeesport *	263
Homeopathic	310
Allegheny General	405
Elizabeth Steel Magee	495
St. Francis	577
Western Pennsylvania	651
Mercy	670
Governmental (9)	6,007
Municipal (Isolation)	250
Leech Farm (Tuberculosis)	290
Allegheny County Home and Hospital *	2,532
Tuberculosis unit	256
General unit	376
Mental unit	1,900
Pittsburgh City Home and Hospital *	2,935
Isolation unit	28
Tuberculosis unit	133
General unit	324
Mental unit	2,450

Twenty of the hospitals, with a bed capacity of 5,627, are located in the city of Pittsburgh, while fifteen (including the Pittsburgh City Home and Hospital and the Allegheny County Home and Hospital), with a bed capacity of 6,617, are located in the county outside Pittsburgh. The institutions indicated by an asterisk on the above list are those located in the county.

HOSPITALS NOT INCLUDED IN THE STUDY

The following hospitals, located in Allegheny County or serving to a certain extent Allegheny County patients, were not included in the study, but the bed capacity of certain of these institutions is included, as specified, in the discussion of facilities to meet various needs.

	<i>Bed capacity</i>
Veterans' Hospital	481
Marine Hospital	73
Six proprietary hospitals (those operated for profit)	118 (combined)
Dixmont Hospital (a private, state-aided hospital for mental patients)	964
Connellsville State Hospital, Fayette County (for medical and surgical cases)	99

	<i>Bed capacity</i>
Three state sanatoria for tuberculosis	
Cresson	1,040
Hamburg	534
Mont Alto	940
Western Penitentiary Hospital	28
Various state and other institutions for the care of mental defectives, epileptics, and the disabled	

4. AGENCIES FROM WHICH PERSONNEL SCHEDULES WERE RECEIVED AND THE NUMBER OF SCHEDULES FROM EACH AGENCY, SUPPLEMENTING CHAPTER XII

	<i>Number of schedules</i>		<i>Number of schedules (continued)</i>
Voluntary Case Work Agencies		Public Case Work Agencies	
American Red Cross	13	Juvenile Court of Allegheny County	45
Catholic Boy Welfare Bureau	1	Mothers' Assistance Fund	66
Children's Aid Society	14	Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board	899
Children's Service Bureau	39		
Conference of Catholic Charities	39		1,010
Family Society	66		
Girls' Bureau	3		
Girls' Service Club	2		
Jewish Big Brother Association	4		
Jewish Family Welfare Association	13	Group Work Agencies	
Pittsburgh Association for the Improvement of the Poor	8	Boys' Club of Pittsburgh	4
Pittsburgh Bureau for Jewish Children	1	Boy Scouts—Allegheny County West	8
Pittsburgh Child Guidance Center	9	Brashear Settlement	5
Travelers' Aid Society	7	Girl Scouts of Allegheny County	4
		Irene Kaufmann Settlement	17
Medical Social Work Agencies		Kay Community Club	4
Allegheny General Hospital	6	Kingsley House	10
Children's Hospital	1	Munhall Neighborhood House	1
Falk Clinic	4	Pittsburgh Goodwill Industries	3
Homeopathic Hospital	1	Rankin Christian Center	6
Montefiore Hospital	4	Soho Community House	6
City Home and Hospital	1	Urban League	6
Pittsburgh Hospital	1	Woods Run Settlement	5
Pittsburgh Skin and Cancer Foundation	1	Y.M.C.A.	50
Presbyterian Hospital	1	Y.W.C.A. (International Institute included)	40
St. Margaret Memorial Hospital	1	Y.M.H.A. and Y.W.H.A.	3
South Side Hospital	1	Sarah Heinz House	5
Tuberculosis League	3		
Western Pennsylvania Hospital	3		177

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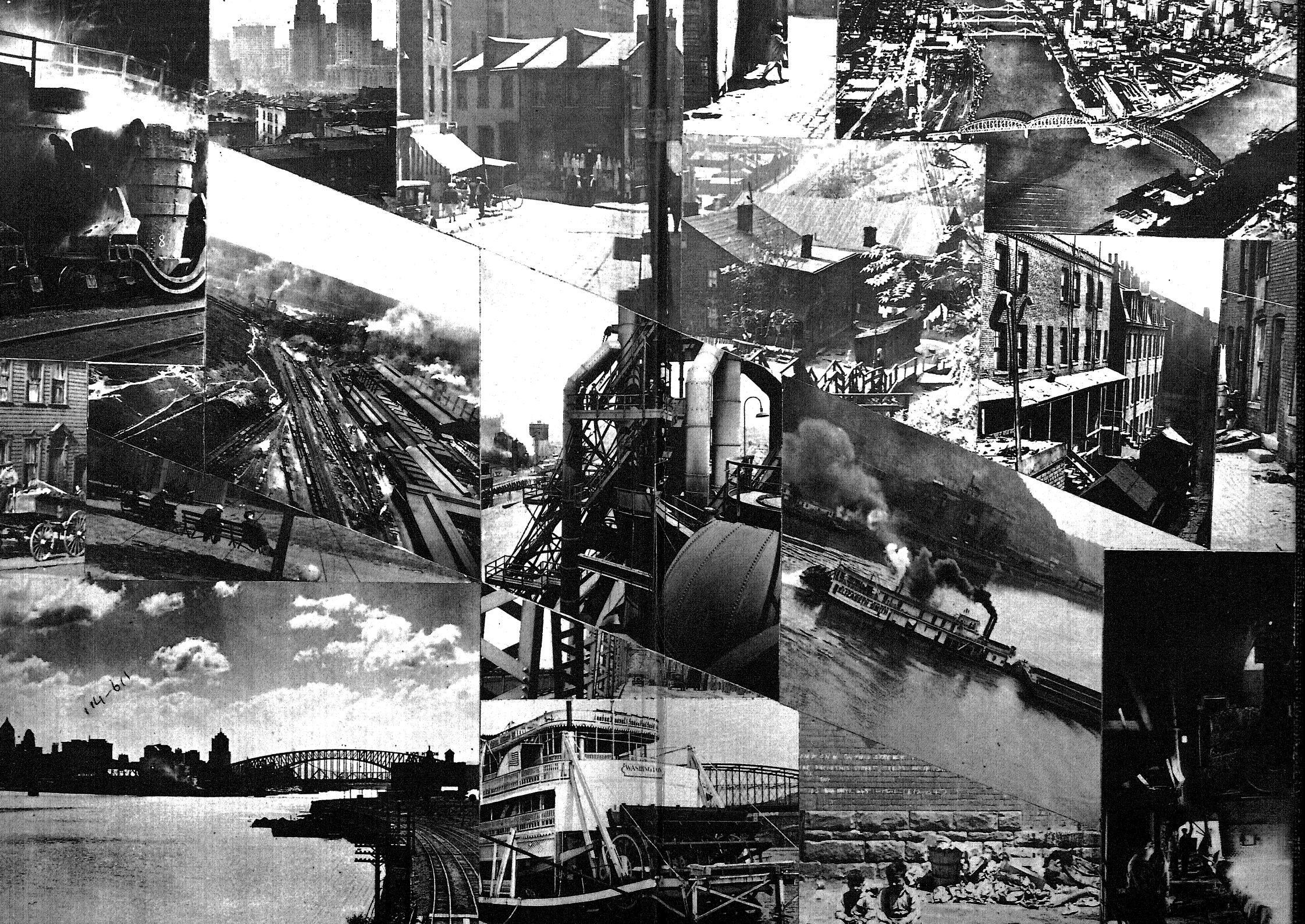
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